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पुस्तकालय

विषय संख्या
पुस्तक संख्या
आगत पंजिका संख्या

January 1947
to
June 1947

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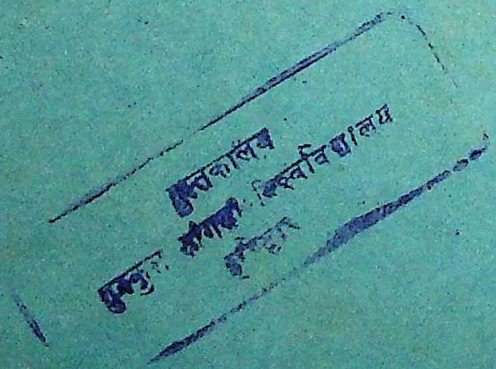

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स्टाक प्रकाशीकरण १९८४-१९८५

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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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जनवरी १९४६ से जून १९४६ तक

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Invalid Cookery

BARLEY WATER

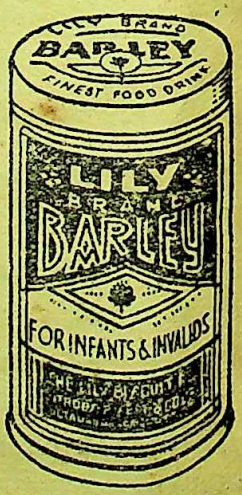
Take 2 oz. of pearl barley 1 pint of boiling water, three lumps of sugar, thinly pared rind of half a lemon.

Boil the barley for two minutes in sufficient cold water just to cover it. Strain off the barley into a jug and add the sugar and lemon rind. Pour in one pint of boiling water, cover and leave to stand. When cold strain and use.

This is a pleasant, slightly nutritious drink and a good thirst-quencher.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

Invalids are generally more conscious of flavour than healthy persons are. Only small quantities of food should be given at a time. Serve daintily in varied receptacles. Observe punctuality. Never leave food standing by the bedside.



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THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY 1947

VOL. LXXXI, No. 1 WHOLE No. 481

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NOTES

1947

The old year has but a couple of days to go while these lines are being written. It has been a year of trials, beyond doubt, for India and the Indians. Famine knocking at the door, strikes holding up industry and public utility services, stringent and acrimonious political argument resulting in the raising of passions all round and finally terrible communal riots whereby thousands upon thousands perished, tens of thousands were rendered destitute and hundreds of millions were left disturbed and bereft of peace and a sense of security, all these calamities went into the making of a year of storm and stress. But despite all the gales of communal passions and the darkening of the political horizons, the nation's heart has remained stout because at last the Beacon of Freedom has been lit.

What of the New Year? As yet the skies remain too dark to see any portents, good or evil. But the gleam of the Beacon is there to light us on our way, and if the tending be not hesitant, the gleam may well become a blaze, dispelling all the gloom that there be till the coming of the dawn of the day that shall see the fruition of all our hopes and desires. Let us, therefore, hope that the coming year will see that dawn and meanwhile let us keep our faith on high.

There is no denying that critical times lie ahead and that our leaders are sorely beset, as fateful decisions may be called for at any moment. But every nation, great or small, that aspired after liberty had to go through such trials more than once, and History tells us that only those of them survived with honour and glory whose leaders chose to face the fiery ordeal without flinching. On such an occasion, on the eve of the American War of Independence, Patrick Henry made the memorable speech that led to the eventful decisions that altered the course of destiny of the great American nation. We present our readers with two excerpts from the same that seem to be singularly apposite now :

"We are not weak if we make a proper use of those means which the God of Nature has placed in our power . . . The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone, it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave."*

The above extract is, of course, part of the now world-famous speech that ended thus :

"Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery ? Forbid it, Almighty God ! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death."

The British Cabinet and the Constituent Assembly

The pronouncements of the British Cabinet on December 6 have accentuated the intransigence of the Muslim League in its attitude towards the Constituent Assembly. The moves that have been made, if they are successful, would either force the Congress to abandon the provinces of Assam and the North-Western Frontier Province to the intrigues and machinations of the reactionaries, or will make the Congress resign from the Viceregal Cabinet. The *impasse* that has been created thus, calls for courageous decisions and resolute action on the part of the Congress. There can be no going back, no retracing of the steps taken in the march for Independence, though there might be a pause at the cross-roads for taking counsel and taking of stocks regarding resources. The Congress must face, if necessary, the combined forces of Imperialism and reaction within the country.

We think the British Cabinet has displayed a lamentable lack of faith in its own professed principles. There should not have been any pandering to the demands of the Churchill group of British Conservatives in this matter of settling the terms of Indian Independence by negotiation. The British Labour Party should bear in mind that this parlous state in which Britain has been placed, after two great world wars, is a direct result of the machinations of that party which has

* *Speech in Virginia Convention. Richmond, Virginia. March 23, 1775.*

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always placed power above honour and lust for gain above the rights of humanity. It is incapable of changing its colour or creed and it stands in the direct line of succession to those ruthless and unprincipled men who forged the Axis, so long as it acknowledges that Public Enemy of Human Liberty, Mr. Winston Churchill, as its leader. The British Cabinet should realize that the Muslim League is the creation of the Conservative Party and is being guided and nurtured by them to serve the ends desired by the selfsame Conservative Party. The strengthening of the hands of the League, therefore, means added strength to the Conservative Party, which would finally end in discomfiture and discredit to Labour in the British Cabinet. The Labour Party seems to be unaware of the fact that India has been chosen by the Conservative Party as the lever by which to displace Labour from office. And further, the Labour Cabinet seems to be unable to realize that an embittered parting of the ways between the British Labour Party and the Indian National Congress would be calamitous in the extreme for both Britain and India and may well spell the doom for the British Commonwealth in the not so very distant future.

The life-spans of Empires have tended to become shorter with progressive realization of human rights by the world. The reason is not far to seek, for all empires are built on a foundation of perfidy, intrigue and treacherous breaches of faith and trust. The British Empire in Asia was no exception, indeed, if anything an example. British Labour, in its inexperience, seems to be unaware of the stinking depths to which the reputation of Britain and the British had been lowered in Asia by the perfidy, ruthlessness and double-dealing of the chosen instruments of the Conservative Party between 1915 and 1945. We write in this strain because we are still reluctant to believe that the British Labour Cabinet is about to venture on the same dishonourable path through deliberate intent, after having raised the stocks of the British so high in May 16th, for the first time in a century. The actions of Sir Hartley Shawcross at U. N. O. and the interpretation of Sec. 19 (5) and (8) by the British Cabinet have been rude shocks, but there is still time to redress matters.

For the Congress, retreat is unthinkable. There can be no compromise with evil at this hour of destiny. The Constituent Assembly must proceed with the framing of the charter of Indian Independence regardless of all barriers and difficulties placed in its path. If there be trial and suffering on the way, let us face it now. The British Cabinet statement of December 6 is a double-edged sword, in more senses than one, ready for the use of whosoever has the courage, faith and tenacity requisite to wield it and the judgment and skill to direct it. Let us hold our hands, by all means, while there is any chance of an honourable settlement, but there must not be any bargaining with the liberty of millions who have fought for the cause as the stake.

A. I. W. C. Statement on the British Cabinet Declaration

The Working Committee of the Congress has issued a long statement after prolonged deliberation on the British Government's declaration of December 6. As the matter is going before the All-India Congress Committee, a few comments may not be out of place. Two Ulsters are sought to be created on the Eastern and Western frontiers of the Sovereign State of India by means of the hardening of the Grouping Scheme through the Cabinet declaration of December 6. These will form a *cordon sanitaire* isolating Free India from her neighbours in Asia on the East and the West. It is to be noted that two out of the three major ports of India go into these twin Ulsters and the World Air-route is effectively plugged as well, at both ends, by this move. Strategically India will be placed in a sack with both ends tied. With the Himalayas on the North and the Indian Ocean in the South, with the British Navy on guard at Trincomalee and Colombo in Ceylon, Free India would be isolated beyond redemption. If we add to this the many major and minor Ulsters that may be formed within the body politic of Free India by continuous incitement of the Native States, it would be seen that the Independence of India as envisaged by the British Cabinet at present would be a sorry jest, worthy of Churchill, Hitler and Tojo, and nothing more. Groups B and C, in the hands of the League can continue with their programme of intransigence and enmity to the Congress assured of the fullest aid of British Imperialism. And *per contra* British Imperialism can go on working its will on the suffering millions of India, in the same hypocritical double-faced fashion as in the past two centuries, as long as this arrangement lasts.

All the other points and the Congress attitude are presented fully in the A.-I. Working Committee statement, which is given below :

1. The Working Committee have given careful consideration to the statement issued by the British Government on Dec. 6, 1946, as well as other statements made recently on their behalf in Parliament. These statements, though made by way of interpretation and elucidation, are clearly additions to and variations of the British Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, 1946, on which the whole scheme of the Constituent Assembly was based.

2. The statement of May 16, 1946, laid down in paragraph 15 as basic principles of the constitution that "there should be a Union of India embracing both British India and the States," that "all subjects other than Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the provinces" and that "provinces should be free to form Groups."

The provinces were thus intended to be autonomous, subject to the Union controlling certain specified subjects. Paragraph 19 laid down, *inter alia*, the procedure for Sections to meet, for decisions to be taken as to whether Groups should be formed or not and for any province to elect to come out of the Group in which it might have been placed.

3. In their resolution of May 24, 1946, the Working Committee pointed out what appeared to be a divergence between the basic principles and the procedure suggested, in that a measure of compulsion was introduced which infringed the basic principles of provincial autonomy. The Cabinet Mission, thereupon, issued a statement on May 25, 1946, in which it was stated that "the interpretation, put by the Congress resolution on paragraph 15 of the Statement, to the effect that the provinces can, in the first instance, make the choice whether or not to belong to the Section in which they are placed, does not accord with the Delegation's intentions. The reasons for grouping of the provinces are well known and this is an essential feature of the scheme and can only be modified by agreement between the two parties."

The point at issue was not merely one of procedure but the fundamental principle of provincial auto-

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nomy and whether or not a province or part should be coerced against its will.

The Congress made it clear later that their objection was not to provinces entering Sections, but to compulsory grouping and the possibility of a dominating province framing a constitution for another province entirely against the wishes of the latter. This might result in the framing of rules, the regulation of franchise, electorates, constituencies for elections and the composition of the Legislature, which might seriously prejudice or even nullify the provision for a province subsequently to opt out of a Group.

It was pointed out that this could never be the intention of the Cabinet Mission as it would be repugnant to the basic principles and policy of the scheme they had propounded. The Congress approach to the problem of constitution-making has all along been that coercion should not be exercised against any province or part of the country and that the constitution of free India should be drawn up by the co-operation and goodwill of all parties and provinces concerned.

In a letter dated 15 June, 1946, from Lord Wavell to Maulana Azad, then President of the Congress, it was stated that "the delegation and I are aware of your objections to the principle of grouping. I would, however, point out that the statement of May 16 does not make grouping compulsory. It leaves the decision to the elected representatives of the provinces concerned sitting together in Sections. The only provision which is made is that the representatives of certain provinces should meet in Sections so that they can decide whether or not they wish to form groups."

Thus the principle which was emphasised again was that grouping was not compulsory and in regard to Sections a certain procedure was indicated. This procedure was not clear and could be interpreted in more than one way and in any event a point of procedure could not over-ride a basic principle. We pointed out that the right interpretation should be one which did no violence to that principle.

Further, in order to smooth the way to the co-operation of all concerned in the working of the proposed scheme we not only made it clear that we were prepared to go into the Sections, but also we suggested that if our interpretation was not accepted we would be agreeable to reference on this point to the Federal Court.

It is well-known that the proposal in regard to grouping affected injuriously two provinces especially, namely, Assam and the N.-W. F. P., as well as the Sikhs in the Punjab. Their representatives expressed their strong disapproval of this proposal. In a letter to the Secretary of State dated 25th May, 1946, Master Tara Singh gave expression to the anxiety and apprehensions of the Sikhs and asked for clarification in regard to certain matters.

The Secretary of State sent an answer to this letter on June 1, 1946, in the course of which he said: "I have considered carefully the detailed points you raise at the end of your letter. I fear the Mission cannot issue any additions to, or interpretation of the statement."

In spite of this explicit statement, the British Government have on Dec. 6, issued a statement which is both an addition to and an interpretation of the Statement of May 16, 1946.

They have done so after more than six and a half months, during which period many developments have taken place as a consequence of the original statement. Throughout this period the position of the Congress was made repeatedly clear to the British Government or their representatives, and it was with full knowledge of this position that the British Government took subsequent steps in furtherance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

That position was in conformity with the basic principles laid down in the statement of May 16, 1946, which statement the Congress had accepted in its entirety.

Further the Congress had expressed its willingness to refer, if necessity arose, the point of interpretation to the Federal Court, whose decision should be accepted by the parties concerned. In the course of his letter dated June 28, 1946, addressed to Mr. Jinnah, the Viceroy stated that Congress had accepted the statement of May 16. In the course of a broadcast on August 24, 1946, the Viceroy, in appealing to the Muslim League to co-operate, pointed out that the Congress are ready to agree that any dispute of interpretation may be referred to the Federal Court.

8. The Muslim League reversed its former decision and rejected the British Cabinet Mission's scheme by formal resolution and even decided to resort to direct action. Their spokesmen have since repeatedly challenged the very basis of that scheme, that is, the constitution of a Union of India and have reverted to their demand for a partition of India.

Even after the British Government's statement of Dec. 6, 1946, the leaders of the Muslim League have reiterated this demand for partition and the establishment of two separate independent Governments in India.

9. When the invitation of the British Government was received by the Congress at the end of November last to send its representatives to London, the Congress position was clearly indicated again. It was on an assurance of the Prime Minister of Great Britain that a representative of the Congress proceeded to London.

10. In spite of this assurance and of previous assurances to the effect that no additions to, or interpretations of, the statement of May 16, 1946, were going to be made, the British Government have now issued a statement which clearly, in several respects, goes beyond the original statement, on the basis of which progress has been made till now.

11. The Working Committee deeply regret that the British Government should have acted in a manner which has not been in keeping with their own assurances, and which has created suspicion in the minds of large numbers of people in India.

For some time past the attitude of the British Government and their representatives in India has been such as to add to the difficulties and complexities of the situation in the country. Their present intervention long after the members of the Constituent Assembly had been elected has created a new situation which is full of peril for the future. Because of this, the Working Committee have given anxious and prolonged thought to it.

12. The Congress seeks to frame, through the Constituent Assembly, a Constitution of a free and independent India with the willing co-operation of all elements of the Indian people. The Working Committee regret that Muslim League members of the Constituent Assembly have refrained from attending its opening session.

The Committee, however, appreciated and express their gratification at the presence in the Constituent Assembly of representatives of all other interests and sections of the people of India, and note with pleasure the spirit of co-operation in a common task and a high endeavour which has been in evidence during the sessions of the Assembly.

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13. In their statement of Dec. 6, 1946, the British Government, in giving their interpretation of a doubtful point of procedure, have referred to it as a "fundamental point" and suggested that the Constituent Assembly may refer it to the Federal Court at a very early date.

Subsequent statements made on behalf of the British Government have made it clear that they are not prepared to accept the decision of this Court should it go against their own interpretation. On behalf of the Muslim League also it has been stated that they will not be bound by the decision of the Federal Court, and a demand for partition of India, which is a negation of the Cabinet Mission's scheme, continues to be put forward.

While the Congress has always been willing to agree to a reference to the Federal Court, any reference now, when none of the other parties are prepared to join in it or to accept it, and one of them does not even accept the basis of the scheme, becomes totally uncalled for and unbecoming, and unsuited to the dignity of either the Congress or the Federal Court. By their repeated statements, British statesmen have ruled this out.

14. The Working Committee are still of opinion that the interpretation put by the British Government in regard to the method of voting in the Sections is not in conformity with provincial autonomy, which is one of the fundamental bases of the scheme proposed in the statement of May 16. The Committee are anxious to avoid anything that may come in the way of the successful working of the Constituent Assembly, and are prepared to do everything in their power to seek and obtain the largest measure of co-operation, provided that no fundamental principle is violated.

In view of the importance and urgency of the issues facing the country and the far-reaching consequences which must follow any decisions, the Working Committee are convening an emergent meeting of the A.-I.C.C. in Delhi early in January to consider the latest developments and to give such directions as it may deem fit.

The Indian Political Science Conference

Prof. D. N. Banerjee, Head of the Department of Political Science in the University of Dacca, in his presidential address at the ninth session of the Indian Political Science Conference held at Delhi on December 31, 1946 dealt with the question of self-determination with a view to combating the case for the partition of India.

With extensive quotations he points out that "the right of self-determination was not to be, even according to President Wilson, its chief protagonist, an absolute and unqualified right." He refers to the insuperable difficulties that were experienced by the victorious allies after the first World War in the application of the principle of self-determination to Europe. He invites our leaders to learn a lesson from the famous Aaland Islands dispute. There, in that case, says Prof. Banerjee, though the people of the Aaland Islands had voted almost unanimously in favour of separation by plebescites held in 1918 and again in 1919, yet the League of Nations decided to recognize Finnish sovereignty over the Islands "under the condition that autonomous rights should be granted to the population of the Islands."

Refering to those who seek to justify the application of the principle of self-determination to the solution of our communal problem, on the Russian model including the right of secession enjoyed there by each Constituent Republic of the Union, Prof. Banerjee says : Firstly that "they do not appear to have properly understood the constitution of the Union—particularly the nature of the relation of the Union to its Constituent Republics in respect of their respective jurisdictions." Secondly, that "they do not seem to have properly realised the position of the All-Union Communist Party in relation to the actual working of the constitution of the Soviet Union,"—a party which is 'essentially unitary' with its 'ubiquitious guidance and persuasion' and 'holds the key positions in the administration of the state.' And thirdly, that "we should not forget here the position and importance of one of the Constituent Republics in the Soviet Union, namely, The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, *i.e.*, Russia proper, which comprises, according to one authority, about '90 per cent' of the area of the Union and a little over half of its total population." Prof. Banerjee maintains that "it will not be far from wrong to say that the Soviet Union is a 'voluntary union' only in name, and that the right to secession granted to each Constituent Republic in it is in fact only a paper right." He, however, does not "minimise the importance of the policy of cultural and regional autonomy which the framers of the Soviet Constitution have deliberately and whole-heartedly adopted for the solution of the problem of nationalities in the Soviet Union" and "would certainly advocate a concession of this right to every important cultural or religious group in this country."

Prof. Banerjee maintains that "this right of self-determination, if it means a right of independent statehood, can only be applied to a country as a whole which is geographically, economically and strategically a single unit, and not to any part of it or to any particular portion of its population. Otherwise there will arise many insuperable difficulties in a country like India. If, to take a single instance, 23 per cent of the population of India claims the right of self-determination in the sense of independent statehood, because it professes a particular religion, and if that claim is conceded, then certainly 45 per cent of the population of Bengal, 66 per cent of the population of Assam and 48 per cent of the combined population of Assam and Bengal, who may profess a different religion or religions, have a far greater right to self-determination so far as their form of government is concerned. And once this process of concession on the ground of religion is started, there will be many more claims of an irresistible character and our problem will become absolutey insoluble unless we should be prepared to face a total disintegration of the country."

Prof. Banerjee, therefore, welcomes "the solution of our constitutional problem as recommended by the British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy in their Statement of 16th May last, in so far as it is based on the principle of federalism for the whole of India and thus preserves, to quote the words of the Viceroy, 'the essential unity of India' which was unfortunately threatened by the dispute between its two major political parties."

Prof. Banerjee notes that according to the proposals of the Cabinet Mission, "the framing of the constitutions of the provinces and also of the Groups (if any) is to precede the 'settling' of the Union Constitution" and asks : "How can the Provincial and

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Group Constitutions be properly framed at all unless the Union Constitution is *first settled* and an agreement is reached among all parties on the structure, *powers* and *functions* of the Union (*i.e.*, Central) Government of India as a whole ?" If it be said that "the Constitution-making scheme embodied in the Statement of 16th May last has expressly and specifically enumerated the powers to be vested in the Centre," his reply is that, therein lies the crux of the whole question. What exactly are meant by the proposed Union (*i.e.*, Central) matters, namely, 'Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Communications' and 'the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects ?' What are the exact implications of these 'subjects' and 'powers' in terms for instance, of foreign trade, commercial treaties, import and export duties, income-tax, basic industries, inter-unit communication facilities, inter-unit river systems, currency, coinage, banking and grave internal disorder and lawlessness ? Prof. Banerjee maintains that "what applies to the Federation of the United States of America will equally apply, under the principles of Construction, to our proposed Federation."

Prof. Banerjee says, "It is quite likely that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy intentionally avoided going into details in regard to the actual powers of the Union (*i.e.*, the Central) Government. Perhaps they thought that it would be unwise to do so at this stage. But the members of the Union Constituent Assembly should not be blind to realities : they must face facts. And if they are to succeed in their endeavours properly to frame a constitution for India as a whole they must first agree, as far as humanly possible, on both the *express* and *implied* powers to be vested in the Centre before they should proceed to draw up the constitutions of the provinces and Groups (if any). Otherwise, the question of residuary powers for the constituent units of the proposed Union of India cannot have any real meaning. Any attempt to act in a different way, that is to say, any attempt to draw up the provincial and Group constitutions first before the Union Constitution is properly 'settled' will really be like putting the cart before the horse. . . . It is sincerely hoped that the defect will be rectified by the Union Constituent Assembly itself on its own initiative."

Prof. Banerjee adds, "What would happen in case of a grave internal disorder or lawlessness breaking out in any part of India, which either the local government concerned cannot effectively suppress, or to suppress which the local government does not, for one reason or another, intentionally adopt vigorous measures ? Certainly in any such event the Union Government should not be allowed simply to look on supinely : it must be vested with constitutional authority to intervene either at the request of the Local Government, or even, if necessary, on its own initiative. There should, therefore, be a provision in our future constitution corresponding to Article 16 of the present Swiss Constitution taken along with clauses 3, 10, and 11 of Article 102 of the same constitution. As it is well-known, under these provisions of the Swiss Constitution, the Federal Council (*i.e.*, the Swiss Federal Executive) is empowered to ensure, if necessary on its own initiative, the internal safety of Switzerland and the maintenance of peace and order, in case of a grave disorder or a serious threat to that peace from within. The primary object of the State is the preservation of law and order and the maintenance of the social failure' against civil war and anarchy. The common people want peace and are not much concerned with constitutional niceties. And this peace must be ensured to them. Hence arises the imperative necessity of such a provision in our future constitution as I have suggested above. This is not at all a communal question. After what has happened in Bengal, Bihar, and in some other parts of India since August last, not to go further back, such a provision is particularly necessary for the protection of minorities both in Muslim-majority units and in Hindu-majority units of the proposed Union of India. I sincerely hope and trust that there will be no difference of opinion on this point among the framers of our future constitution, who should also provide for a statutory coalition (or composite) executive, representative, as in Switzerland, of all important parties in the legislature, both at the Centre and in the provinces (and Groups, if any), preferably together with Ministerial responsibility on British pattern. If, however, it is held that the proposed Union subject of 'Defence' means not merely defence of India against foreign aggression, but also defence against internal disorder, lawlessness, or anarchy, then that point should be made definitely clear by inserting suitable provisions in our future constitution so that there might not arise any occasion for any misunderstanding later on."

Pandit Pant on Two-Nation Theory

Pandit G. B. Pant, Premier of U. P., has delivered the Convocation Address at the Allahabad University this year. In his address, Pandit Pant has discussed at some length the two-nation theory of Mr. Jinnah on the background of concrete facts and hard realities. He pointed out that Hindus and Muslims will always adhere to their ancestral homesteads and holdings. Any talk of transfer of population "is ridiculously absurd and too fantastic to need any answer." Hindus and Muslims together will always be found scattered all over India. Let alone freedom and progress, "can there be any peace in the absence of real amity and good will ? Can there be the least shred of a chance for the fulfilment of the crying needs of social rehabilitation and economic reconstruction which are the real objectives of every political effort ?" Pandit Pant then said :

> The doctorine of two nations has a disruptive effect. It provides the soil on which strife and dissension grow. Sovereignty and territory are the essential ingredients and attributes of a political State. People occupying a distinct tract of territory enclosed within specific boundaries and exercising sovereignty over that earmarked area as against the rest of the world are regarded as and qualified to be treated as a nation in the accepted sense of that expression in political science and international law. This rules out the possibility of there being two separate exclusive nations within the same physical region. Hindus and Muslims have both a common base, and if India is taken as a unit, it cannot admit of more than one nation. Even judged by the criteria of community, of descent or political institutions there is an all-pervasive community of race, descent, language, etc., running through all compartments and layers of Hindus and Muslims making them one nation and uniting them into a magnificent whole.

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Whether India be uninational or multinational, one thing is certain that it is not, in any event, bi-national. Purity of race is all too rare. Except a handful of ethnologists and antiquarians nobody is interested in tracing one's descent from the dim past, even if it be not a dark past. In India there is no doubt a rich multiplicity of physical types, but there is neither antagonism between different sections nor any particularly close affinity inside the same racial group. Religions transcend and act through all racial boundaries, with the result that both Hindu and Muslim communities are multi-racial in composition. A characteristic uniformity runs through them all, although there is a rich variety within each of them.

Muslims of India represent as many races as do the Hindus of India. If the accident of the Muslims belonging to these different races does not stand in the way of their being regarded as one nation, one must conclude that the racial factor has no bearing on the matter, and, if, in spite of these racial varieties all Muslims can form one nation then assuredly all Indians, belonging exactly to the same types, can, with much greater reason, constitute a true nation. Racially there is no warrant for discriminating between the Hindus and Muslims—whether in Bengal or in the Punjab or in Sind. There is undoubtedly much more in common between the two within each respective region than say between the Muslims or between the Hindus of these three different tracts.

Pandit Pant then explained that not only the Hindus and Muslims are racially one and thus born of a common stock, but their genesis and source are similarly one and the same. Historically Hindus and Muslims are not only descended from common ancestors but they have also been living a common social, economic and cultural life for hundreds of years. Their languages vary not communally but regionally. Thus Bengali is the common language of every one of the sixty million inhabitants of Bengal and although the majority are the followers of Mahammad, the language is more allied with Sanskrit than any other provincial dialect of India. Its script too is essentially the Brahmi akin to the Deva Nagri character. The Bengali community has a rich culture and vast literature based on indigenous foundations, essentially Indian and poles apart from the Semitic or Iranian. There is little in common between the Bengali language and the Punjabee, the Pashto of N.-W.F. or Sindhi current in Sindh. The Muslim farmer of Bengal can neither understand nor make himself understood by any of his co-regionists outside Bengal. U. P., Bihar, Northern C.P., Eastern Punjab, Central India and Rajputana have one common language called by various names, such as Hindi, Hindustani or Urdu. The grammar, syntax and structure are alike, but the vocabulary has a larger proportion of words of Persian and Arabic origin in certain areas, such as Delhi and Lucknow.

Macartney, one of the modern authorities on the problems of nationalities and minorities, has, after a meticulous discussion of these subjects in his celebrated work *National States and National Minorities*, comes to the conclusion that "all attempts to solve the minority problem, by getting rid of the minority, have proved thoroughly discouraging. . . . It seems, therefore, that States of mixed population must reconcile themselves to the continued pressure of their minorities. . . . The troubles of our day arise out of the modern conception of the national State : out of the identification of the political ideals of all the inhabitants of the State with the national-cultural ideals of the majority in it. If once this confusion between the two things which are fundamentally different can be abandoned, there is no reason why the members of a score of different nationalities should not live together in perfect harmony in the same State, and not even the smallest of them need suffer from the moral degradation which today attends the lot of the national minority." Lord Acton wrote, "If we take the establishment of liberty for the realisation of duties to be the end of civil society, we must conclude that those states are substantially the most perfect which . . . include various nationalities without oppressing them. Those in which no mixture of races has occurred are imperfect ; and those in which its efforts have disappeared are decrepit. A State which is incompetent to satisfy different races condemns itself ; a State, which labours to neutralise, to absorb or to expel them is destitute of the chief basis of self-government." The demand of the League to have separate national States of Mussalmans is barely six years old, and it cuts across the history of a larger number of centuries. Hindus and Muslims of India are spread over the whole of the country in such a way and have got so intermingled with one another in the population of the country, that it is impossible to cut out any portion and convert it into a State which will not have a considerable minority left. If Muslims as a 'nation' feel it impossible to the rule of Hindus as a 'nation', in an area where Hindus are in a majority of 75 per cent, why should Hindus submit to Muslim rule in a Muslim zone where they command only a precarious majority of 55 or 51 per cent ?

Mahatma Gandhi's Advice to Assam

The Premier of Assam Shri G. N. Bardoloi sought Mahatma Gandhi's advice on the point of the Grouping Scheme, through two representatives. Mahatmaji, as is usual with him, went straight to the point without any reservations. He said :

"The British cannot interfere with the working of the Constituent Assembly. Supposing the vast majority, including the Muslims and others form a constitution, you can defy the British Parliament if it seeks to interfere. Power is in your hands. Some such thing happened in Ireland only recently. And de Valera is no non-violent fighter. The position of India is far better than that of Ireland. If we have not the penetration we will lose the advantage we have, as it is apparently being lost today."

He was equally clear about the Federal Court and the advisability of asking for a decision from it in the face of the British Cabinet's declaration of December 6. He said :

"The Federal Court is the creation of the British. It is a packed court. To be consistent, the Congress must abide by its decision whatever it may be. If Assam keeps quiet, it is finished.

His advice to Assam was unequivocal and clear.

"No one can force Assam to do what it does not want to do. It is autonomous to a large extent today. Assam must not lose its soul. It must uphold it against the whole world."

"I told Bardoloi that if there is no clear guidance from the Congress Committee, Assam should not go into the Constituent. It should lodge its protest and retire

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from the Constituent Assembly. It will be a kind of satyagraha against the Congress for the good of the Congress.

It must become fully independent and autonomous. Whether you have that courage, and conviction, I do not know. You alone can say that. But if you can make that declaration, it will be a fine thing.

As soon as the time comes for the Constituent Assembly to go into sections, you will say, "Gentlemen, Assam retires". For the independence of India, it is the only condition. Each unit must be able to decide and act for itself. I am hoping that in this, Assam will lead the way. I have the same advice for the Sikhs.

But your position is much happier than that of the Sikhs. You are a whole province. They are a community inside a province. But I feel every individual has the right to act for himself, just as I have."

Asked about the possibility of the British Government's intervention, he said :

Who is the British Government? If we think independence is going to descend on our heads from England or somewhere, we are greatly mistaken. It won't be independence. We will be crushed to atoms. We are fluctuating between independence and helpless dependence. The Cabinet Mission's plan lies in between.

"If we act rightly there will be the full-blown flower of independence. If we react wrongly the blossom will wither away. Mind you, the League standpoint is quite correct. If they stand out, the Constituent Assembly cannot impose its Constitution on an unwilling party. The British Government has no say in the matter, one way or the other.

"If Assam takes care of itself the rest of India will be able to look after itself. What have you got to do with the constitution of the Union Government? You should form your own constitutions. That is enough. You have the basis of a constitution all right even now.

"I have never despised the 1935 constitution. It is based on provincial autonomy. It has the capacity for fullest growth, provided the people are worthy of it. The hill people are with you. Many Muslims are also with you. The remainder can be too, if you act squarely.

"You will have to forget petty jealousies and rivalries and overcome your weaknesses. Assam has many weaknesses as it has much strength, for I know my Assam."

Exhorting Assam to find its own salvation he said :

"I have given you all this time to steel your hearts, to give you courage. If you do not act correctly now, Assam will be finished. Tell Bardoloi, I do not feel the least uneasiness. My mind is made up.

"Assam must not lose its soul. It must uphold against the whole world. Else, I will say that Assam had only manikins and no men. It is an impertinent suggestion that Bengal should dominate Assam in any way."

And what is true for Assam is true for the North-Western Frontier Province, for the Sikhs in the Punjab and the Hindus of West Bengal. It is about time we all realized that we have to fight for our own destiny, and that the only chance of avoiding the actual strife lies in our being fully prepared for all eventualities.

Eviction Policy of Assam Government

A communique was issued in December 1946 by the Publicity Department of the Assam Government explaining the eviction policy of the Government. It states that in accordance with an agreement arrived at between Maulavi Mohammad Saadulla, the then Premier, and leader of the Muslim League Party and Mr. G. N. Bardoloi and others belonging to the different parties in the Legislature, a resolution on Land settlement superseding all previous resolutions on the subject was adopted by the Coalition Ministry and published on July 19, 1945. That resolution aimed at settling of surplus cultivable waste land with landless immigrants who came to Assam before January 1, 1938, on application, after making provision for those among the indigenous population who have insufficient land or no land for their support together with a margin for future expansion and protection of Tribal and other backward classes in areas where they are in a majority by creation of Tribal Belts.

In pursuance of this resolution, the communique states, "Eviction operations were started by the last government in Dokonia, Bhangnamari, Kuri-hamari and Laheswari Reserves in Kamrup district, and all unauthorised encroachers were evicted and the Reserves were made free from unauthorised encroachments, but during the election campaign, the eviction operation was not further continued in the other Reserves by the then Ministry. The present Government are merely carrying on the policy adopted on the basis of agreement of the political parties in the Legislature—and proclaimed in the form of a resolution by their predecessors—of clearing the Reserves of all unprotected encroachers and keeping them clear of fresh encroachment. The present Government have made no change or modification in the resolution then issued. There has been no discrimination on the score of religion, caste or creed."

Referring to the growth of immigration, the communique says : "About 30 years ago, the cultivators of East Bengal began to immigrate into the Assam Valley and occupied waste lands in the lower districts, namely, Goalpara, Kamrup, and Nowgong. . . . Trouble began when the bulk of the available waste was taken up and the immigrants moved nearer to the Assamese villages. Some of the immigrants mainly by purchase from their neighbours had by then become a set of middle-class landlords owning considerable areas of land, getting these lands cultivated by tenants and labourers. It is these tenants and labourers who are believed to have been imported from their homes in Bengal by tales of abundance of land in Assam who first formed the nucleus of landless immigrants. This process was accelerated when the Muslim League conceived the idea of including Assam in the Eastern zone of Pakistan and proceeded to give colour to it through the political power and opportunity which came to it during the war. Muslim League Ministers of Bengal and Assam met together ; the National War Front resources for publicity were pressed into service ; and under the guise of Grow More Food campaign there came into existence a policy of aggression against the vital interests of indigenous people . . . The Assamese people in spite of the natural increase of population and the consequent pressure on land have as a rule respected the inviolability of Reserves ; their respect for law and general public welfare would be penalized if the Government of Assam were to put up with and recognise occupation of land by persons from outside the province through defiance of law."

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The communique refers to the attempts that have been made to give the eviction policy of the Government of Assam a communal colour for political purposes and gives a reply, "Although it is true that the majority of the encroachers were Muslims, yet in point of fact, out of the total of 2,214 encroachers involved in these evictions, as many as 293 persons belong to the Tribal, Scheduled and Hindu communities, 646 persons out of 2,214 had no houses in the reserves but had occupied land in the reserves for growing crops in defiance of law, although they had land elsewhere."

The communique concludes by giving a warning to the evictees and those who are genuinely interested in their welfare that the Assam Government will do all that is possible for the preservation of law and order and any definance can only bring about serious consequences for them.

What is going on in Assam in the name of immigration is not ordered settlement but unlawful encroachment with the motive of converting that province into a Moslem majority area or Pakistan. And the League wants that the indigenous people of the province must not raise their voice of protest.

Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan on Communal Issues

Major communal issues are likely to come up before the Federal Court in the course of the next few weeks or months. It will, therefore, be useful to refresh one's mind about the views of Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, one of the Puisne Judges, on communal issues in India. It was published some time ago but will bear recapitulation. Sir Muhammad says :

> The principal factor in the situation is that though the Muslims form only a quarter of the total population of India, they are unequally distributed among the various Provinces. British India is divided into 11 Governors' Provinces. Baluchistan, though not yet a Governor's Province, is a large enough area to rank as a Province for the purpose of Centre. In five out of these 12 Provinces—namely, Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Balrchistan, Sind (these forming the north-west block), and Bengal (in the north-east), the Muslims constitute a majority of the population. In Assam (the extreme north-eastern Provinces) *the Muslims are roughly 40 per cent.*, but are rapidly increasing, due mainly to immigration from East Bengal, where the population is largely Muslim. Even today, if Bengal and Assam are treated as one block, the Muslims would be found to be in a majority in the whole block. In the remaining six Provinces the Muslims constitute comparatively small minorities.
>
> A Federal Centre or the whole of India constructed on the pattern laid down in the 1935 Act is bound to be predominantly non-Muslim in composition. The Muslims fear that under that Act not only will they be in a position of subordination at the Centre itself, but that the Centre is likely to dominate the Provinces and thus the effect to nullify the Muslim majorities in the north-west and the north-east blocks. They claim that the only solution of the problem is that these two blocks should be allowed to constitute themselves into independent States *having direct relations with the United Kingdom* and the outside world the rest of India being at liberty to frame a constitution for itself along whatever lines it pleases. This scheme of partition is known as Pakistan, though the name was originally adopted for a different conception.

The principal objections against this scheme advanced on behalf of non-Muslims may be summarized thus:—It is pointed out that the adoption of this scheme would not settle even the Muslim versus non-Muslim question in India, much less settle the problem of the minorities as a whole. The Pakistan areas would contain large non-Muslim minorities and the rest of India would contain a large Muslim population amounting to over 30,000,000 so that a scheme for the protection and safeguarding of the rights of minorities would still have to be devised. As regards the vital subject of defence, India as a whole would have to come to some arrangement with the United Kingdom and the other members of the British Commonwealth and may have to devise a common system along with Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, and possibly the Dutch East Indies. This would predicate in the first instance a common defence system for the whole of India. India's foreign policy would to a large extent be governed by considerations of defence and security and would be bound up with its defence arrangemests. India's tariff policy would also have to be adiusted to world conditions. This and considerations relating to industrialization and commerce would necessitate the adoption of a uniform standard of sea customs and common currency.

It is also urged that the geographical position of India as one large natural unit confers certain advantages upon it which are not directly connected with, or affected by, the communal question, and that it would be a pity needlessly to sacrifice these advantages if they could be retained in any settlement that might be arrived at between the principal communities. The issues that emerge from this brief survey of the position and which any constitutional settlement must resolve are:—

1. Muslim fear of a predominantly non-Muslim Centre overshadowing and dominating the Provinces;
2. The necessity of a common system of defence and a common tariff policy and currency;
3. The continuation, if possible, of advantages and benefits resulting from India's geographical unity so long as Muslim interests are not sacrificed or put in jeopardy;
4. Some effective method of safeguarding minority rights.

So far note has been taken only of conditions in British India. There is, however, also the problem of Indian States. It would be extremely desirable to bring the Indian States into any arrangement that might be set up for dealing with items (2) and (3) set out above.

It is obvious that for any kind of a Centre to be accepted by the Muslims *their fears must be met*, and *for that reason alone* the powers of the Centre must be precisely defined. The start must be made on the basis of independent units. That is to say: British Indian Provinces and groups of Indian States must be treated as sovereign in their own respective spheres, entrusting such authority as may be needful for certain common purposes to a Centre that would function as their agent.

On the foregoing analysis the subjects which would be entrusted to the Centre would be defence, foreign affairs, sea customs, crrrency, and foreign exchange. With regard to another group of subjects—namely, communications *i.e.*, civil aviation, railways, posts, telegraph, telephones, and wireless—the powers of the Centre would have to be limited to securing co-ordination for the maintenance of standards of efficiency and safety, and to ensuring that no unit or group of units would discriminate against another unit or group of units with respect to these services and charges to be levied thereon.

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The Muslims claim that they are a separate nation, and that if they are asked to join in setting up a common Centre for the whole of India their share in all central organs (legislative, executive, judicial) must be 50 per cent. If, however, the shape of the constitution is such as to reassure them that there would be no room for the domination of one community by another, they might perhaps be willing to abate *to some extent, their claim to a 50 per cent share.*

For the purposes of represention at the Centre, the British Indian units will be the 12 provinces as at present constituted. The Indian States should be invited to form themselves into eight groups, each of which will rank as a unit. This would make a total of 20 units. *Each unit* should have *equal representation* in the central legislature. If each unit were to elect five representatives to the central legislature, the strength of that legislature would be 100 (If it was confined to British India alone its strength would be 60). These representatives must be elected, in the case of British Indian Provinces, by the provincial legislature (in the case of Baluchistan, by the Shahi Jirga or other body corresponding to a provincial legislature). *This system of election would give the Muslims 25 representatives out of 60,* without recourse being had to any artificial system of weighting. The Indian States groups would have to devise some system for electing their representatives to the central legislature, *which should also ensure the return of the same proportion of Muslims from the Indian States* as from British India.

The central legislature should have power to propose amendments of the constitution, but no such amendment should become effective *unless it has the support of a majority of the representatives of each unit* and until it is adopted and confirmed by the legislatures of the British Indian units. Any proposal to alter the boundaries of the British Indian units must be treated as a proposal for the amendment of the constitution.

In the central Executive the Muslim claim to participate on the basis of 50 per cent share must be conceded. That is to say, half the Ministers at the Centre must be Muslim, and the Head of the State should be alternately a Muslim and non-Muslim. As regards defence and other central services, the Muslim claim would again be half, more particularly as the north-west and north-east Muslim blocks would be first to bear the brunt of any attack upon India by land, or air, and any weakness in the defence arrangements would in the first instance put these areas in jeopardy. If, however, the Muslims are effectively safeguarded in other respects they might perhaps be persuaded to accept a 40 per cent. share in all sections of the defence services technical as well as non-technical, and a 33⅓ share in other central services.

As regards safeguards for the minorities, the scheme adopted in the 1935 Act has proved a complete failure. All safeguards, therefore, relating to religion (including the free profession, practice, preaching and change of religion), culture, education, language, etc., must be so framed as to be capable of judicial action. This would make the Supreme Court of India the ultimate guardian of the minorities and even of the majorities in respect of these matters.

That being so, the composition of the Court would become a matter of vital interest to the Muslims. *Here, too, the number of Muslim Judges should not be less than half, and the Chief Justice should be alternately a Muslim and a non-Muslim. When the Chief Justice is a non-Muslim, Muslim judges should be appointed on the recommendation of the senior Muslim Judge.*

Comments are superfluous regarding the above views and plans of this legal luminary adorning the Federal Court. It is sufficient to say that it supports a recent statement by Mahatma Gandhi in which he calls above seat of justice "a packed court." It should be pointed out, however, that Sir Muhammad has altered percentages to suit him wherever necessary and has deliberately neglected to mention the percentages of Hindus in his Moslem provinces. The question of totals of population, which on a democratic principle would provide the basis for representation, he has deliberately omitted altogether. For example, the percentage of Muslims in India is nearer 23 per cent than 25 per cent and in Assam, the Muslims form only 33·7 and not "roughly 40 per cent" as he says. He does not mention the fact that in the Punjab and Bengal, the Muslims are in a bare majority, 57·1 per cent and 54·7 respectively and as such the very large non-Muslim populations of those two provinces, totalling about 36 millions, may justifiably demand the same safeguards within Pakistan. He wants 50 per cent control of India for the Pakistanites and at least 5 per cent for other minorities, so that, the 30 per cent, out of which British Imperialism drew all its supporters and reactionaries, might dominate over the 70 per cent that supplied all the fighters for freedom.

Soviet Comment on Pakistan

Our friends of the Communist Party of India, have backed the Pakistan project of the Muslim League all through on various pretexts, such as self-determination, communal amity and so forth. The real motive is plain to all who have watched their activities against the Congress, open and veiled. We should like to know what is the reaction of their leaders to the following *A. P. A.* report of a Moscow broadcast commentary on Monday the 23rd December :

> Moscow Radio in an English commentary by A. Dyakov on Monday declared division of India into Hindu and Muslim states would increase community antagonism in India and blames British policy for the present pitch of Hindu-Muslim hostility.
>
> "The purpose of all the manoeuvring over the formation of the Government in India was to provoke Muslim League action against the Congress which under Indian conditions was bound to bring Hindu-Muslim clashes and bloodshed in its train," the commentator said.
>
> Opposing Pakistan, he said: "Far from eliminating the community antagonism in India, such a division would only make it worse— which is just what the authors of the division project want so that India may be a scene of seething passions and massacres *and so that the British would have an excuse for perpetual interference in India's internal affairs and would thus be able to retain their hold on the country.*"

M. Dyakov has not minced matters in his commentary. We would like to point out to the younger group of enthusiasts of the C. P. I., that it is time that they used their own judgment to find out who they are serving in reality, at the behest of their leaders. It is worthy of note that the Calcutta Communist daily has not printed—far less commented upon—the above Moscow broadcast. We do not know if the Bombay Communist dailies have done so.

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Mr. Jinnah's Reception in Egypt

Mr. Jinnah went to Egypt with high hopes. In England his mentors and patrons of the Conservative party had backed him openly and at great length. What Mr. Jinnah failed to grasp was that the British vested interests were backing him in order that their ill-gotten gains and their unsocial channels of loot be kept open. That is to say they are so certain of his party's dependence on their mercy that they had no doubts whatsoever that they would be able to impose their will on Pakistan when and if that ever materialized, and through that medium they would also be able to keep the rest of India partially within their sphere of action. But in Egypt and the Middle East, the converse is true, as the peoples of those areas want to break Britain's stranglehold on their land and life, and as such they have no incentive or disposition to view Mr. Jinnah and his schemes in any but the true light. It is no wonder, therefore, that Mr. Jinnah's ebullitions and fulminations failed to raise the faintest interest in just those quarters where he had hoped for strong and enthusiastic support. He tried to scare the people of the Middle East with the bogey of "Hindu Imperialism," with what results the following press reports of his press conference in Cairo, and his departure would show :

> At a press conference in Cairo's famous Shepherds Hotel, on Thursday morning, Mr. M. A. Jinnah announced that the main purpose of his stay in Egypt's capital is to acquaint the people with the complexities of the Indian problem.
>
> The meeting had been in progress only a few minutes, when the League leader was asked if he had truly said on reaching Cairo three nights previously that the entire Middle East would be imperilled by "Hindu imperialism" from India if that country's Muslims were not granted Pakistan.
>
> Astonishment was writ large on the faces of the assembled company, when Mr. M. A. Jinnah admitted the statement—and it would be true to say that he was not taken very seriously after that.
>
> At least two senior members of the fraternity left the room at this early stage of the proceedings. Mr. M. A. Jinnah's case must surely be very weak, it was felt, if it was his intention to scare Egypt and the Arab world into supporting it by arguments so utterly ridiculous ! Nor did Mr. Jinnah improve matters when every time he felt himself cornered, he would say, "I am not here to argue."
>
> He trotted out the old shibboleths about Muslim nationhood—cunningly associating it with what he thought should be the Islamic indivisibility—and conjured up visions of Islamic 'slavery' under the "Hindu Raj" but he failed, tragically, to grasp the essential facts that Egypt is Arab more than Muslim, and that Egypt is thinking of the Egyptian territory, otherwise of the Nile Valley—and is in no mood to hearken to men who preach or press for disunity and division.
>
> Mr. Jinnah said, "I depend upon nobody to achieve the Muslim aim—Pakistan—neither Britain nor agreement with the Congress party."
>
> Answering the question concerning his feelings about Egypt's demand for unity with the Sudan as compared with the Hindu-Muslim problem, Mr. Jinnah said that the two cases had no resemblance.
>
> Concluding Mr. M. A. Jinnah said, "Therefore, I think the whole of the Middle East will fall from the frying pan into the fire. The Middle East countries want to be free and self-governing and not subject to spheres of influence."

Regarding the information he left, the following report is interesting :

> Mr. M. A. Jinnah left Cairo for India on December 19, a disappointed man. Besides the bare mention of his departure there has been nothing in the morning's papers to show that he was a high personage who had come to Egypt with a specially important message.
>
> How Mr. Jinnah felt during his stay here about the complete absence of editorial comment on his words and movements cannot be gauged, but I had it from a well-informed source that he was known to have remarked on one occasion that he was greatly disappointed in the interest shown by Egyptian leaders in his Pakistan scheme.
>
> One of these latter, it was added, had summed up Mr. Jinnah as "a clever lawyer, but hardly a balanced politician or a convincing statesman."

Mr. Jinnah's failure lies in his inability to realize that he is regarded as acting in the interests of British Imperialism despite all his protests to the contrary. Nationals of all countries that have suffered and are suffering from the effects of British Imperialism would judge his actions, therefore, from the results that have come and may accrue later. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit's opinion, drawn from her experience at U.N.O., are likely to be correct. She said at New Delhi :

> I found without exception that not one of the Eastern nations supported Mr. Jinnah. Not only that but in many of the meetings which I addressed the Eastern delegations asked to be allowed to speak. On one occasion when Pandit Nehru's birthday was being celebrated by the National Committee for India's freedom a number of Eastern delegates asked to be allowed to take part in the proceedings and speak.
>
> They, I think, will be our best ambassadors when they go back to their countries in counteracting the insidious propaganda which is being carried on in most of the Eastern World today.

Elections in Sind

Elections to the Sind Legislative Assembly outwardly records a victory for the Muslim League. The final party position in the new Assembly is : Muslim League 35, Congress 20, Europeans 3, and Nationalist Muslims 2. Obviously with this position in the Legislative Assembly, the Muslim League can now have a Ministry of its own on a stable basis.

It is important to note, however, that the League, as according to its traditions, has not fought the elections with a clean hand. There are interesting revelations in this connexion in a statement issued on December 12 by Sheik Abdul Majid, the leader of the Sind Muslim Jamiat in which he said :

> "The Assembly elections, recently held in Sind, have been just a huge farce. All imaginable corrupt practices were resorted to—coercion, undue influence and official terrorism were common means adopted by the League to beat its opponents. False impersonations directly under the patronage of the polling and the presiding officers have taken place on a scale incomprehensible.
>
> "In the elections for the Land-holders constituency, which came first, the Premier himself, a League candidate, called voters through the collectors and other officials and almost got them directed to vote for him. Several influential voters were promised office and

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those promises were duly redeemed after the elections were over.

"In a certain polling station, the clock was deliberately advanced and the votes of 'dead' persons were recorded before the appointed time. One of those 'dead' whose vote was thus recorded was a retired tehsildar, by no means a person unknown to the presiding authority.

"In a Labour constituency the polling stations of the previous year were changed in spite of protest of Mr. Bechar in a manner as would suit the convenience of the candidate favoured by the League. Trucks full of Mr. Bechar's voters were sent back as their votes had already been recorded by unknown persons, nor were some tendered votes accepted. In these cases, voters carrying Mr. Bechar's slip were surrounded by hooligans inside the compound. Their slips were snatched away and they were prevented from voting.

"Lady voters were insulted and out of sheer fear very few had the courage to enter the polling stations.

"Mr. Bechar himself along with some of his workers and an independent journalist were assaulted. All this took place in the presence of the police and other officials who declined to interfere. In fact, the polling and the presiding officers and even the police officers and the constables posted were chosen from men who would be helpful in the scheme of this farce.

"What happened in a large majority of general Muslim constituencies a fortnight later was but a reflection of the above, only practised on a much wider scale. In one of the constituencies where the Premier's son was a candidate such things were done as were unheard of in the annals of democratic elections.

"On the night previous to the polling-day, a brother of a Jamiat candidate who was his chief organiser and a polling agent was served with a notice demanding under Section 108 (Cr. P. C.) a large security and within a few hours he was placed under arrest. The Subdivisional Magistrate issuing the notice almost immediately thereafter drove away in the Premier's own car and did not return to his headquarters until the next midday.

"Every care was taken to spread the news of this arrest among the supporters of the Jamiat candidate with a threat that similar fate awaited them unless they forthwith withdrew their support. Numerous 'dead' people were as though brought to life to vote. Hundreds of literate supporters of a Jamiat candidate discovered that their voting slips had already been issued against mere thumb impressions of impersonators.

"Books of two of the polling agents of the Jamiat candidate were seized by the *mukhtayarkars* and they were threatened with prosecutions unless they returned their polling agent's authority and agreed to support the League.

"The League candidates put up in districts other than their own generally brought a large contingent of men from their home districts to support them in their scheme of impersonations. What has been said of the constituency of the Premier's son is symbolic of what happened in most of the other Muslim constituencies.

"Mr. G. M. Syed was the special object of attention of that section of the League organisation which was set up and trained to fight the elections in this unholy manner as of officials who deemed it a part of their duty to see that the League wins the seats, by any means, fair or foul.

Last week Haji Moula Bux, one of the successful candidates in the Landholders constituency was besieged by a crowd of Muslim Leaguers, who abused, assaulted and prevented him from moving out for nearly two hours under the very nose of the Returning Officer and some police officers.

"I have mentioned but a few instances of the acts of *goondaism* and corrupt practices indulged in which have reduced elections to a mockery.

"I challenge the Government to hold an independent and impartial inquiry into all allegations relating to their own and their officers' misconduct. It is now for the province and the country to decide how far they would tolerate this rebirth of fascism in this land."

This is the manner in which the Muslim League has "won" the elections. From the very start they have been in a position of advantage with Sir Francis Mudie as Governor. His partisan tactics which prevented the formation of a Progressive Coalition Ministry in Sind is now matter of recorded history. During the elections, he maintained the Hidayetullah Ministry in power and thus handed over the entire administrative machinery to the League for use in their favour during the elections. The process and the course of the elections have been correctly described by Mr. Majid, the result was a foregone conclusion.

Datia Unrest

After a protracted unrest for about a month a settlement was reached in Datia in the first week of December when the Political Department yielded to the popular demand for the dismissal of Dewan Ainuddin. The cause of the trouble was the bad administration of the Dewan who for the last three years has been in the service of the State. There were serious allegations against him. The unrest arose primarily because with a view to counteract the agitation for responsible government. Dewan Ainuddin instigated communalism. He was also accused of importing Muslim Leaguers and Ambedkarites who in public meetings made abusive statements generally against Hindus, and against Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru and other Congress leaders in particular. Hindus were invited to embrace Islam.

As a result of this open instigation, some miscreants defiled Hindu idols and when people including State employees and Muslims demanded an enquiry, they were discourteously treated by the Dewan. Thereupon, the State people resorted to *hartal* and nearly 400 State employees resigned. The Ruler of Datia intervened at this stage and dismissed Dewan Ainuddin. But immediately afterwards the Resident of the Central Indian States Sir Robert Campbell, cancelled the orders of the Ruler, deprived him of all his powers, entrusted the administration to the Political Agent and launced a repressive policy.

This led to serious repercussions in Datia. All markets throughout the State suspended business, and nearly 1,300 State employees resigned paralysing the administration. The non-co-operation with the administration was so complete that the Crown police and military which had been rushed to quell the movement had to procure all requirements including foodstuffs from neighbouring British Indian territories.

Within a few days the situation became extremely grave. The attention of the whole country was drawn [illegible] Mr. Caroe, the Political Adviser, went there

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and held discussions with the Ruler, the new Resident Mr. Bradshaw, and the new Political Agent Mr. Wood Ballard. The old incumbents of these offices were transferred to other places, presumably with a view to facilitate a settlement.

After a few days of negotiations, a settlement was reached and the Ruler of the State, Maharaj Gobinda Singh, made an announcement giving out the decision of the Political Department. The terms of settlement were that Dewan Ainuddin would be dismissed from service and would leave Datia on December 6, political prisoners would be released, the State employees, who had resigned would be reinstated, and there would be no victimisation either of the State subjects who participated in anti-Dewan agitation or of the State-employees who resigned. The announcement further stated that the Ruler would have the ultimate voice in selecting a new Dewan.

When the news of this settlement was received, Dr. Pattavi Sitaramayya, Acting President of the States People's Conference, remarked, "The issue now reported settled, happens to have been circumscribed though it involved the mighty potentate of the Political Department. Wider issues await solution which will be the real test of the Maharaja's progressiveness and the Political Department's sincerity. Datia, like other States, demands responsible government and if the Maharaja is not responsive, the triangular fight just now concluded between the Political Department on the one side and the Maharaja and his people on the other, may present a reorientation with the Maharaja and the Political Department on the one side and the people on the other." The victory of the people of Datia marks yet another step forward in the State people's march towards freedom.

Gandhiji and Nehru on Hyderabad Reforms

The Hyderabad Reforms, under which the general elections are now being held, were condemned as no reforms at all and a warning that Satyagraha would be resorted to was given by Mahatma Gandhi in a letter to Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister of Hyderabad. While admitting that the reforms were 'unsatisfactory in several respects,' Sir Mirza stated that it was 'possible to remove these defects.' We have published the main provisions of the Hyderabad Reforms Scheme in which it was seen that they were not merely defective but ran counter to the very idea of democracy. This constitution was drawn up by rank reactionaries on a basis of parity of representation where 85 per cent of the people were Hindus.

The Muslim League organs have, of late, published some letters that passed between Gandhiji and Sir Mirza Ismail and Pandit Nehru and the president of the State Congress. They are given below :

GANDHIJI'S LETTER

Sevagram,
Wardha, C. P.
11-8-1946

Dear Sir M. Ismail,

Representatives from Hyderabad have seen me. They are Shri Kashinath Vaidya and Swami Ramanand Tirath. They have discussed with me the so-called reforms contemplated in the state. I have studied them somewhat as they appeared in the press. The reforms seem to be only so-called. To me they appear to be a step backward rather than forward. I do not know that you can do much to alter them but I wonder why you cannot scrap them altogether. The least that any state can do at this time is to recognise the status and influence of the States Peoples' Conference, of which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is the president and secure its endorsement before proceeding with any popular measure. This ensures smooth passage for any such thing.

Rajkumari has already drawn your attention to Shrimati Padmaja Naidu's pamphlet on police atrocities in some of the Hyderabad villages. I would like you to enlighten me on these two points. I am sorry to have to worry you when you have just begun your new career.

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL'S REPLY

Hyderabad-Deccan,
21st August, 1946.

My dear Mahatmaji,

I write to thank you very much for your letter. As you know ,I have just taken charge, and am busy studying the many problems with which the state is confronted, one of which being the reforms. These, I realise, are unsatisfactory in several respects, but I feel that it is quite possible to remove these defects and bring the reforms into line in all essential respects with those in Mysore, Baroda, Jaipur or elsewhere. Hyderabad has got its peculiar problems, and these have to be solved in its own way. If there is one thing more than another which has pleased me it is the liberal attitude of his Exalted Highness towards constitutional changes. I was particularly pleased to notice how fair he wants to be in dealing with the communal question. Such being his attitude. I have every reason to hope that the progress of Hyderabad in the constitutional as in other fields—education, industries, public health, etc.—will be as gratifying as it will be rapid in the near future. I hope, therefore, the world will give us a little time to make a start and then see how far we have been successful.

My intention is to send for various groups and discuss the reforms with them. Then, if they agree, summon a joint meeting and decide on the changes to be made. I personally cannot scrap the reforms and start afresh. The latter course would involve considerable delay. It would take a committee at least two years, if not more to collect evidence and submit its report, as I know from my experience both in Mysore and Jaipur. I cannot afford to wait so long, nor is it desirable from the public point of view, and so I am anxious to get a move on with as little delay as possible. No constitution and no arrangement is either perfect or permanent. Changes can always be made as we go along. To make a beginning is really the important thing.

You may be sure that I shall try always to practise democracy in this singularly undemocratic age, and will do all I can to further the interests of the people and establish constitutional government in the state. I can only hope that you will be satisfied with this assurance from me and rely upon me to do all that is possible or advisable in the present circumstances to achieve our common aim.

With warmest regards,

GANDHIJI'S SECOND LETTER

Bhangi Colony,
New Delhi,
20-9-1946

Much as I should like to, I may not write to you in Urdu.

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I have now talked to Swami Ramanand Tirath and Shri Kashinath Vaidya. As I have already told you the contemplated reforms are no reforms. The more I think of them the more I feel that they are not worthy of you. You may not seek to impose them on the inhabitants of Hyderabad. If you are sure that the States Peoples Conference does not represent them, then of course I om out of court.

Maulana Sahib wants to help you. Sarojini Devi likewise. I count myself among them. But you know my limitations. I am a born satyagrahi and hope to die as such, and that is my limitation as it is my strength. Strength has got to be proved. The limitation stares all my friends in the face.

If you cannot scrap the reforms and if you will not impose them, you should postpone them and see whether they admit of amendments. Of course, their real guide is the States Peoples' Conference. But they have not yet learnt to forget me as I would like them to do. And since you and I know and like each other I must write this for what it is worth.

PT. NEHRU'S LETTER

Government Road,
New Delhi,
24th September,

My dear Swamyji,

I received your letter and also met all those who came here on behalf of the State Congress. I discussed with them the situation as it obtains at present in Hyderabad. I perfectly agree with your view in regard to the reforms scheme and am of the opinion that it is throughly unworkable and basically wrong but the exigencies of the situation prevailing in the country require that you must judge and weigh the issues involved in the question from the All-India point of view because its repercussions will not remain isolated and confined but will have a wider range. My advice to you is therefore as follows:

1. You are quite justified in rejecting the reforms scheme and you should strive that it is fully scrapped by the Government.

2. If Government do not change their attitude and the scheme is put into operation you should do everything to demonstrate your opposition to it barring resort to Satyagraha and picketing.

3. You must not refuse opportunities to discuss matters with the Government if and when other responsible office-bearers are invited and in such discussion your effort should be directed to the utter scrapping of the present reforms scheme because radical changes in it will not be pissible speedily as it will involve delay.

4. In any discussion that takes place with the Government you must, however, emphasise that an interim arrangement should be made by reconstituting the present Executive Council and you should be willing to share responsibility on parity basis. In the meantime new reforms can be drafted without any hurry.

You should also bear in mind that, though much cannot be expected from Sir Mirza, you should give him a chance and not cause unnecessary embarrassment.

It has been brought to my koowledge that the Nizam is in a favourable mood at present. You should therefore not do for the present anything to alienate his sympathies.

You must continue your utmost effort to strengthen the State Congress and perfect its organisation.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that the above advice has been offered with a view to give the State Congress a sort of general guidance, but you are best judge of the local situation and can adjust things.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal.

Background to London Talks

Mr. P. D. Sharma, the scoop-king of Delhi, flew to London by a special plane to cover the London talks and came back with Pandit Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh. Here is what he saw at first hand, reproduced from the *Forum* :

Without any fear of contradiction, I maintain that from Tuesday to Thursday, the current was against the President of the Muslim League. The London *Times*, whose editorials did reflect what was happening behind the scenes gave true indications of what was coming. On the misty morning that we landed at London Airport, on Tuesday, this oracle from Ludgate Circus told us that Jinnah would get the clarification that he sought. It, however, told him in plain language that his non-co-operation would not do his cause any good. On Thursday morning, the *Times* argued in favour of his claims and contentions but sounded a serious note of warning that if Jinnah persisted in his unaccommodating and unbending attitude, he alone would be blamed for putting spokes in the wheels of India's march to progress and independence. Till then Jinnah was not amenable to reason. In private and informal talks he was talking of the British betrayal of the Muslim League and manoeuvres to placate the Congress. On Friday, after his meeting with Prime Minister Attlee and the members of the Cabinet Delegation including Lord Wavell, the tide had completely turned in his favour. A. V. Alexander, Defence Minister, who had been put in charge of the League leader had succeeded in softening him. The Earl of Munster and other Conservative high-ups had paid repeated calls at the Claridges. Jinnah had given the assurance that he would wish the British well and want them to stay on in India, at least in his Pakistan, and would be their friend if they lent support to his interpretation of the grouping clauses in the British plan. He demanded that not only should H. M. G. endorse the Cabinet Mission's interpretation of May 25th, but also make the Congress accept it. He indicated that without the Congress acceptance of the meaning of the grouping clauses, his League would not come into the Constituent Assembly.

A lot of rush activity followed in the leading hotels of London. Sir Stafford Cripps called on Nehru, R. A. Butler rushed to Baldev Singh. They made it clear that the interpretation put by the three members of the Cabinet Mission to India in the Statement, dated 25th May, held the field and that the highest legal opinion available to H. M. G. supported that meaning. Nehru was not deterred, nor did Baldev Singh budge. They stuck to the Congress definition. Jinnah having agreed, the individual interviews with Nehru and Baldev Singh were cancelled on Friday afternoon to make time for the Joint Conference at 10, Downing Street. The Conference met at 6 p.m., dispersed within seventy minutes and the Indian leaders came back to their Hotels realising that the British Government was dead-set against the Congress and determined to back Jinnah. Still a shock awaited them. The draft of the statement shown to them at 10, Downing Street, did not embody the provocative paragraph reverting the veto on progress and constitution-making to Jinnah. Attlee had cleverly undone his statement of March 15th—minority

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could not be allowed to check the march of the Greater Indian majority.

How this happened I cannot tell. Why this happened I can guess, on the basis of what I saw and heard in London. Here are the causes of the Labour Government's somersault.

Number one : Attlee's keenness to maintain an All-Party United Front on the India policy as consideration for all-party agreement on foreign policy.

Number two : Conviction in the minds of the British high-ups in all parties that the Congress would never be friendly to the British Government.

Number three : The realisation that the Muslim League could and would keep the vast numbers of Indian Muslims pro-British.

Number four : Whitehall and Westminster do not like the way India was hobnobbing with Russia. Nehru's personal representative, V. K. Krishna Menon is *persona nongrata* there.

Number five : Lord Wavell sent from India a weighty portfolio carrying secret documents—speeches and utterances of the Congress leaders, particularly at the Meerut Session, the talk of struggle ahead and the defaming of the Viceroy in public by his Congress colleagues. Lord Wavell lamented that he was reduced to the position of a non-entity.

Number six : The fact that the Congress members of the Interim Government supported the first International Aviation Agreement between two countries—America and India while the Muslim League opposed it on the inspiration of British vested interests.

Number seven : The fact that Nehru did not raise the only crucial issue which would have been raised—the entry of the League into the Interim Government without accepting to come into the Constituent Assembly and Lord Wavell's part therein of giving assurances on behalf of the League which he had not got from Jinnah.

I have mentioned the last at the end because it requires further comment. Nehru raised the issue in private talks but presumably was persuaded not to mention it at the joint conference to rescue Wavell from the difficult and untenable position and thus came the interpretation making it possible for the League to argue that its stand had been endorsed by the British Government so that its nominees may remain inside the Interim Indian Cabinet without coming into the Constituent Assembly. But perhaps Attlee overshot the mark. Time alone will tell!

Mr. Sharma has no doubt thrown some new and not unexpected light on the London talks. He might well have included a *number eight, i.e.*, maintainance of the trade routes from treaty or 'ceded' ports. The big business of a battered Britain may now agree to quit because they know that they must, but at the same time it is quite natural that while quitting they will want at least two ports, at least Karachi and Chittagong, if not Calcutta, under the plea of granting Pakistan. With Karachi, Colombo and Chittagong in British hands and with Persian Gulf and Singapore on the two sides, attempts may be made to keep India encircled till Britain gains time to reconquer.

Smuts on His Defeat at U. N. O.

Returning home after his defeat at the U. N. O. on the Indian question, General Smuts said at Pretoria that the United Nations was a sort of a Parliament of mankind in which coloured races were represented in a majority. He pointed out that two-thirds of that body were coloured. The white third "will have to sit up." "They have always been a ruling power and they still are," declared General Smuts and asked in despair, "For how long who knows?" The answer is on the wall. He had to admit that in the United Nations "you decide by votes and votes go by majorities and the majority is not white."

As Imperialism dies hard therefore this South African General does not like to shed his racial arrogance and declare himself a citizen of the world. Instead, he still clings to his old pet idea of racial seclusion battening upon the exploitation of the coloured people. Still he seeks to justify his eighteenth century mind. He said :

> "The idea of human equality was dominant at the United Nations. We have been brought up differently—not only we in South Africa, but the whole world. If this idea were applied to South Africa, we see at once the difficulties in which we would be placed—2,000,000 whites surrounded by 150,000,000 coloured people. If there is to be equality in all respects, where do we come in? Had we not better pack up and go? It is a concept which does not fit the facts in South Africa.
>
> "The fact is that equality does not prevail anywhere in the world. In South Africa, an Indian considers himself superior to the native, the coloured man looks on himself superior to the natives, and the European looks on himself as superior to the coloured man."

A coloured man for him is a bad neighbour but a good henchman if it suits him. He quotes Jinnah, the arch reactionary of the modern world, whom certainly he is not going to let a house by his side. And his thesis is as strange, false and irrelevant as it can be. He said :

> "The idea of equality simply does not work here in South Africa or anywhere in the world. India, who attacked us is a country of the greatest discrimination in the world. They talk of ghettos. I was amused to read of Mr. Jinnah's proposal to-day. His proposal for India is not equality, but separation. He says that the only solution of India's problem is to move all Hindus into one part of the country and Mohammedans into another but they do not call that ghetto. If there is separation in South Africa it is ghetto but if hundreds of thousands of human beings in India are moved, it is only a solution of the Indian problem."

General Smuts added: "In Jerusalem, Jews and Arabs cannot live together. They say, 'We will not have equality.' They say 'I am an Arab' or 'I am a Jew' and 'to blaze with you'."

General Smuts, referring to the situation in Natal, added: "I will stand by Natal as long as Natal stands by us. Europeans in Natal said that they could not tolerate penetration of Indians into European areas. They are prepared to live in peace with Indians and submit to the idea of equality, but they say, 'Please do not mix us all up.'"

General Smuts said: "That was the spirit of the law (the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act) passed through Parliament last session. It submitted both the Indian and European to the same process. Statements made by Indians about the Act were so absurd as to be incredible. To-day, it is we that are under the harrow. Decisions are being taken to-day which may be reversed or become obsolete in future. Let us not be stampeded by setbacks, blows,

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As regards his references to internal differences in India, Smuts got his replies from Sir Maharaj Singh and Mr. Justice Chagla at the U. N. O. Probably smarting under the lashes, he has advised his audience at Pretoria not to regard what had happened at the United Nations as more than a set-back. He declared "If that word (equality) is to stand, the United Nations will go. The Great Powers have a veto to insure themselves. The International Court is our veto."

Acharya Kripalani's Reply to F.-M. Smuts

It is an irony of fate that within an year of the miserable end of the world-conquest schemes of the mighty champions of the *Herrenvolk* of the West and the East, lesser champions would rise amongst their antagonists, advocating the same age-old Law of the Jungle, that has been the root-cause of most of the suffering and agony of the human race. Outwardly Man —especially Man in the Western World—has marched far on the path of progress from the days of the Cave-Man, the Cave-Bear and the Sabre-toothed Tiger. But the inward hollowness of civilization is easily seen when the thin veneer of Western culture is cracked open by rude contact with the hard realities of Human Rights. Acharya Kripalani's reply to F.-M. Smuts makes it quite clear, that at least that is the case with that doughty champion of Western Democracy, who is now behaving like the Devil in the proverb.

Acharya Kripalani says :

> It is the statement of a man who, smarting under defeat, has thrown off the mask and blurted out the truth.
>
> All these years, the aged Marshal has posed as the champion of democracy and the rights of man. When the British Empire was under the shadow of Hitler's threat, he became an eloquent advocate of the four freedoms and thundered against the Nazi theory of racial superiority.
>
> In fact, Hitler's claim to rule over a portion of Europe was a modest one compared with the claim of a handful of white intruders perpetually to exploit the coloured millions of Africa. The whole stress of the Marshal's grouse against the idea of human equality which, according to him, was unfortunately dominant at the U. N. O.
>
> It is indeed true that equality does not prevail anywhere in the world, and every reformer has to advocate it and work for it. However, instead of deploring the fact of inequality, this champion of the Atlantic Charter quotes it as an argument against the ideal itself. His statement is a pathetic confession of his dread of equality. It is not the fate of the 150,000,000 coloured people that concerns him but of the small and privileged white minority.
>
> If the whites cannot reconcile themselves to the idea of equality with the coloured races of the world, they have no place in Asia and Africa. Racial imperialism is even more odious than economic imperialism. So long as either of them prevails, and so long as there are Smuts and Churchills to turn the four freedoms into a mockery, there can be no peace in this world.

India's Defeat in Security Council Election

The real cause for India's failure to secure a seat on the United Nations' Security Council has now been revealed by Dr. Lanka Sundaram, a member of the Indian delegation to the U.N.O. In a press interview at the Flushing Meadows, New York, he said :

> One point must be stated without fear of contradiction, Britain attempted to thwart us in our work from the beginning, several times coming into the open, but we did not flinch for we knew the high moral ground for our action in the United Nations' Organization and were ultimately sustained by a majority of votes of the assembled delegations. It was Britain's open hostility that led to losing our claim to a seat on the Security Council but this loss was more than offset by our victories on the issues dealing with trusteeship, food, troops abroad and treatment of Indians in South Africa.

Immigration Bill in East Africa

"Indian opinion in all the four territories of East Africa is unanimously opposed to the present immigration Bills," says the Report submitted by the Government of India Delegation to East Africa on the proposed immigration restrictions in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganayika and Zanzibar. The delegation consisted of Sir Maharaj Singh, Mr. K. Sarwar Hasan and Mr. C. S. Jha. Its main purpose was to examine, in consultation with public opinion in East Africa, particularly Indian opinion, whether there was any necessity for legislation on the proposed lines and the extent to which such legislation would affect Indian interests. It was asked to collect accurate information on the following matters that have a bearing on the proposed legislation :

> (a) the rate of growth and present extent of the Indian population in the territories;
>
> (b) the present position regarding unemployment in the territories and the extent to which immigration, particularly that of Indians, may be said to have contributed towards such unemployment;
>
> (c) the existing scope and facilities for the settlement of new Indian immigrants in these territories;
>
> (d) the attitude of the African population towards this question; in particular, if there is any justification for the view taken that the African population is opposed to the immigration of Indians;
>
> (e) whether the provisions of the bills will in practice be discriminatory against Indians; and
>
> (f) the extent to which Indians must play a part in the post-war development of the territories. The delegation was asked to submit a comprehensive report to the Government of India on all aspects of the proposed legislation in the light of the results of its investigations.
>
> The delegation established close contacts with all sections of the Indian community and also met a number of Europeans, Africans and a few Arabs and Goans, besides a large number of officials.

The Delegation's recommendations, in substance, are as follows :

> The Delegation points out that the last official census in the East African territories was taken in 1931. The next census was due in 1941 but could not be held because of the war. The Delegation considers that before any measures are taken for tightening up the pre-war immigration restrictions, an official census is essential. Along with the census there should be an economic survey by a Commission together with a survey of employment and undertakings, all immigration races being adequately represented in the Commission. It would not otherwise appear possible for any basis on which any proposal for immigration restriction should be based.

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'Immigration is an essential counterpart of development and, if planning of immigration is to be done, it should be based on statistical data and should be co-related to the pace and extent of development at every stage. The present Bills, in our opinion, proceed on assumptions which are for the best part unverified.'

Summarising its views on the Immigration Bills, the Delegation says :

There is no evidence of excessive or unregulated immigration in the past and the assumption that in the absence of drastic immigration restrictions such as are proposed in the present Immigration Bills, there will be an influx of persons from Europe and Asia, is not warranted by past experience or present indications. Nor is there evidence that immigration has been responsible in the past for unemployment; on the contrary it has been generally admitted that much of the prosperity and development of the East African territories has been due to the energy and enterprise of the immigrant races.

There is no unemployment at present amongst any class of people in East Africa. Nor are there any accurate or well-ascertained figures on which unemployment on a large scale can be reasonably apprehended in the near future. The problem of the re-settlement of demobilised soldiers is not a continuing problem. One solution for it is the creation of more employment. The cessation of immigration may indeed have the opposite effect by retarding development.

The fear of excessive immigration beyond the absorbing capacity of East Africa is not borne out by past experience. In periods of depression it is expected that, as has happened before, there will be a temporary cessation of immigration and even emigration from the territories concerned.

In Kenya the throwing open of the Highlands to non-European races will give land and occupation, such as they are accustomed to and appreciate, to thousands of Africans. This, in turn, will provide employment to a large number of Indians. The total area of the Highlands is about 7 million acres of which only a relatively small portion is at present under cultivation. At present there are in Kenya about 2,000 Italian ex-prisoners of war. Their repatriation, which is contemplated, will *ipso facto* give employment both to Africans and persons of the immigrant races.

As regards racial discrimination, the Delegation says :

The present Immigration Bills, although non-discriminatory and non-racial in form, will in practice adversely affect Indian immigration much more than the immigration of Europeans. In fact they will have the effect of almost closing the door to the further entrance of Indians. We have been assured that the purpose of the Bills is not to discriminate against Indians. But having regard to the past history of immigration restrictions and to present utterances by persons in authority and by non-official Europeans, we think that the apprehensions entertained by Indians have sufficient foundation. Racial discrimination in practice is as objectionable as discrimination against law, and in some respects it is more dangerous as it is more insidious in its operation.

The provisions of the Bills are extremely stringent and will have the effect not only of restricting the coming of outsiders but will also be an encroachment on the liberty and security of individuals lawfully resident in the territories. The question of domicile should not be mixed up with that of immigration. Nor is there any justification for legislation directed against persons ordinarily residing in the East African territories.

Soviet Comment on Kenya Affairs

Discriminations against Africans in Kenya are worse than against Indians in South Africa, said the Soviet commentator, Mikhailov, in a broadcast describing conditions of peoples in Britain's colonies in Africa. He said, "The British press, which certainly is not likely to paint the picture blacker than it is, reports that the position of the African population in Kenya is deteriorating from year to year. Driven from their land, natives of Kenya have to sell their labour to European residents for next to nothing. Ninety-five per cent of the native population are illiterate. That is hardly surprising when you consider that the sum allowed last year for the education of four million Kenyans was just £500."

Declaring that Kenya was no exception, commentator Mikhailov continued :

'The native populations are browbeaten and repressed in all the British colonies in Africa. In Nigeria with her population of over 23,000,000 there is not a single African in an administrative post of any importance.

'Even the chosen few who managed to get a college education in England feel like 'Pariahs' when they return home, Mikhailov said.

To this day forms of race discrimination are still operating in all African colonies which now-a-days seem absolutely monstrous.

'On ships plying between England and West Africa African passengers, some of them with English university education, are debarred from cabins and saloons and quartered in holds running with water. In hotels and restaurants people of the coloured races are segregated from the whites as if they were lepers.

Declaring that in the West Indies colony of Trinidad corporal punishment has just been reintroduced for native inhabitants, Mikhailov added, "No wonder such civilising steps are not cheered by the peoples of Africa and that, as one British paper puts it, the enthusiasm with which the colonies greeted the Labour Government has now largely evaporated."

British Labour Government's handling of colonial policy has thus come in for sharp international criticism. The Secretary of States for Colonies in the British Government, Mr. Arthur Creach Jones had to take note of it. He told a mass meeting, organised by the Fabian Colonial Bureau in London on December 14, that he had fiercely criticised some of the abuses and injustices which existed in the British colonial arrangements. He said, "I am aware of the unfortunate effects in certain regions of land alienation and racial segregation and will do my best to correct the consequences of misguided policies in the past." Regarding Africa he said that they recognised the limits of direct rule in that country and control of local social services and finance was being evolved in the territories. It is regrettable that the British Labour Government have started thinking of solving the colonial problem by establishing some local social services or increasing the number of a few schools. It is shocking to find the Colonial Secretary of the Labour Government declare in a Churchillian fashion "Whatever unfortunate things may have come to the Africans by Western penetration *there is no going back*, and there are great blessings

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which can be registered in terms of ordinary life, freedom from tyranny, war and famine and much superstition."

Hindu Mahasava Session at Gorakhpur

The 27th annual session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha has concluded its session at Gorakhpur. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee delivering the inaugural address on December 27 referred to different aspects of political life in our country.

Referring to the Constituent Assembly he said that if all members of the Constituent Assembly remain united and proceed with their task without any anxiety to appease the Muslim League or to make any surrender on the fundamental issues of Indian unity and liberty, there is no power on earth that can ultimately stand in the way of our attaining the goal. In his opinion India and particularly the Hindus who constitute 75 per cent of her population will never attain freedom, if the Constitution of India has to be fashioned according to the whims or demands of the Muslim League. He upheld the view that the Constituent Assembly, though created by the British Government, must have its real sanction in the people of India and asked the Congress to "realise that the more it makes Indian freedom dependent on Hindu-Muslim agreement, the greater the mess it will make."

He was "almost certain that India must pass through another stage of bitter struggle before she attains her complete freedom." "Responsibility for such a terrible catastrophe," he said, "will rest entirely on the British Government," for it will arise, if it arises, due to a refusal on the part of the British Government to part with power in a peaceful manner and its persistence in setting up the Muslim League as a perpetual excuse or barrier.

After analysing the absurdities of the Pakistan demand among which he listed the claim to Assam, Dr. Mookerjee said, "If Hindus and Muslims are to live together in India, they have to devise some formula other than Pakistan or exchange of population. I can only contemplate the acceptance from both sides of an agreed scheme for protection of the religious and cultural rights of all communities and for creating conditions which will ultimately remove religion from the field of politics. There may be an agreed redistribution of provincial boundaries within one India, so that a major element living in a particular zone may develop itself according to its own light and judgment. Small minorities living in scattered areas within such zones may also be collected together and stronger units created with the help of the State, leading to greater confidence and security in the minds of the minority concerned. Communal settlement will become easily possible only when the third party withdraws from India."

In a reference to Bengal Dr. Mookerjee said that her problem was not a local or provincial one. He said, "If Mr. Jinnah knew that the tactics pursued by his followers in Bengal could not continue for ever as a one-sided game, he would immediately reconsider his present policy. His occasional threats of civil war need not frighten anybody. Hindus may suffer in some parts, but after all he should remember that he represents a community which is less than 25 per cent of India's population, and if he starts a civil war, it will eventually mean a war between 25 per cent and 75 per cent of India's population."

Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar in his presidential address chalked out a four-point programme to propagate the ideas and ideals for which the Hindu Mahasabha stands and to indicate to the Hindus the right lines of their defence against Muslim aggression. First, to agitate both the Hindu masses and classes in the ideology of the Mahasabha and to make them communally conscious ; secondly, to organise a Hindu front composed of the caste Hindus, the scheduled classes, the Sikhs and others with a view to meeting successfully all open or veiled aggression in any part of India ; thirdly, to remould the Hindu mind by making it more self-reliant and, if necessary, even militant ; and fourthly, to start under the auspices of the Hindu Mahasabha a fund called "The Hindu Reconstruction and Relief Fund," to be collected through its provincial branches, each provincial branch keeping for itself 75 per cent of the fund collected by it and giving the remaining 25 to the Working Committee for All-India purposes.

Regarding the League demand for Pakistan, Mr. Bhopatkar said that the present was an occasion in our national history when communalism had got to be met by communalism and nationalism was required to be purified by taking it through the fire of communalism. "Every Hindu," he said, "must be taught to feel that he is a Hindu and as such he is determined to protect his religion, culture and interests whatever bloodbaths he is required to pass through."

Mr. Bhopatkar urged the Constituent Assembly, "which seems to be determined to frame India's constitution," to abolish the distinction between martial and non-martial races and to see that the military strength of Hindustan was, as far as possible, equibalanced amongst its various provinces, consistently with its discipline and efficiency. He held that the autonomy of a province would be a meaningless term if it was not backed up by the valour and military prowess of the residents of that province. He added that what was true of the army was equally true of the police force in each province and that care must be taken so to form it as not to give any community an undue representation thereon.

In his opinion the Simla Conference in 1945 was a clever move on the part of the British Government to divide India on entirely novel lines. "Instead of dividing India territorially," he said, "it sought to divide her representatively at the Centre and aimed at so dividing her in the provinces, without even the redeeming feature of joint electorates. The Simla proposals were manifestly pro-Muslim and unfair and unjust to the Hindus and Sikhs and Scheduled Castes. They surreptitiously introduced the principle of parity between Caste Hindus and Muslims. They purported to give to the Muslims far more than what was legitimately due to them. They called upon the Indian National Congress to break loose from old moorings, to cease to be both Indian and national and to represent only the Caste Hindus in so far as the formation of the Executive Council is concerned."

Dealing with the Cabinet Mission's proposals, Mr. Bhopatkar recalled the Mahasabha's appeal to all the Hindus to realise the danger inherent in them and said that the danger still lay in the proposed three-tier constitution. "The Group system is sure to prove the rock on which the ship of India's constitution will break."

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The Burma Debate

After the India Debate, there was another debate in the House of Commons on affairs in Burma. Prime Minister Attlee made the following statement on Burma :

> Questions have arisen as to the manner in which the pledges given by successive Governments in this country to the Burmese people should be implemented, and in order to assist elucidation of these matters, the British Government propose to invite a representative group of Burmans from the Governor's Executive Council to visit this country in the near future for discussions.
>
> In a statement made to this House on January 20, 1931, at the time of the decision to separate Burma from India, it was stated that the British Government wished it to be understood that the prospects of constitutional advance held out to Burma, as part of British India, would not be prejudiced by the decision to proceed with the separation of Burma from India.
>
> Since that time great steps forward towards self-Government have been made in India, and developments in the same direction have taken place in Burma. In the latter case, however, the matter has been greatly complicated by the Japanese invasion and occupation, from which Burma emerged, after the surrender of the Japanese, in a condition of great chaos and without any settled Burmese Government.
>
> In the White Paper, which was subsequently issued by the Government and agreed to by this House a plan was set out, whereby it was hoped that Burmese self-government would be rapidly achieved.
>
> Recent developments in India have led the Burmese people to desire to expedite their own advance to self-government, and their leaders have expressed some impatience with the apparently slow development of the White Paper plan.
>
> In these circumstances, the British Government think that that plan merits reconsideration, and that Burmese leaders should be given the fullest opportunity of putting forward all suggestions, which they may wish to make with a view to their discussion.
>
> The British Government do not regard the White Paper plan as unchangeable in the light of the developing circumstances. Their desire is that the Burmese people should attain their self-government by the quickest and most convenient path possible. The British Government further take the view that the pledge of 1931 must be fully carried out.
>
> In particular, I would repeat, so far as Burma is concerned, what I have already said with regard to India. We do not desire to retain within the Commonwealth and the empire any unwilling peoples.
>
> We consider that the new constitution for Burma should be settled by the nations of Burma, and we believe that arrangements to this end can be made as a result of the forthcoming elections without the necessity for holding fresh elections for a Constituent Assembly on the analogy of what has already been done in India, where the Constituent Assembly is based upon ordinary provincial elections.
>
> It is not possible, of course, as was pointed out in the case of India to enact a new Interim constitution, and the old constitution must, therefore, be carried on in full; but the British Government have no desire to interfere with the day-to-day administration, which is now in the hands of Burmese members of the Governor's executive, and we shall endeavour in the forthcoming discussions to remove any difficulties that the delegation may feel still to exist in this regard.

Mr. Churchill then rose and began his usual lamentations. In the India debate he had some supporters, but here he found himself practically left alone. He lamented that "the British Empire seems to be running off almost as fast as the American loan." Premier Attlee interrupted him when he threw the challenge that "the words which came from the Prime Minister's lips today, supported as they are by an overwhelming majority of this house quite unrepresentative of the balance of forces in this country, these words are in fact irrevocable and he has in fact sworn Burma away from the British Crown by what is being done." Interrupting Attlee said, "I have always thought of Mr. Churchill as a great historian, but he seems to have forgotten some recent history. When he talks of India, he seems to have forgotten the Cripps Mission, the declaration made in his own interim Government by Mr. Amery—and our declaration have gone no further than that. He has also forgotten that when I made my statement on India in this House, there was no opposition in this House. There was no opposition in the country. I think he was the only objector. He has often found himself alone in these matters."

Attlee continued, "He had very few supporters right through the long period in which we were dealing with just what he said was the right process—slow constitutional advance which he suggested but which he opposed at every step. Did he accept Dominion Status in those days? No, he opposed it. He has opposed every step towards advance. I am well aware that Mr. Churchill has been in these things long before. But you cannot put the clock back in these things. There is a necessary advance and there is an advance in public opinion and it is much more dangerous to lag behind than to keep up with the movement of public opinion in those countries. In these matters this country in the past had not been too fast, but too slow."

The Premier concluded with the following words :

> If Mr. Churchill is going back to history, one of the unfortunate things was failure to deal with the Irish question for years and years until Mr. Churchill and his Government had to act in what I think he would call a policy of scuttle at the end of the first world war. At the time that Burma was separated, the Burmese were assured that their constitutional advance would go *pari passu* with that of India. In fact the problems are not so difficult in Burma. You have not the terrible communal trouble you have in India. The declaration we have made is not one in which we say to Burma, 'Go out of the British Commonwealth'.

Indo-China's Struggle Against French Imperialism

Since the middle of December 1946 we have been receiving very disturbing news from Indo-China. The fourth Republic of France is, as soon as it is reborn, bent upon securing its lost imperialist control over the Viet Nam Democratic Republic. It was only on March 6, 1946, that the Viet-Namese Democratic Republic was recognised as a Free State by the French Government. A preliminary agreement that was then signed recognised the right of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic to have its own Parliament, Army and Finances and reserved the question of the union of the

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three Viet-Namese provinces, Cochin China to be decided by a popular referendum.

But French reactionaries in Indo-China soon began to play their game and by June 1, 1946, were able to set up a puppet government in Cochin China with the manifest intention of preventing the unity of the Viet-Namese people. This puppet government at Cochin China received nothing but hatred from the people and by November 9, 1946, the Ministers had to resign. Dr. Nguyen Van Thinh, the head of the puppet government, exposed the French game and committed suicide.

Soon after, the French authorities in Hanoi claimed the right to control all exports and imports through the Viet-Namese port of Haiphong and thus violated the sovereignty of the Viet-Namese Republic which was recognised by the French Home Government. Fighting began when on November 20, the French troops attacked a Viet-Namese boat in Haiphong. Since then sporadic fighting in different parts of Indo-China has been reported. By the middle of December it was reported that the situation in Indo-China was serious and Hanoi was virtually in a state of siege. On December 20, Admiral Thiery d'Argenlien, the French High Commissioner of Indo-China, flew to Hanoi from Paris to take personal charge of the serious situation there. In Paris, the situation was considered so serious by Prime Minister M. Leon Blum that he personally appealed to the National Assembly on the same day to postpone the public debate on Indo-China until the Colonial Minister M. Marius Montet, who was to fly to Saigon the next day, returned to Paris in a fortnight's time.

On the morning of December 20, President Ho Chi Minh of the Viet-Namese Republic proclaimed a state of emergency in Viet-Nam and declared that the Viet-Namese preferred death to slavery and pleaded for support in Viet-Nam's fight for freedom. "I am confident," he said, "that 20,000,000 Viet-Namese would ultimately vanquish 100,000 reactionaries." Meanwhile, French authorities also proclaimed martial law throughout Northern Indo-China and took extraordinary precautions in view of the possibility that fighting might spread to the Southern province of Cochin-China. French reinforcements have been rushed from French territories in Africa and from France itself. General Jacques Philippe Lebre, the guiding figure of the Free French fighting forces in Africa during the war and former French Commander-in-Chief in Indo-China, left Paris by air on December 24, (1) to study events and the military situation, (2) to study the cause of the present conflict and means by which peace may be re-established, (3) to estimate necessary reinforcements, and (4) to report his findings to the French Colonial Minister, M. Marius Montet, who is at present in Indo-China.

French authorities in Indo-China have announced a stiffer colonial policy affecting the Viet-Namese Republic. On December 25, Admiral d'Argenlien announced over the Saigon Radio : "France does not intend in the present stage of evolution of the Indo-Chinese people to give them total and unconditional independence which would be a fiction gravely prejudicial to the interests of both parties." M. Montet also spoke similarly at a dinner given in his honour at Saigon, "It is no longer possible to speak of reaching free agreement with the Viet-Nam Republican Government."

There is not a whole Asiatic Continent, indeed all the United Nations, must be interested in the happenings in Indo-China. Urging Asiatic Nations to respond to Indo-China's appeal for help, U Saw, former Premier of Burma and leader of the Myochit Party said, "If the Dutch and the English are, as they declare, going to free Asia from their yoke, there is no reason why France should not quit Indo-China."

We hope a reasonable basis for settlement will be easily found if only France would give up the outmoded idea of enforcing her imperialistic rule on Indo-China. The Viet-Nam authorities have made no demands which cannot be justified. They want that French troops should withdraw to the positions which they occupied before December 17, and that Admiral Thiery d'Argenlien, French High Commissioner, Gen. Morliero, the French Military Commander, and General Philippe Lebre should be immediately recalled. They have also pointed out that the importance given by the French authorities to the puppet government of Cochin-China was dangerous and might be taken as a provocation.

On December 23, M. Blum, the Socialist Premier of France, announced in the French National Assembly, "Our end remains the same, to bring into being a free Viet-Nam within the framework of the French Union." But if this be the end, we must say that the means so far applied, *i.e.*, sending of reinforcements and reactionary officials to Indo-China, is wholly unsuited.

Charkha to Remedy Yarn Shortage

In a meeting of the All-India Handloom Board held at Bombay, Mr. Dharma Vira, Textile Commissioner, Government of India, said that Charkha might remedy yarn shortage and appealed to Provincial and State Governments to encourage hand-spinning. He presented a gloomy picture of the yarn position. He said that when the Yarn Distribution Scheme was introduced, the quantity of yarn available for distribution was expected to approximate to 70,000 bales per month. It was, however, possible to make available larger supplies averaging to 83,334 bales per month, during the first year of the scheme. But this improvement was short-lived and the quantity available for distribution has fallen much short of the first year's average owing, according to Mr. Dharma Vira, mainly to strikes, absenteeism, riots, and finally to the reduction in working hours of the mills.

Referring to hand-spinning, Mr. Dharma Vira said :

> "The position is likely to be relieved somewhat by the increasing imports of yarn, particularly art silk, all of which can now be imported under open general licence from the U. K. and under special licence from the U.S.A. Endeavours are also being made to encourage imports of cotton yarn but the quantities likely to be available will be very small, at least for some time to come. Thus no appreciable improvement in the yarn position can be expected till such time as the full complement of new machinery is imported and starts working. I would, therefore, commend to the serious consideration of the Provincial and State Governments, the desirability of encouraging hand-spinning on a wide and organised basis. The Indian handloom industry of the pre-machine age owed its world renown as much to the skill of the hand-spinners as to the ingenuity of the weavers. It may not be possible to attain perfection in the spinning of even coarse-medium counts in the initial stages but if properly fostered, hand-spinning can still play a not un-

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important role in providing a part-time vocation for the agriculturists, relieving the present unsatisfactory yarn position and in providing cloth for those whose needs are genuine and not confined to fine and super-fine varieties.

It is a matter of genuine regret that the Indian Textile Commissioner fails to suggest any remedy for the solution of the cloth shortage other than suggesting hand-spinning. Officials of his position had so far only ridicule for the Charkha and Mr. Prakasam's Khadi Scheme has met with a vehement opposition from high personages both inside and outside the Government. India was almost self-sufficient in respect of cloth at the beginning of the second world war and it is only regrettable to find that after the war her position has become so helpless that she is told to wait for British and American imported yarn ! If this be the achievement of the Indian Mill Industry, it is better that the whole industry be reorganised on National lines.

India : Bulwark Against Materialism

Reverend G. D. Barne, Bishop of Lahore, in his Convocation address to the Punjab University, described India as an "incurably spiritual land" and a "bulwark against materialism." He said :

> The fact that India is a land which is incurably spiritual makes me feel that in the future she will play no small part in protecting spiritual values against the inroads and invasions of materialism. That will be true to your ancient heritage, your age-long tradition. Haldane's dictum 'the more things are interpreted as spiritual, the more real they become,' surely finds an echo in Indian thinking even in these modern days. We, from the West, are expecting this from you in the East. Your spiritual way of looking at things will not only save your own souls alive but it will also be a great contribution towards the adjustment of thinking which over-emphasis on material things is making more than ever vital and necessary.

Like Dr. Livingstone he described the young graduates of the University as "a mass of unco-ordinated subjects, a chaos instead of a cosmos." Referring to the Russian writer P. D. Ouspenskey's book *The New Model of the Universe*, published some forty years ago, in which he prophesied that the next fifty years would see a phenomenal expansion in scientific development, the Bishop said :

> With the conquest of the air, discovery of radio and radar, penicillin and the phenomenal power that lies behind atomic energy, we are bound to acknowledge that his prophecy has come true and is in process of continuing to do so year by year. It is a comfort however to remember also that Ouspenskey had also something to say about discoveries and possibilities in the spiritual realm. He prophesied that all the scientific inventions of man would be eventually, in the process of time, safeguarded by an increase and development in man's spiritual faculties also, and so the immense potential of scientific achievement be brought under control for the benefit of the human race. It is comforting to remember that these thoughts come from Russia. It is this second part of Ouspenskey's prophecy that the world is waiting for to-day. The potentalities of atomic energy have caused feelings of grave apprehension to run through the minds of men all over the world. Efforts are being made for international understanding but still the fear lurks in human consciousness all the world over that all will not be well and that civilised life on this planet is due for destruction; and that this will come very much sooner than the effects of the second law in thermodynamics, which seems such an immeasurable distance away that it does not cause us wakeful nights or any perceptible apprehension.

Rev. Barne then explained in the following few words how India's spiritual contribution had been to unite and not to divide :

> —And where can one come for a guarantee of the spiritual side of man better than to India, the country which for centuries has been incurably spiritual in her interpretation of life? I like to think of the possibilities of religion joining and not separating the inhabitants of India as they have been doing lately with such disastrous results. In these days of restlessness and confusion I like to remember what Aldous-Huxley claims in his book *The Perennial Philosophy* when he writes:
>
> "It is a significant historical fact that the poet-saint Kabir is claimed as a co-religionist both by Moslems and Hindus. The politics of those whose goal is beyond time are always pacific; it is the idolaters of past and future, of reactionary memory and Utopian dream, who do the persecuting and make wars."

Amenities for Harijans, U. P.

A new Bill, drafted by the Government of U. P. for removing social disabilities of the Harijans, has been circulated to the Ministers for approval or opinion. It will be introduced in the next session of the Legislative Assembly which meets on January 11.

There are in all nine sections in the proposed Act which includes all conceivable items of social amenities and religious liberties which are at present denied to the Harijans. If anybody contravenes the provisions of the Act, he will be liable to imprisonment up to three months and a fine up to Rs. 200 or both. In case of a continued offence, provision has been made for the imposition of an additional fine up to Rs. 25 per day.

It is proposed in the Bill to allow Harijans free access to all social amenities provided for Hindus generally, such as use and enjoyment of all water and bathing places such as ghats, rivers, streams, tanks taps, etc., public conveyance including dola-palki, places of public amusement or public entertainment, educational institutions, hospitals, temples, burial grounds, dharma-shalas, etc. Any refusal to render any service to, or receive it from, a Harijan, including refusal to let a house or land to, or to have business dealings with, Harijans, will be unlawful.

Public Trusts and charitable endowments which are created generally for the Hindus have also been brought within the scope of the Bill. Permission will not henceforth be granted to such trusts and charitable endowments to exclude Harijans from their benefits ; and if any such condition is provided, it shall be regarded as null and void.

It is significant that the dola-palki dispute in Garhwal which has been still persisting and which was recently commented upon by Mahatma Gandhi in the *Harijan* is also sought to be settled by the proposed legislation. The Government have for the time being issued instructions to the district authorities to see to it that Harijans in Garhwal are not prevented from using dola-palki. Mr. Baldeo Singh Arya, Convenor of the Dola-palki Raksha Samiti of Garhwal, said in a statement that Caste Hindus were challenging the shilpkars, a section of Harijans, to show them the law by virtue of which the Harijans claim the right to use dola-palki in their marriages.

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INDUSTRIAL STRIKES

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

Industrial strikes are today the topic of the day—wherever people foregather, in clubs and restaurants, drawing-rooms and public meetings, buses and trams. They have become more pressing and disturbing than scarlet-tongued famine.

Industrial disputes are a class on their own, unlike most other aspects of our national life. One cannot avoid them by just sitting still indoors and doing nothing. They get you wherever you may be. There is no escaping these as you can't escape bad weather even by closing down the shutters. The storm may still blow off your roof, the flood run into your basement or the lightning hit your walls and columns. So with strikes. Without your being aware of it, they will dislocate your life and drive it off its normal rails. For today there is no such thing as an individual self-sufficient existence. You are part of a giant mechanism, whose working is a mystery to most. You are caught up in its perpetual revolution, whether you will it or not.

Strikes are therefore all the more bewildering. One simply does not know what to do about them. So hot and bothered everybody ventures to offer some panacea or another. The other day in a railway compartment I heard some holding forth on this topic of the day : "It is all the fault of the Provincial Ministries. If they would only fix a minimum wage scale, all would be well—there would be no more strikes. What is the use of having Popular Governments if they can't do this simple thing and save us all this bother ?" To them it was as simple as that, for the real nature of industrial conflicts is a closed book to many still.

Industrial unrest manifested through labour strikes on almost an unprecedented scale, is today a world phenomenon. It indicates one fact, that the old economic order is fast breaking down and the old processes and procedures which regulated our economic affairs have become ineffective and call for newer and fresher methods. In short, vast forces of a fundamental nature are rising and our social organism heaves and tosses like a rudderless boat caught in a storm.

These strikes unlike strikes of the good old days, tend to dislocate our normal social life in a way they never did before. For geographical units which include the human as well, have grown greatly interdependent. Like an intricate jungle where trees grow into one another, our needs and the means of their satisfaction have become intertwined with the demands and supplies of vast territories and countless peoples. In a way our economic structure has today become like a huge octopus, the whole of which we cannot see. We merely glimpse sections and parts and mistake it for the whole, landing ourselves into no end of confusion.

On the whole, the labour is at the moment in a more advantageous position for it enjoys today considerably more sympathy from the public than at any other time before. To a large extent this is because of the universal disapproval of the capitalist class, industrialists, traders and practically all classes of employers. But beyond that any discerning appraisal of the situation is bewildering for the average man hardly knows the ropes—and over-simplification such as an over-all faith in wage standardization, is misleading and may be even dangerous at times. One has only to look at other countries where standardization of economy has been attempted to realise that it is an infinitely more complicated problem.

Let us take the United States where standardization of life has reached its peak and where controls covered everything from the ceiling to the floor, from the heavens to the earth. The labour situation and the constant conflicts there highlighted at the moment by the sensational trial of the labour leader, John Lewis, for inciting the coal miners to strike are of immense value to us who think that the cure for all India's manifold ills is a National Government and the execution of some sort of a Bombay Plan. No doubt, the National Government and the National Planning will go a long way towards meeting our deficiencies and inadequacies but they will also lead to the creation of new problems and new responsibilities. A survey of the American scene will both warn and guard us against certain glaring drawbacks inherent in the present set up.

"We are not fighting this war to make Millionaires," President Roosevelt told the nation in 1942, shortly after Pearl Harbour, addressing in particular the millions of young men leaving jobs in private industry to enter the armed forces—fresh flowering youth and more than a quarter million of women were to die in far-off lands to make the world safe for democracy. One small group, however, chose to shut their ears to this cryptic little sentence of their leaders, a group which was even then engaged in preparing for a raid on the war-driven economy which was to net it the highest profits in history.

During the period between World War I and II, monopoly power in the U.S. grew by leaps and bounds, the larger industrial and business concerns steadily and ruthlessly absorbing the smaller. The process speeded up in this war and in 1945, the mergers and acquisitions were higher than at any other time and just during the period when the Federal authorities seemed to be making a determined war on monopolicies and the public was being lulled into a false calm that actually monopoly is on the march.

The monopoly trusts have been active in many fields, above all in a campaign to control labour through concentration of economic powers and restrict its rights. To some extent the American taxation system is also responsible for this, for the burden falls too heavily on those least able to pay. But one wartime device in taxation has actually helped monopoly enhance its economic and political power and incidentally subsidize strikes by compensating them. Under this every Corporation has been given a post-war credit of 10% of the total amount of normal taxes and excess-profits taxes, out of which the U.S. Treasury

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compensates Corporations at the rate of 81 cents on every dollar of decreased income and 81 cents on every dollar of loss. The General Motors claimed $34,415,207 for 1945 profit losses and $52,864,000 to cover strike losses. Similarly, General Electric figured the strike-loss compensation at $10 million, the United Electrical Radio fixed its figure at $79 million. During the war period of 1942-45, average annual corporate profits were approximately $23 billion or more than *four* times the average of pre-war years, and even with the deduction of taxes, the annual average was more than 9 billion or two and a half times the pre-war average.

Now let us look up on the other picture, for it is presumed that the American worker in asking for a rise is demanding more money for the same work. The cost of living went up 24 per cent from 1941 and 12 to 15 per cent from October 1942, when wage stabilization came into force. As compared with this, weekly wages have gone up on 6·1 per cent since October, 1942. In fact they have not kept pace with the official cost of living which of course falls short of the actual living costs. As a matter of fact, the weekly cheques have been steadily decreasing in amount, due to the reduction in hourly pay and weekly hours. The average fall by even the beginning of the year was 13·1 per cent. Nor is this the complete picture. For while the workman's basic wage has been frozen on the 1941 basis, actually the output per man hour has steadily risen, and it is estimated that the increase from 1935 to 1945 would be around 50 per cent. What the average public does not realise is that while prices are inter-related to costs of living, the basis that determines prices is not the simple one of demand and supply. For prices when controlled and dictated by monopolicies are always higher, for production is controlled and usually restricted to keep the prices soaring. Higher prices mean constant demand from workers for higher wages, while they mean higher profits for the privileged few and an undue sharpening of the contrast between Labour and Capital, to force the workers out on strike and then fight to cow them down.

During the war Labour was pledged not to strike in spite of long hours of intensive work, often under indifferent working conditions and inadequate housing. At the same time, corporate profits soared as never before. Not so the wages. If the take-home wages rose, it was mainly because of overtime and special duties. Consequently when war production stopped, pay was reduced about 1/3 by cessation of overtime and down-grading, but the living costs continued upward. Four days after V-J Day, President Truman announced the national reconversion wage-price policy ; free collective bargaining to be restored ; wage increases up to the point of price-increase. At the same time, the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve system published their brochure on Post-war Economic study, *Jobs Production, and Living Standards,* in which they stated :

> "We shall have an opportunity of living better than we ever have in the past, but only if we so manage our economy as to provide markets for a much larger total product than we have ever had in peace time. Purchases of all classes of goods could and should expand greatly. A rise of 40 or 50 per cent above pre-war levels in consumption goods will be possible and necessary . . . if there is to be a market for the goods and services that will be produced if employment is to be maintained, the nation's income must not be permitted to decline materially."

About the same time, the United Automobile workers filed with the employers a demand for a 30 per cent increase in hourly wage rates to make up for the loss in take-home pay and the demand was in line with the national wage policy—the necessity to maintain the purchasing power of the people, for the alternative would be products piling up as surpluses, a decline in production and a consequent sharp rise in unemployment. The Company's ability to pay seemed irrefutable, what with the huge reserves built out of the fat war-profits, certain market for capacity production due to the lack of cars together with the lower unit costs of a volume 50 per cent above pre-war days. But the workers were eventually able to get only half their demand conceded and that after a three-month strike. Thus it went from industry to industry, workers to workers. This is what happened to the average worker and his family. A steel worker earning $50·85 for working around 48 hours, actually received $45·92 after deducting the taxes. Of this 45 per cent was spent on food, averaging about 30 cents (25 cents is the minimum for the poorest meal) ; 32·50 a month for house-rent, heat, utilities, etc. The Research Committee in Social Economics of the University of California lays down $59·15 (excluding taxes) as the minimum for a family of four. Whereas here was a worker who may be counted among those who may be making good wages, whose income fell short of that bare minimum even during the peak days. When V-J day came however, and the industry began to swing back to 40-hour-week, the workman made only $39·20, sometimes even less, a week. Between 1935-39 when the industry operated at 59 per cent of capacity, it made a profit after taxes, of $115,000,000. During the war when production reached 90 per cent and even above, profits became tremendous. In addition, Government permitted war emergency facilities to be written off in five years or by the end of the war. This meant that the Companies charged an extremely high rate of amortization in high tax years and now face a future of relatively low taxes —from 8·5 per cent to 38 per cent—with income that would normally be spent for amortization freed from profits. Bethlehem Steel, for instance, wrote off $44 millions in amortization, thus converting a profit of $23 millions into a loss. And because it showed a loss, Bethlehem got a tax refund of $35 millions. Yet Steel drove its workers to strike for a paltry rise of 18½ cents an hour !

The Maritime workers put on a big show, the biggest Maritime strike in U.S. history, tying up 1500 ships and keeping half a million men idle. The Mariners' case was that they now earned $60 a month less than they did in wartime, some as little as $127-50 a month for a 56-hour, seven-day week—the Stewards working 63 hours a week, whereas the War Labour Board laid down in 1945 a normal salary of $145. The Union points to the gigantic fleecing of the public treasury by the ship-owners, which has become such a national scandal as to call for a congressional enquiry, to the excessive insurance collected by the operators on "rust buckets" (rotten ships) sunk at sea not to speak of the huge profits made on trade and sales—the average rate of profit was 80 per cent. The workers' demand was a flat increase of 22 cents for the lowest

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rising up to 35 for the skilled, forty-hour week and overtime wage over 8 hours.

The most sensational was the railway strike, not because it was more disturbing than the telegraph and telephone, but more so because of the sequel it led to in President Truman's dramatic appeal to the Congress to penalise labour when it struck. As a matter of fact, the demands of the Railway workers regarding conditions of work had been approved by the Fact-Finding Government Board, and the workers had also agreed to the recommendation of the Board to refer the other demands to arbitration. It was the employers who had refused but the workers had got the whacking. In the words of the American Journal *Nation* :

"Truman achieved what one would have thought might only be accomplished by war, natural catastrophe, or political genius of an inconceivable order —blandly proposed a scheme that might easily have made this country a corporate state. With a heedlessness and irresponsibility smacking of a panicky hysteria and incredible in one so highly placed in office, he stormed down to the Congress to unceremoniously get a bill through empowering the President to proclaim a national emergency, give both parties 48 hours to end the deadlock, order labour dealers to send the men back to work. Failure to comply would result in seizure of industries by the executive and the fixing of wages and conditions of work by it. Up to $5000 in fines, a year's imprisonment, or both, for workers who failed to go back, loss of jobs immediately together with all the seniority rights, and if they balked as long as 24 hours, they were to be drafted into the army and sent back to serve on $50 a month or face a court martial. As our Senator posed it, the President acquired the right to send a striker to his death before a firing squad."

Labour called it a *Slave Bill*. It brought pouring into the President's lap, on an average 3,000 telegrams of protest a day—a total of 38,000 telegrams. The letters made too big a mountainous pile to be even handled.

Now has come the coal-miners' strike which incidentally but nevertheless fatally slows down numerous other industries dependent on regular coal supply. A few weeks ago on a single day there were as many as 40 strikes on in the city of New York alone. The most serious was that of 1,200 truck drivers with 1,500 drivers from neighbouring states striking in sympathy, blocking the thousands of trucks—average 5,000 a day—that rumble into the city with food and other essential supplies, rendering 70,000 warehouse men idle ; some industries air-braked to a creep, food-shelves in stores grew empty, while warehouses glutted with irremoveable goods. The most vital factor in the cause of strikes is the sense of insecurity which overhangs the labour-world, that the lower, the more uncertain the wages, the worse the conditions of living and working, the greater the susceptibility to fears and the one undermining force is insecurity. Fear of loss of work, of illness, of accident—all make for instability. Economic security through social security laws, proper and adequate housing, national system of health insurance have to go side by side with a living wage if labour is to live in a normal psychological frame of mind and not get desperate. For it must be remembered that workers do not take risks with strikes unless they are in a desperate mood.

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THE GREAT CHALLENGE*

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

I

This is a book about the politics of the World War II and the coming peace by Mr. Louis Fischer, the distinguished author of *Soviets in World Affairs* (2 Vols.), *Empire, Men in Politics*, etc. Mr. Fischer is by far the most outstanding of American publicists who cherish ideals of democracy and world peace with justice and liberty for all without distinction of race, creed and color. He has written a dozen worthwhile books on world affairs and hundreds of serious articles and yet this volume under review—*The Great Challenge*—may be regarded as the most timely book of great value, full of facts—some of them not revealed before—on various and momentous international problems concerning the British Empire, Western Europe, Soviet Russia and her puppet States, the Near East, India, the Far East, the United States of America and problems of world peace and world government. In discussing these problems Mr. Fischer does not hedge around vital issues but goes to the heart of the questions and pronounce his verdicts which are direct, vigorous, conclusive and challenging. He gives more facts than opinions based upon hearsay information and thus for students of world affairs as well as laymen this book is valuable and vital to understanding the present trend of world politics and future development—Peace or War. While recommending the work, the reviewer feels that those who will not agree with Mr. Fischer's points of view on various subjects, will find the work as of absorbing interest. Mr. Fischer's style is simple, direct, vigorous and at times dramatic, breathing strong conviction.

The Great Challenge is this : In view of the recent experience and the existing crisis what should be done to save democracies from the spread of totalitarianism. This question cannot be ignored by any one who has interest in human freedom.

II

Allied historians and those who conducted Nuremberg trial, because the Nazis started the aggressive World War II, have not taken into account the part played by Soviet Russia in bringing about the War. In fact when von Ribbentrop and others wanted to have the secret agreement between Germany and Soviet Russia examined by the court, Soviet Russian autho-

* *The Great Challenge* by Louis Fischer, New York. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1946. Index. Pp. 346. Price $4.

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rities objected to the procedure. The issue of Soviet Russia's part in bringing about the war was not discussed. In view of this situation, it may be of interest to note what Mr. Fischer, who cannot be classed as pro-Nazi, has to say on the subject :

> *"The second World War flowed from the Soviet-Nazi pact.* (Italics are mine). But it is inaccurate to say that Russia expected a major war. Moscow anticipated that the Soviet-Nazi pact would induce England and France to do a "Munich" on Poland and refrain from fighting. *The Bolsheviks knew that, failing such an Anglo-French surrender of Poland, Hitler would invade Poland, crush Poland, and divide Poland with Russia.* Thereupon, Stalin reasoned, the British and French governments would conclude a reluctant peace with Germany. In the resulting hostility between the West and Germany, Russia would find safety. This is why Stalin concluded the pact with Hitler." (Page 23).
>
> "The Soviet Government saw no sense in a war against Hitler. The Moscow *Izvestia,* the official organ of the Soviet Government, on October 9, 1939, wrote : 'To start a war in order to destroy Hitlerism is to commit a criminal folly in politics.' Foreign Commissar Molotov therefore called France and England 'aggressors.'
>
> "Russia (like Germany) tried to end the war after the conquest of Poland. Stalin charged in the *Pravda* of November 30, 1940, that 'the ruling classes of England and France rudely declined Germany's peace proposals as well as the attempts of the Soviet Union to attain the earliest termination of the war'." (Page 23).

It may be pointed out that Mr. Fischer makes it clear that President Roosevelt felt that a Russo-German Pact would be ultimately disastrous for Russia and the world : As early as July 18, 1939, President Roosevelt warned Stalin through Ambassador Joseph E. Davies and Russian Ambassador Oumansky that "if his (Stalin's) government joined up with Hitler, it was certain as night followed the day that as soon as Hitler conquered France he would turn on Russia, and it would be Soviet's turn next." (Page 22).

Stalin had believed to the end that Hitler would remain loyal to the Soviet-Nazi Pact and try to crush the British Empire. That is why Stalin persisted in appeasing Hitler. Instead, Hitler was loyal to *Mien Kampf* and to the ideas of Hess and tried to crush Russia. (Page 36).

The author has explained two-fold reasons for Hitler's attack on Soviet Russia. The first was : When Hitler realised that Great Britain would not make peace and it was found that it would not be easy for Germany to conquer Britain aided by America, he wanted to weaken if not destroy Soviet before the latter became too strong to challenge Nazi Germany, possibly in co-operation with the Western Powers. Furthermore in spite of the partition of Poland between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia and in spite of German concessions to Soviet Russia at Baltic States and Rumania, there existed conflicting interests between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. Mr. Fischer gives the German version of Hitler-Molotov interviews of January 22, 1941 (page 31) which indicates conclusively the existence of sharp difference between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia regarding Russian expansion in Roumania, Finland, Bulgaria and control of the Dardanelles. In view of what has happened to these regions, German version seems to be correct. In this connection it may be said that Molotov made very clear Russia's intentions against Turkey :

> "Molotov's fourth question : Soviet Russia requires free passage through the Dardanelles under all circumstances, and for her protection also demands occupation of a number of important bases on the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Was Germany in agreement with this or not ?
>
> "My (Hitler's) answer : Germany was prepared at all times to agree to alteration of the Statutes of Montreux in favor of the Black Sea States. Germany was not prepared to agree to Russia taking possession of bases on the straits." (P. 31).

One may easily conceive that the question of Russian demands regarding the Dardanelles known to Hitler was passed along to the Turkish Government which demanded security from Soviet Government and refused to declare war against Germany in spite of all pressure from Russia and it is also conceivable that Turkey was supported in her stand against Soviet Russia during the war by Anglo-French-American Powers as it is today.

III

Regarding American involvement in the World War II, Mr. Fischer has no illusion and he rightly points out that long before the Pearl Harbor tragedy America was in it. He writes :

> "The United States was at war before Pearl Harbor, not officially but in fact. On September 3, 1940, the first anniversary of the war in Europe, President Roosevelt announced an agreement with Churchill whereby the United States gave Britain fifty 'over-age' destroyers and Britain gave the United States military and naval bases in the Atlantic. If the destroyers were too old why did the British want them ? They were in fact good warships and performed well throughout the war. On March 11, 1941, the President signed the Lend-Lease Act whereby billions of dollars' worth of arms were given to nations fighting the Axis. The moment Hitler or Mussolini invaded yet another country Lend-Lease were extended to it. On April 5, 1941, the United States took over the protection of Danish Greenland. On July 7, 1941, the United States joined England in the occupation of Iceland and undertook to 'supplement' and 'replace' British troops stationed there. In 1941, the American Navy was conveying ships in the Atlantic and actively co-operating with the British in hunting down Nazi submarines. American diplomacy, too, worked against Germany, Italy and Japan. Repeatedly, for instance, the State Department warned the Petain regime at Vichy against letting Hitler use the French fleet. Steps were taken in Latin America to frustrate the Axis militarliy and commercially. In innumerable declarations, Roosevelt, Secretary of State Hull, and lesser officials showed their unneutral anti-Axis sympathies.
>
> "Many months before Pearl Harbor, the United States military authorities had prepared a detailed, practical and far-flung and imaginative plan for American participation in the defeat of the Axis powers." (Page 17).

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The so-called isolationists opposed these moves but the internationalists supported them, because as Mr. Wendell Wilkie in one of his articles wrote : "The problem that faces the United States . . . is the survival of democratic institutions, of a way of life that means more to us than anything else in the world . . . We are helping Britain because the fight she is putting up is greatly to our advantage. Hitler's totalitarian slave system is automatically and irrevocably against freedom." (P. 21).

But how did the Pearl Harbor attack come ? Mr. Fischer gives the following interesting statement of facts :

"The Russo-Japanese treaty (non-aggression pact) of April, 1941, and Hitler's invasion of Russia in June 1941, ended the danger of any Soviet action in the Far East. This paved the way for Japan's big drive in December, 1941." (Page 82).

"During 1939, 1940, and 1941, diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan had steadily deteriorated. On July 10, 1939, Secretary of State Cordell Hull told the Japanese Ambassador in Washington that America did not want to see all of China and the Pacific islands 'Manchurianized.' Simultaneously, the United States started putting economic pressure on Japan, and the bulk of American Navy was transferred to the Pacific. In August, 1940, the export to Japan of American aviation gasoline and most types of machine tools, and the next month the export of iron and steel scrap, were prohibited. On July 26, 1941, President Roosevelt issued an executive order freezing Japanese assets in the United States. Two days earlier the President had asked Japan to respect the neutrality of French Indo-China ; Nipponese forces nevertheless continued to occupy that wealthy colony. On August 17, 1941, straight from his Atlantic Charter meeting with Churchill, the President handed the Japanese Ambassador a note which declared that if Japan continued her policy of 'military domination by force or threat of neighboring countries,' the United States 'will be compelled to take immediately any and all steps deemed necessary towards safeguarding the legitimate rights and interests of the United States . . .' This was probably the crucial date . . . President Roosevelt hoped by negotiation to stop aggression. This was laudable. But in view of America's naval and military weakness at the time, Mr. Roosevelt overplayed his diplomatic hand. History must decide, however, whether it was worth the price of Pearl Harbor to get the United States into war a few months earlier . . . Convinced by the negotiations in Washington in the summer of 1941, that our entry into the war was inevitable, Tokyo wished to mark that entry with a major United States disaster. Hence Pearl Harbor." (Pp. 82-84).

IV

Mr. Fischer has devoted nearly 60 pages in discussing various phases of the Indian Problem. In the chapter "Roosevelt, Gandhi and Chiang Kai-shek" he makes a very valuable contribution respecting the attitude of these men on the Indian question. It is a fashion among certain Indian politicians and Indian communists who betrayed Indian nationalists during the war to class nationalist China and specially General Chiang Kai-shek as Fascist and enemy of democracy ; but Mr. Fischer discloses that during the dark days of August 1942, it was Chiang Kai-shek alone who repeatedly urged President Roosevelt to induce Churchill to grant freedom to India. It may be worthwhile to quote a certain part of General Chiang's cables to Roosevelt during July 1942 :

"The Indian situation has reached an extremely intense and critical stage. Its development in fact constitutes the most important factor in determining the outcome of the United Nations war, and especially the war in the East . . . Your country is the leader in this war of right against might and Your Excellency's views have always received serious attention in Britain. Furthermore, for a long time the Indian people have been expecting the United States to come out and take a stand on the side of Justice and Equality. . . . The wisest and most enlightened policy for Britain to pursue would be to restore to India her complete freedom. . . . The War Aims of the United Nations and our common interests make it impossible for me to remain silent. Ancient Chinese proverb says : 'Good medicine, though bitter, cures one's illness ; words of sincere advice, though unpleasant, guide one's conduct.' I sincerely hope that Britain will magnanimously and resolutely accept my words of disinterested advice however unpleasant they may be . . ." (Pp. 161-162).

Mr. Roosevelt sympathised with Chiang's views. But he could not induce "his friend Winston" to agree to the idea. In fact Mr. Churchill, when directly approached by Chiang Kai-shek for Indian freedom, threatened breaking off Anglo-Chinese Alliance. (P. 163). When this news spread among certain diplomats the late President of the Philippines Manuel Quezon in September, 1942, at Hotel Shoreham told Mr. Fischer : "If Amery, British Secretary of State for India, had said that to my envoy, and if mine were a nation of four hundred million instead of fifteen, I would have replied : All right, the alliance has lost all value to me. And I would have negotiated with the Japs." (P. 167).

Those who think of Asian freedom and Asiatic solidarity may well ponder over what happened in Washington in 1942, regarding Indian freedom. Those who talk about Soviet Russia's sympathy for Indian freedom, should also not forget that Churchill received Russian support because Molotov agreed with Churchill that India was Britain's private affair.

It may not be out of place to mention that Mr. Fischer gives the full text of Mr. Gandhi's letter to Mr. Roosevelt and it contains the following passage :

"The policy of the Indian National Congress, largely guided by me, has been one of non-embarrassment to Britain, consistently with the honorable working of the Congress, admittedly the largest political organization of the longest standing in India. The British policy as exposed by the Cripps mission and rejected by almost all parties has opened our eyes and has driven me to the proposal I have made. I hold that the full acceptance of my proposal and that alone can put the Allied cause on an unassailable basis. I venture to think that the Allied declaration that the Allies are fighting to make the world safe for freedom of individual and democracy sounds hollow so long as India, and for that matter Africa, are exploited by Great Britain, and America has the Negro problem in her own home. But in order to avoid all complications in

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my proposal I have confined myself to India. If India becomes free, the rest will follow, if it does not happen simultaneously.

"In order to make my proposal fool-proof I have suggested that if the Allies think it necessary they may keep their troops, at their own expense, in India, not for keeping internal order but for preventing Japanese aggression and defending China. So far as India is concerned, she must become free even as America and Great Britain are. The Allied troops will remain in India during the war under treaty with the free Indian government that may be formed by the people of India without any outside interference, direct or indirect. It is on behalf of this proposal I write this to enlist your active sympathy. . . ." (Pp. 168-69).

Mr. Gandhi could not secure Mr. Roosevelt's active sympathy; but in due course China and the United States are the two nations which have recognised India's sovereign status by establishing respective embassies in New Delhi. This is symbolic and most far-reaching gesture of friendship.

V

In view of the recent developments of Soviet Russian policies in the Far East, it will be of interest to note what Mr. Fischer had to say to Mr. Sumner Welles, the then Under Secretary of State for the United States on February 11, 1941 :

"Russia's objective in the Far East is the weakening of Japan and domination of China . . . Moscow hopes first to control the Chinese Communist provinces near the Soviet Union but that does not preclude Russian influence in other parts of China." (P. 41).

This policy remains effective today.

In 1941 Moscow's purpose in the Far East was to involve Japan in a war with U. S. A. so that Japan would be weakened ; and to encourage Japan to attack U. S. A. Stalin made a Non-aggression Pact with Japan. (P. 45).

VI

Mr. Fischer is an expert on Soviet Russia and his study of Soviet Russia's internal and external policies will be of very great interest to all students of world affairs. In a chapter entitled "Laskiology," Mr. Fischer makes critical examination of the position of men like Professor Harold Laski, who has in one of his books, declared "the Russian idea as the world-saving faith destined to replace Christianity."

Any one believing in democracy cannot defend Soviet Russian totalitarianism. Mr. Fischer, who was one of the ardent supporters of the Russian Revolution, denounces Soviet Russian totalitarianism. He asks the question, "Why did I change my attitude towards the Soviet Union ?" and gives the following answer :

"I changed because Russia changed. There were no personal, private or professional reasons for my dissent. I was reacting against new policies and new conditions in Stalin's Russia. I was reacting against nationalism, the inhuman purges, the mounting inequality, the new aristocracy, the growing cynicism (the Soviet-Nazi pact was only one of its products), and the personal dictatorship with all its concomitant evils. My opposition to the Soviet Government is a response to its nationalistic, imperialistic, undemocratic policies. Especially do I decry the new Russian nationalism . . . Criticism is democracy. Democrats who urge a moratorium on criticism of Soviet government are serving the cause of dictatorship . . . The Soviet regime is civilised in relation to all races and uncivilised in relation to all persons, because there is no personal freedom in Soviet Russia."

What is the exact situation regarding the racial minorities in Soviet Russia ?

"Technically, the republics of national minorities, the Georgians, the Ukranians and other constituent republics of the Soviet Union federation, have a right to secede if they wish. *In fact they would not be permitted to do so. Technically, they have political and economic autonomy ; actually, their orders from Moscow. Since 1941, in fact Moscow has suppressed several national republics and deprived their peoples of autonomy. This was done without official announcement (it only became known when the list of electoral districts appeared). . . . Moscow has tried to repress the growing nationalism of some minorities, notably of the Tartars and other non-Slavs . . . The Armenian race in the Soviet Union has freedom. But no Soviet Armenian has personal freedom. Nor has an Uzbeck, Ukranian or Tadjik. In that they are all equal. . . . The Soviet regime is civilized in relation to all races and uncivilized in relatson to all persons.*" (Pp. 214-215).

Those who have a double standard of international morality regarding totalitarianism—one favoring Soviet Russia and the other condemning Franco etc.,—will be interested in what Mr. Fischer has to say in answer to their flimsy arguments :

"The justification of ruthless dictatorship on the ground that brings jobs for all and the chance of better living conditions for masses transcends Russia ; it has become a world issue, perhaps the biggest issue facing modern man. If dictatorship is the road to plenty and security—Russia's experience has not proved that it is, but propagandists nevertheless assert it—then a billion and a half persons in Asia, Europe, Africa, Latin America, who have suffered from poverty for decades may be induced to favor the Russian way of life and Russian expansion. If Russia is the guarantee of peace—Russia's aggressions do not prove it but it is loudly affirmed by the naive, the ignorant, and the sinister—then why not scrap democracy and adopt Stalinism everywhere ? . . ." (P. 222).

VII

The chapters on "Stalin" and "Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin Make Peace" will be of special interest to all students of world politics, because Mr. Fischer has much to say about Soviet Russian nationalism and imperialism. It was the fear of a possible separate peace with Germany by Soviet Russia always haunted Churchill and Roosevelt and thus at Casablanca, Teheran and Yalta they appeased Stalin. According to Mr. Fischer, this policy of appeasement on the part of Anglo-American statesmen was not necessary and a mistake. This appeasement has created tremendous appetite for Soviet Russian expansion and latest difficulties in world politics, threatening a world chaos.

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"The American and British governments were worried about Stalin's loyalty to the Big Three coalition. This carefully-concealed sentiment dominated American and British diplomacy at Teheran in December, 1943. It created a perfect situation for Stalin. Behind each request he had for Polish territory or for other advantages was the unspoken threat that in case of rebuff he had an alternative : an agreement with a Hitler-less Germany." (P. 246).

"As soon as Russia started winning battles in 1943, the possibility of a separate Soviet-German peace loomed ; Stalin could consequently dictate terms to England and America at Teheran. Still later, the Red Army moved into Eastern and Central Europe, and the Kremlin began imposing itself on small countries. That inaugurated a new phase in the relations within the Big Three. To curb unilateralism and more Soviet expansion, the United States and Great Britain again saw themselves compelled to compromise with the Soviet Government by yielding to most of Russia's wishes at Yalta." (P. 247).

"The chances of a separate Russo-German peace were so small, and the Anglo-American cards were so strong (Lend-Lease, growing military powers, etc.) that the least one can say is that Roosevelt and Churchill did not have to surrender as abjectly to Stalin as they did in Teheran and Yalta. There was even less reason for surrender at Potsdam in August, 1945, when Germany had fallen and Japan was about to reel under two American atomic bombs. The American and British negotiators displayed less skill than Stalin." (P. 249).

VIII

The Jewish question is a vital factor in world politics of today and thus Mr. Fischer has also discussed this issue very briefly. Mr. Fischer is an internationalist and thus he thinks Zionism, Jewish nationalism, is not desirable and Arab nationalism and Jewish nationalism in Palestine cannot effectively collaborate which should be the means of solution of the Jewish question. The Jews have been so persecuted and made homeless ; and anti-Semitism of the West has made the Jews conscious of the necessity of having a Jewish homeland. "Persons who were anti-Zionists a few years ago not uncommonly class themselves as non-Zionists, or even as Zionists today. They may still object to political Zionism. They cannot deny the necessity of a new home for homeless, unhappy Jews." (P. 153).

The Jews have, according to the reviewer's judgment, the right to make Palestine their homeland, in spite of Moslem majority at the present time. Palestine is the Jews' homeland in the same sense as the Punjab is the homeland of the Hindus since the days of the Vedas. Moslem conquest of the Punjab and the growth of Moslem population in that region does not justify any claim on the part of anyone to regard the Punjab as the land of the Moslems, similarly the Jews have the eternal right to re-establish themselves in their ancient homeland to save their very existence and at the same time to aid the cause of development of the whole of the Near East.

IX

What of the future of the world and democracies ? Mr. Fischer feels that ultimately, if civilization is to survive there should be a World Government.

"If the second World War was to have any sense it had to become a world civil war, a war against slavery, a war to establish one world indivisible, with liberty and justice to all. A war to give one nation another's territory or oil-field or market is a supreme and senseless crime." (P. 11).

Mr. Fischer, as early as June, 1940, has been advocating for an European Federation, and this idea is a step towards World Federation :

"Europe must be organised into a federation, federation is the negation of economic nationalism and narrow political nationalism. History has demonstrated that the only protection of nations lies in internationalism. There is no individual security for man or country." (Page 16).

Mr. Fischer recognises the fact that Soviet Russian expansionist policy is a serious obstacle to development of World Government :

"When Russia reaches out to China, the Mediterranean, North Africa, Trieste, Greece, and through her Communist parties, into every capitalist country, she is moved not only by imperialistic arrogance but by ideological confidence. The major Soviet offensive is inspired by the defenselessness of weak countries and the appeasement psychology of large countries, but above all by the unrest and discontent within countries, including the unrest and discontent within the Soviet Union." (P. 334).

The remedy lies in Anglo-American leadership towards the needed change in world affairs leading to World Federation based on Justice and Liberty for all :

"The British Labor Government's plans for independence of Asiatic colonies worry Moscow much more than Churchill's Anglo-American entente. Let the Western powers shift their support from the feudal landlords or the Near East to the impoverished peasantry, and Moscow will know that something important has happened. Let the Chinese Federal Government introduce a land reform and Stalin will say : 'They are uniting China and driving me out of it.' Let the white race give incontrovertible evidence of a new and honorable attitude towards colored people, and Moscow will realize that it is being robbed of millions of potential political recruits. Let the democracies demonstrate that they combat anti-Semitism, and those who compare and judge will conclude that the democracies are anti-fascist. Let England and America befriend the forces of social change in Europe, and Europe will find new vigor to fight Slav-Communist imperialism . . . These are the kinds of weapons which can stop Russia's offensive against the democracies." (Pp. 334-335).

Mr. Fischer is opposed to "appeasement of Soviet Russia" and at the same time he is opposed to any policy of "fight Russia now." But he advocates : "Block Russia's territorial expansion by an effective international organization and block Russia's ideological expansion by increasing the contentment and cohesion of the countries in her path." (P. 335).

Mr. Fischer's study will not receive approval of Communists and Imperialists ; but it is the conviction of the reviewer that the book should be studied by all who are genuinely interested in world affairs and world peace.

New York University,
November 23, 1946

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THE POLITICAL FUTURE IN INDIA

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By L. JAMES,

University of Alexandria

If one turns over the pages of a Historical Atlas, it soon becomes apparent that the general tendency with the passage of centuries has been for larger political units to emerge in place of a mosaic of small units. This is true whether one considers the process of German and Italian unification, the rise of the Hapsburg and Ottoman empires, or the gradual building up of large empires like the British and Russian imperial systems. Of course, there has been the reverse process; the great steppe-land empires like that of Jengiz Khan have integrated huge areas and crumbled away in a relatively short time, but nevertheless the general thesis holds true that political units have tended to become larger. Very broadly the emergence of larger political units has corresponded with the improvement in communications and the change in economy from a local to an international basis. The development of China or the integration of India into one major unit exhibit the same tendencies. Unity may be imposed on an area by an outside power (as Britain did in India, and the Soviet is now doing in eastern Europe) or it can arise from internal causes, usually the result of dynastic union or from the work of some outstanding personality.

There has been a considerable measure of inevitability about forming larger units in the modern world; daily the world becomes more closely knit owing to the improvement of transport facilities, and each year sees a greater economic interdependence between the continents. But the centrifugal forces, having their roots in improved transport and closer economic relationships, are challenged in the present century by forces that are centripetal. The main factor in the modern world that makes for political disintegration is nationalism, and although it is undoubtedly a strong unifying force in the area where the members of the national group live, it is a factor that delays the transition to the international stage of world relationships.

The whole process and conflicting tendencies can well be illustrated by a brief review of events in Eastern and Central Europe during the course of the present century. The larger unit versus the carving up process is clearly to be seen in Austria-Hungary. Before 1914 this multinational empire was governed by the Austrians and Hungarians (it was called the 'dual empire'), but economically it formed a single unit. Within the empire, the Austrians and Hungarians supplied the ruling classes, but numerically these two groups were smaller than the numbers of the subject nationalities; these included Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenes, Italians, Rumans, Croats, Poles, etc. In the course of the nineteenth century the new force of nationalism began to make its influence felt, and some elements started to agitate for a greater measure of independence from Austrian and Hungarian rule. Some wanted a federal status within the empire, but towards 1914, considerable elements believed that only complete independence and separate statehood would suffice. The defeat of the Central Powers in the first World War enabled them to achieve this, and the Austro-Hungarian empire was disintegrated on a nationality basis. President Wilson's concept of self-determination was conceived with high intentions and noble motives; its philosophic premise was simple. If millions of people are forced to live under imperial systems that take little or no account of their legitimate wishes and aspirations, then there must one day come a challenge to such a situation that can involve the rest of the world in war. Therefore, the argument ran, if these nationalities in Eastern Europe, instead of being forced to live under German, Austro-Hungarian or Russian imperial control, were given separate political status, and each had its own sovereign state, one of the major causes leading to war would be eliminated. The peace-makers proceeded in 1919 to dismember the Austro-Hungarian empire, and Austria and Hungary were shorn of their territories not occupied by their national groups. The same principle was applied to Germany, and the internal collapse of Russia in 1917 enabled the Baltic nationalities to set up separate states.

As is well known, a review of the history of Central and Eastern Europe in the inter-war years indicates that self-determination did not by any means usher in a period of peaceful economic and cultural development. Within twenty years the rise of a new German imperialism challenged the whole framework of the political pattern of 1919, and the new Soviet imperialism in 1940 joined in a further partition of Poland.

Self-determination was no panacea for the many problems of frontiers in Europe. When it came to be applied, it proved extremely difficult to delimit frontiers in a region where the nationalities are inextricably mixed. The distribution of nationalities in Eastern Europe does not permit any easy formula like self-determination to be applied. Once the claim of the nationalities to form separate states had been conceded, they began to put forward claims to territory not occupied by their nationals, but which they desired on grounds of strategy or to obtain an economic outlet to the sea. In practice the principle of self-determination was applied with less detachment to the defeated powers than to the nationalities seeking either to set up new states or recreate old ones. France tended to exploit the formula of self-determination in the interests of weakening Germany and of creating a system of French satellite powers (the Little Entente) in Eastern Europe. But to represent self-determination as an idealist philosophy employed to cloak sinister designs is to misrepresent the whole character of the peace settlement. The frontiers in Eastern and Central Europe after 1919 did in fact conform more closely to the wishes of the great majority of the inhabitants of this area than did the 1914 frontiers. But the new frontiers immeasurably increased the economic difficulties of the Danubian area, and minority problems were present in all the new units. Some powers like Bulgaria and Hungary quite openly refused to consider the 1919 frontiers as in any way final, and they immediately began to look round for assistance in getting them changed.

We may summarise the conclusions from this review of Eastern Europe as follows: (1) However dispassionately frontiers are drawn in areas of mixed nationality, they must always be unsatisfactory since they leave large minorities on either side of the fron-

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tier ; (2) Self-determination leads to a fragmentation of areas and divides areas that are economically interdependent. Agricultural regions which before 1914 were complementary to the industrial areas found themselves cut off from their former markets owing to the new boundaries. Very soon these political frontiers came to mean serious economic barriers owing to the introduction of tariffs and quotas that increasingly strangled previous flourishing trade relationships. The classic example of economic chaos owing to political disintegration is the Danubian area, where Austria-Hungary was divided between seven powers. The multiplication of frontiers through self-determination is undesirable in a world where economic relationship ought to grow closer. Economic difficulties always have swift political repercussions and lead to a worsening of international relationships. The 1919 frontiers saw the triumph of the principle of nationality over the need for larger units. It was a reversal of previous trends, and because the whole political pattern was not in accord with economic realities it was destined to fail.

The events of Eastern and Central Europe ought to be closely studied by the present generation ; they have a clear lesson for countries trying to work out their political future. India faces roughly the same alternatives, whether to integrate the whole subcontinent as one political unit, or to have disintegration on the basis of the religious cleavage between Hindu and Moslem. Although the latter have areas in the North-West and Bengal where they are in a clear majority, the actual separation is far from being clear-cut. However carefully the frontier between the two is drawn, it will leave both sides with minorities. It is not seriously proposed that the pernicious practice should be restored to of uprooting people from their homes in order to transfer them to some other area in the interests (so-called) of achieving religious uniformity within the respective regions. Modern nations need to recall that cultural progress is dependent upon the fusion and interaction of peoples and cultures of different outlooks and character. Uniformity ought never to become an object of established policy. Although it is possible to demonstrate fairly successfully that Pakistan can develop its areas on separate lines, using its own ports, and having its own industrial areas, the lesson of Eastern Europe is that political division runs counter to economic development. It inevitably makes for disharmony in every sphere of life. If Indians patiently and carefully study the lessons of events in inter-war Europe, they will spare themselves decades of frustration and strife. Separation into two or more political units ought to be avoided except as a very last extremity.

The ordinary people of India, as of many other lands are united in their poverty ; the task of the present period is to raise the standard of life by introducing the necessary improvements in agriculture and developing industrialism under proper safeguards that it does not leave an evil legacy, and so make the common lot both easier and happier. Political separation will only delay this essential work by diverting energy into unprofitable channels ; it can only bring frustration and chaos such as have occurred in Eastern Europe.

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IMPRESSIONS OF MEERUT CONGRESS SESSION

By R. C. BHATIA

The plenary Congress Session was held in Meerut after 6½ years of storm and stress, the previous occasion on which the Congress met was in March 1940 at Ramgarh in Bihar under the presidentship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a deft and successful steersman of the ship of India through hazards and privations. These years had seen world-shaking international events and many a great convulsions in India. During these years many a struggle—violent and non-violent—within the country itself and outside were launched which had resulted in taking the caravan of freedom much nearer its goal. It can be said now after Meerut deliberations that the day of achieving the objective for which the Congress has stood up till now and waged many incessant struggles against overwhelming odds, is not far off.

Meerut has many historic associations and is consecrated to the memory of the national heroes who fought and fell in our first struggle to throw away the foreign mis-rule *i.e.*, the Mutiny of 1857. The role of Meerut and its people in the various national movements launched by Gandhiji has been considerably important. In U. P., it was here that the Khadi Pracharani scheme found a home and spread to the other parts of the province. In this city, there also exists Gandhi Ashram where the caste distinctions are not observed and now Meerut which for the first time in the long history of Congress had, not only the privilege of holding a Congress Session but also, built up the enviable reputation of having arrived at decisions which are not only important in themselves but. are momentous and epoch-making in character.

This session promised to be a unique one in the annals of the Congress, from the point of view of pageantry and the vast multitudes expected to attend it. The Reception Committee had made arrangements for 10 lakhs of visitors. But the unprecedented and horrifying communal disturbances led the authorities to decide upon a purely business-like show, abandoning all the spectacular parts of it. But from this, we need not draw the conclusion that being devoid of glamour, its importance in this history of India is less. In spite of all these unfavourable omens and the wave of disappointment over the inhabitants of Meerut, it is encouraging to note that the session was successfully held to schedule owing to the tireless efforts of the members of the Reception Committee.

The highlights of the session were a stirring oration, moving clarification and thought-provoking speech by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on the resolution of communal civil strife, frank disclosures of the working of Interim Government and the efforts of the Muslim League to sabotage it by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and a sober but fluent dis-

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course by Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan on the necessity of placing a concrete picture of *Swaraj* before the Indian masses.

The able handling of the proceedings with occasional flashes of sparkling wit which afforded necessary lighter moments reflect great credit on the new President's way of dealing with things. But one thing clearly emanates from the session that it was essentially a big man's show. The big leaders took so much of the time in the proceedings that the President had necessarily to pull up the other speakers not to make lengthy speeches in order to finish the programme in two days. No time was spared for the disposal of non-official business.

Presidential Address

Acharya J. B. Kripalani in his presidential remarks analysed the present political situation in all its aspects. With the freedom's battle almost won, it was a true picture of the advantages and dangers that confront India. He struck an optimistic note of courage, confidence and challenge.

The presidential address, in fact, was an impassioned and well-reasoned appeal to the Indians not to deprive themselves of the benefits that have accrued to them on account of a non-violent Gandhian revolution by leaving the golden principle of non-violence when its adoption can enable the Indians to give a new lead to the Orient and the world. He said :

> "But the darkness of centuries can be removed, the moment the light is brought in. In India, the light has been lit, let us keep it steadily burning and let us follow its lead and all shall yet be well with us."

Essentially, it was a non-violent approach to all the questions including the prevalent communal conflict.

In economic affairs too, he referred to the historic role of the Congress in its bold advocacy of decentralised industry and declared :

> "If political power has a tendency to corrupt the holder of the power, this tendency is doubly increased by the combination of political and economic power in the same hands . . . Therefore, if democracy is to survive, it must discover a means of avoiding the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of a ruler or rulers. Even a political democracy can be a dictatorship, if there are no spheres of free activity left to the individual."

Important Decisions

This Congress Session passed six resolutions of great significance in the history of the Congress and the country. These resolutions are a land-mark and have given a new impetus to the Congress organisation. The Congress policy has been defined in a clear-cut way, leaving no room for any misrepresentation or loop-hole on the following problems :

1. *Unity within the Congress ranks.*
2. *Interim Government.*
3. *Communal Disturbances.*
4. *Problem of Indian States.*
5. *New Constitution for India.*
6. *Changes in the Congress Constitution.*

Retrospect

In the first resolution,

"The Congress meeting after 6½ years of upheavel and frightfulness, paid its homage to the memory of those who had given their lives in the cause of Indian freedom and all those who had suffered in the struggle for freedom and the emancipation of India's millions."

Thus it discharged its obligations towards the fighters of freedom even though they might have pursued violent methods—diametrically opposed to the Congress method—for achieving freedom.

But the operative clause of this resolution stated :

> "The Congress calls upon the people to put an end to the internecine conflict and face internal and external dangers as a united people in the spirit in which they had fought in the past for India's independence."

Although this resolution appeared to be a non-controversial one, the isterpretation of Mr. S. K. Patil, the seconder, brought to feet Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan, the Socialist leader. He countered the plea of Mr. Patil that all the parties within the Congress should give up their labels and stand as a united body at this critical hour in the history of the country. He was of the firm opinion that conflicts of ideologies result in a healthy development of an organisation instead of retarding the progress and maintained that C.S.P. had given an excellent example of the observance of the Congress discipline. He made a bold offer to withdraw the Socialists from all the Congress elective offices if that could help in the achievement of internal unity.

Interim Government

The proposal for the ratification of the past actions of the Working Committee regarding the establishment of the Interim Government came in for a good deal of opposition at the hands of the Socialists and the Forward Blocists. It was their plea that office acceptance by the Congress has led to a process of drying up of the revolutionary character and urge of the Congress. Master Mota Singh in a humorous way declared that their aim was to take the Congress leaders in the forward line.

But the historic pronouncements by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel that the Muslim League was functioning as a King's Party and that the team spirit of a Cabinet was conspicuous by its absence and that the relations between the Muslim League and the Congress were far from cordial have dispelled the illusions of the Indian masses. It is now clear that all is not well with the Interim Government and if such complications continue, a grave constitutional crisis is in the offing. It is clear that the Congress is insistent upon two things, first, the Muslim League must accept the State Paper of May 16 in its entirety revising the decision of its rejection. Secondly, the Cabinet must work with full sense of joint responsibility under the virtual leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. If the Muslim League feels shy of working under these conditions, the Congress will not tolerate its presence in the Interim Government.

Communal Disturbances

This Congress session gave an excellent lead on the communal question. It condemned in all seriousness and with all the vigour at its command, "the new development in communal strife crimes apparently for political purposes and ominous to the peace, tranquillity and progress of India," but did not fail to give a correct lead that communal differences can be solved only by peaceful means.

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It also reiterated its conviction that the only solution of the communal problem is independence from foreign control and appealed to the people not to allow communal passion to sidetrack the national struggle at the last stage of India's march to freedom. This resolution represents a model approach and can be made the basis of an educative propaganda to counter the evil effects of the poisonous propaganda which is causing grave injury to Indian body politic.

The speeches by top-ranking Indian leaders including besides others Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, delivered in elaboration of this resolution, deserve much commendation. All of them, in fact, made impassioned and earnest appeal to the country to put an end to this communal warfare which was a serious blot on the fair name of India. They also appealed to the workers to carry the message of communal peace and harmony to every village in India.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad summed up the situation in an able manner. He thought that Indian Nationalism was on a real trial and the Congress as the repository of the Indian nationalism has to fight for its very existence. In his opinion, if the Congress workers put their heart and soul into the task of achieving communal peace, this problem which now seems to be defying solution can be solved in a very short time. The grave warning administered by the Maulana went home to the audience.

States Problem

On the question of the Indian States, the Congress did not fail to give a correct lead. It declared that it considered the struggle for freedom in the States as an essential part of the larger struggle in India and that it considered it wholly untenable for the British Government to claim through the Viceroy and Crown Representative to have any interest in the States other than or apart from that of the Government of India. It has also declared in clear and unequivocal terms that the representatives of the States in the Constituent Assembly should be chosen by their people. Thus the Congress has given the proof of its earnestness in trying to put an end to the double-distilled slavery of States in India. This will cause another headache to the Political Department which is backing the rulers of the States in insisting upon their right to nominate the representatives of the States in the Constituent Assembly.

New Constitution for India

In two other resolutions, the Congress position as regards the new constitution for India and the Congress conception of *Swaraj* was defined in unequivocal terms. It is encouraging to note that the Congress declares on the eve of the Constituent Assembly that

> "It stands for an Independent Sovereign Republic, wherein all powers and authority are derived from the people . . . so that the ancient land attains its rightful and honoured place in the world and makes full contribution to the promotion of the world peace and progress in welfare of the mankind."

Oratory and superb debating skill were much in evidence in the speech of Acharya Narendra Dev in elaboration of this resolution. His scholarly and masterly survey of the Indian political problem needs great appreciation. He made some very useful suggestions which can be greatly beneficial if they are put into practice. He desired the Congress to work on a programme of direct Muslim mass contact instead of a policy of appeasement of the Muslim League.

In another resolution, the Congress emphatically announced the adoption of the principles in the August resolution, 1942, and the Congress Election Manifesto in regard to the content of Swaraj. It has voted in favour of a society which would ensure individual liberty, equality of opportunity and the fullest scope for every citizen for development of his personality.

The anxiety of the Congress to place a fully drawn out picture of its conception of *Swaraj* can be gauged from the acceptance of the suggestion of Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan who advocated that a special session of A.-I. C.C. be called for this purpose. It will be the task of this session to chalk out a mandate for the members of the Constituent Assembly.

The Congress Constitution will also be given a new turn, so as to remove from the organisation the sources of weaknesses and corruption and to give it a more well-knit character. For this purpose, the A.-I.C.C. has been authorized to revise the constitution in order to make it as widely representative of the Indian populace as possible and at the same time a more efficient instrument for giving effect to the national will.

Lighter Moments

The proceedings had their amusing patches. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiya referred to the way in which authorities of certain States carried out their pledge to appoint popular representatives to the executive councils. A ruler's daughter-in-law was appointed and the people were expected to regard her as their representative.

During proceedings on the resolution of Constituent Assembly, an amendment favoured the words 'United Socialist Sovereign Republic' instead of 'Independent Sovereign Republic'. Acharya Kripalani said that we have in our resolution specified that we want economic and social equality. Socialism itself is a very vague term which can cover a multitude of sins.

Nominal Opposition

The one feature that could not escape the notice of any one was weak opposition. The mainstay of the opposition were the Socialists and to some extent the Forward Blocists, but their voting strength was so feeble that the question of measuring strength with the official block was not at all serious. Further the opposition was handicapped by the repeated warnings of the President that the business of the session must be finished in two days at all costs. And the members of the Interim Government had to be provided with opportunities to make known their policies. But some among the Socialists gave glimpses of their parliamentary skill in debating. Mr. Achyut Patwardhan, the firebrand of the Socialist party, was quite prominent and gave a remarkably good impression of himself. He seems to be capable of achieving more success in the tasks that await him, if he chooses to observe some check on his impatience. Mr. Asoka Mehta also revealed that he has great future in store and with some more experience might succeed in stepping up the ladder of leadership. Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali's debut as a parliamentarian and as a speaker was the most formidable from the opposition and ranked her equal to the best brains in our parliamentary life.

It is a happy augury for the future of India that the younger elements have among themselves many

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capable persons who would fill the void created by the passing away of the present leadership with distinctive honour and credit.

CONCLUSIONS

It can be safely asserted that the Meerut Session truly represents a big step forward in the progress of India towards freedom. Firstly, the doubts in the mind of an average Indian regarding the Congress position in the Interim Government and its usual policy of League appeasement stand fully dispelled on account of the candid and outspoken utterances of the Congress leaders. It is manifestly clear that the days of surrender on the part of the Congress over national demands are over and the country can be assured of a firm and consistent stand by the Congress. Secondly, the implications of the resolutions of the communal civil strife are immediate as well as ultimate. The Congress has stated in no uncertain terms the way in which it will face the communal menace. Thirdly, the leanings of the Congress towards Socialism are now in full evidence in their resolution on the Constituent Assembly and Congress Manifesto. The Congress can, with courage and honesty, rebut the oft-repeated charges dubbing it as a capitalist-dominated organisation. Fourthly, the Congress leaders gave abundant proof of a restrained tone in their utterance so as not to worsen the already deteriorated communal atmosphere. If all the responsible organisations and leaders put a check and curb their passions, sentiments and emotions in a similar way, many of our problems and troubles will fade away without any serious efforts on our parts. Fifthly, the new turn in the Congress constitution by the A.-I.C.C. will give a set-back to power politics and make it a broad-based, well-knit and better organised body.

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SWADESHI DAYS

The Dawn Society and Anti-Circular Agitation

BY PROF. NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI, M.A.

WE had formed a *Graduates' Literary Union* inside the Presidency College and a group of M.A. and B.A. students gathered round this—we wrote on literary, philosophic, historical topics by turns, we invited our Professors and learned outsiders also to our meetings and we published some of the best amongst the contributed papers in a magazine we started as our appendage to the Union and called it the *Presidency College Magazine*. Mr. M. Prothero was about this time the Principal : I believe he encouraged our venture. Two of my own compositions were printed in this magazine, when I had the "thrill" (which must have been experienced by many) of seeing myself for the first time in print. Amongst other contributors were Rabindra Narayan Ghosh and Sushil Mookerji, both of whom wrote very interestingly. But the most precious result of this venture—so far as I was concerned—was my acquaintance with the revered Satis Chandra Mukherji, who was a brilliant scholar, a contemporary of Sir Asutosh Mukherji, who remained all his life a bachelor for the sake of training up a body of young men for the service of Mother India and who had, for the purpose, formed a society and named it the *Dawn Society*.

The Dawn Society, as I found after my introduction to the founder-savant, had its own office, its own magazine replete with serious articles on Economics, Literature, History, Archaeology and topics on ancient Indian culture, philosophy and religious and scientific achievement written by first-rate scholars. It had also a group of ardent workers and student-members, who were attracted by the saintly personality of Satis Mukherji and the charm of his dedicated life and became the 'inner group' of his disciples. Of these the most prominent were Radha Kumud Mukherji (well-known now as a researchist in ancient Indian History and Culture, who first attracted the notice of the world of scholars and researchists by his small brochure on *The Fundamental Unity of India*, published as early as 1906 or 1907), my friend and fellow-student Rabindra Narayan Ghosh and Benoy Kumar Sarkar (also a scholar of big repute, learned in several European languages, who has travelled widely in the West and the East and is a versatile writer, having published many treatises on varieties of topics and is a 'free-lance' and 'non-conformist' in political and economic theory and practice : two years my junior—he is now a Professor in the Post-Graduate Economics Department, and is justly admired for his original ideas and novel methods of expression and presentation—Benoy Sarkar is an original and an eccentric—a man of high talent and courage— who never 'plays to the gallery' and is full of never-failing admiration for the achievement of young Bengal of 1905 and after !) I was not of the *inner circle* but I attended many of the special lectures arranged for the benefit of the advanced scholars and learners by the Dawn Society and Sreejut Satis Mukherji presided over one of the meetings of our Graduates' Union when I was reading a paper and admired it with the constructive comment that I must concentrate my yearning to serve India (which was the key-note of my discourse) in *one* objective and then only I would achieve something tangible !

Meanwhile, my desultory readings continued and witnessing of performances of patriotic and classical plays on the boards of the Star Theatre and the Minerva Theatre, occasional visits to Dakshineswara Temple (the scene of Ramakrishna Paramahansa's religious devotions and sermons) and the Belur Math (founded by Swami Vivekananda on the river-bank just opposite Dakshineswar), listening to discourses by Rev. Kali Churn Banerji, Satyendranath Tagore, Lal Mohan Ghosh, Romesh Chandra Dutt and Rabindranath Tagore and Sir Gurudas Banerji— the idols of our student-days, besides Hirendranath Dutt and Mrs. Besant—all these formed part of the unconscious training that I with many others was passing through in my post-graduate years. Only a few months later, in the hey-day of the anti-partition and Swadeshi movement,

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we were carried off our feet by the rousing addresses and lectures of Bepin Chandra Pal and confirmed in our patriotic urge by the editorials of the *Sandhya*, started by Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya, a Christian by faith and a saint and a patriot of unequalled integrity and brilliance, a man of the people full of fire and daring who infused thousands with the electric throbs of aggressive country-love that were in his soul and by the vigorous writings of the *Jugantara*. These were the organs of the Revolutionary upsurge of the time. The silent sacrifice and cultured addresses and writings of Aurobindo Ghosh and the sweet and alluring personality of Sister Nivedita, who was another propagandist of the Swadeshi cult—and the songs of Dwijendra Lal Roy sung in chorus as mile-long processions marched through the streets of Calcutta and the enthralling cadences of Rabindranath's patriotic and devotional poetry and song—all combined to flood our souls with "a divine afflatus" and beckon us in to the paths of high endeavour and sacrifice for the country.

The first spark in the Swadeshi-*cum*-boycott movement of 1905 was really lighted by Lord Curzon by his undiplomatic and uncharitable remarks, as I have hinted earlier, in his Convocation address before us, graduates of 1904, in the Calcutta University Senate Hall in the capacity of Chancellor. This must have been sometime in March 1905—I am not sure about the exact dates—when the University Convocation for the conferment of degrees was summoned. Our group in the Presidency College either ordered the prescribed gowns and hoods or hired them from special milliners and attended the function and afterwards we took a group photo. I still remember Dr. P. K. Ray, the then Principal attired in his Doctor's red robes. Jagadis Bose and Prafulla Chandra Ray also similarly attired and other educational leaders in picturesque academic dresses forming part of the Chancellor's procession (the Vice-Chancellor was Mr. Pedlar, Director of Public Instruction, formerly Professor of Chemistry in Presidency College)—Father Lafont of St. Xavier's, N. N. Ghosh of the Metropolitan, also Syndics and honoured Judges of the High Court—Rashbehari Ghose and other celebrities—and leading Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India and Chancellor to his exalted seat on the dais : there was a conferring of degrees, the greatest sensation of this part of the ceremony being the exceptional honours in every branch of the medical science attained by a young M.D. (I forget his name : he, also, died a premature death almost in his thirties, and a very promising career was thus cut short) and an additional flutter when a small group of ladies received their degrees (women-graduates were a very limited few in our days). There was a hush of expectancy before Lord Curzon stood on his feet to deliver his written address. It was crisp and brilliant and vigorous, but very acid and pungent. His unnecessary references to the weaknesses of the Bengali temperament and character—specially his uncalled-for and insulting characterisation of Bengal's enthusiams as 'soda-water bottle effervescence'—produced resentment inside the Convocation Hall and a very unpleasant reaction outside in the press when the address appeared in the newspapers next morning. I still can visualise the cynical curl and twist of Curzon's lips and the mephistophelian 'glint' in his eye as he read out his address in clear, ringing tones. He was a man of great energy and did some really good work for India (the creation of the Archaeological Department and the putting of the "Ancient Monuments Act" on the statute book are instances in point), but with him and his policies began the slow but steady undermining of the British Rule in India.

The natural sequel followed—in the shape of a monster meeting in the Town Hall of Calcutta—where amongst others Rashbehari Ghosh, the leader of the High Court Bar and one of the idols of the intelligentsia and a speaker of very literary and refined English, condemned in stinging terms the affront given to the Nation by the highest dignitary in the land, the King Emperor's Vicegerent and the Chancellor of the premier University of India.

Shortly after, the plans of partitioning Bengal secretly conceived and elaborated in the Councils of the Viceroy and the British Cabinet were publicised in the country—it was probably in June 1905—when we had rejoined our Calcutta colleges after the summer recess (by that time our post-graduate lectures extending over one year only had been over and we were in Calcutta only to prepare for the University Examination to be held in December). The popular reaction to this sinister plan could never have been even distantly imagined by our rulers in Calcutta, Simla and at Whitehall ! The Nation's indignation rose spontaneously to a fever-height and Surendranath Banerjea and his adherents in the districts—Annada Chandra Roy of Dacca, Aswini Kumar Dutt of Barisal, Ambica Charan Majumdar of Faridpur, Umes Chandra Gupta of Rangpur, Kishori Mohan Choudhury of Rajshahi, Anathbandhu Guha of Mymensingh, Jatra Mohan Sen of Chittagong—to name only a few outstanding leaders of opinion—besides Krishna Kumar Mitra of the *Sanjibani*, Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra—and the most virile and forceful of them who propagandised the Swadeshi cult all over India—Bepin Chandra Pal—the 'hero' No. 1 of youth and the student community of those days for years—were raised to immediate action. Meetings were held all over Bengal—from Calcutta to the remotest nooks and corners—condemning the Partition scheme, challenging speeches were delivered and a call was given to the Nation to unite and resist the plan, of disrupting Bengal and striking at the core of the Nation's strength, by all legitimate means. This is not a historical thesis but a record of impressions and recollections, so I am not overcareful about dates and figures or about sequence of events in an ordered chronology. A country-wide boycott of British goods was proclaimed by the leaders. The students and youths carried it further and extended it to all British institutions. It was really the signal for a Revolution albeit without an army.

We, in the Eden Hindu Hostel, began our *debut* in the political arena, by a burning, with great fanfaronade, of the effigy of Curzon and by a bon-fire of British-made clothing gathered from the Hostel boarders. Immediately after, a students' rally was addressed privately by Sj. Hirendra Nath Dutt and it was decided to call for a boycott of the Calcutta University and its examinations in spite of murmurings of a few not-over-bright students of the Post-graduate stage. I took up the task of drafting a manifesto in Bengali on these lines which was printed and circularised amongst the student community. We had already resolved to boycott our coming M.A. examination and Radha Kumud Mukherji also joined (he was to sit for the P.R.S.). Meanwhile, the agitation had already been launched by students in colleges and schools all over

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the country and the Government reaction was the famous or infamous Carlyle Circular (a Mr. Carlyle was then Secretary to the Bengal Government) interdicting student-agitation and providing rigorous penal measures of discipline.

The result was open defiance of the Circular and the first success of the student-campaign was achieved by Sachindra Prasad Bose, a fourth year student-boycotter, at Rangpur, when in response to his fiery address, the Rangpur Bar rose as one man and declared the opening of the first national school in Bengal at Rangpur after a total boycott of the Government Zilla School had been decided upon. One of the leaders at Rangpur besides Umes Gupta, was the novelist and story-writer, Prabhat Kumar Mukherji, who was then practising as Barrister in the courts of Rangpur (nice, breezy soul), another was Rashbehari Mukherji (one of my near relations on my wife's side—I had married after joining my M.A.), another lawyer, besides Sj. Chakravarti, life-long sufferer and patriot, father of Sri Sures Chakravarti, the famed writer and disciple of Sri Aurobindo. Call came to us in Calcutta for volunteering as teachers of this school and three of us—Brojasundar Roy, M.A., Hiralal Mukherji (a brilliant Physics man of my year) and myself hurried in response and joined at Rangpur.

So sometime early in November, 1905, we practically joined as national volunteers in the educational work started by the people's leaders in a district town. For me, it was paying some of my debts to the District where I had been 'raised' from a boy of five. Brojasundar Roy hailed from Sylhet, was a high M.A. in History, two or three years our senior, Hiralal was from the district of Barisal, which took the lead in the Swadeshi movement under its inspiring and selfless leader of wonderful ability in organisation, Aswini Kumar Dutt. By the time we had joined, the movement was taking shape—for between our bon-fire and effigy-burning demonstrations in the Eden Hindu Hostel (we had also participated in picketing of Manchester cloth shops in the Burrabazar area) and our joining the Rangpur National School—a period of about four months, the entire countryside was in rebellion—Sir Bamfylde Fuller, the new Lieutenant-Governor of East Bengal was a man of excitable and impulsive temperament and was easily led to see 'Red' everywhere—and instances of the burning of British merchandise, throwing of Liverpool salt into rivers, sinking of boats laden with this salt were multiplying. In one instance, Sir Bamfylde went beyond the limits of gubernatorial propriety—he personally ordered the Headmaster of the Madaripur High School in Faridpur district, Srijut Kali Prasanna Das Gupta, a very learned man and widely respected, to flog students of the school for having joined in the demonstration. Naturally he had to refuse and resigned : Madaripur also had a national school. Barisal, I remember, was organised into self-sufficient village units and had a large number of national schools not only in the town but also in far-away villages.

At Rangpur, shortly after we arrived and made the acquaintance of the leaders who received us with the utmost courtesy, we found the town was in a ferment—the District Magistrate in retaliation against the 'rebellious' conduct of the leaders of the Bar and other professions enrolled 12 or 14 of them as 'Special Constables.' The ostensible object was keeping the peace but the disguised motive which, however, came to the surface at once was to humiliate them, for, the Superintendent of Police asked them to report to Police Headquarters, receive their batons and uniforms and join in the parade-practice with ordinary constables ! He was met with an indignant refusal, the leaders were prosecuted, the case went up to the High Court at Calcutta and ended in total acquittal of the Swadeshi group. I still recollect how we also were taken up into the eddies of excitement that ran through Rangpur town.

Our stay (of Hiralal Mukherji and myself) was to be short-lived : for hardly had a fortnight elapsed, when we received an urgent wire from our friend Rabindra Narayan Ghosh recalling both of us to Calcutta for sitting in the M.A. examinations, in obedience to no less a personage's request than that of Sir Gurudas Banerji who had assured the student-boycotters that he and other leaders were starting a Bengal National Council of Education immediately but they wanted to tell Government, it was meant not to *supplant* but to *supplement* Government efforts of the Calcutta University and so the boycott of the University and of the examinations should not be given effect to and we must appear 'in national interest' at the examinations. These were counsels of moderation but we had no other choice than obeying our leaders, men like Gurudas Banerji, Asutosh Choudhury, P. C. Ray, Rabindranath Tagore, Satis Chandra Mukherji, to name a few. A princely sum of one lac of rupees had meanwhile been donated by Sj. Subodh Mullick of Creek Row, Calcutta, and another big amount was being given by Brojendra Nath Choudhury, Zemindar of Gouripore in Mymensingh in aid of the National Council of Education.

So we had to return to our books, the examinations were only 15 days off and for the last 4 months we had laid them aside and thrown ourselves headlong into the movements, reckless of consequences and without any thoughts of tomorrow. I remember I had left all my Shakespeare's annotated editions and commentaries behind at Calcutta and so what could I do but get hold of a volume of Shakespeare's collected works from the Rangpur Public Library and made it do duty instead ! We two hastened to Kurigram Subdivisional town in Rangpur District, where my parents were and devoted ourselves to 10 days of intensive study—Hiralal of his Physics and myself of my Literature ! Five days before the examination (in our time for the Arts men, it was a six papers' examination covering six days, the Science men had their practical tests in addition)—saw us back in Calcutta. I was in a desperate situation but so were the whole bunch of us—and Rabindra and myself closetted ourselves together (the two best students of the year) and gave each other the benefit of our reciprocal knowledge and studies, and though it was a question of very bad preparation and of 'touch and go,' both of us eventually surprised everybody by securing First Class degrees, Rabin standing first and myself a close second. Hiralal secured a Second Class in Physics unfortunately—went up as an apprentice on an allowance of Rs. 75 monthly to the Empress Mills at Nagpur for textile training, stuck for five long years there to see his prospects dwindling and joined the Accounts service and rose high and is now dead and gone—one of my best chums and a thorough patriot and gentleman.

After the examination was over in early December I had proceeded home to Vikrampur. And here

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began a new chapter in my life. I had married into a well-to-do middle class family of Bajrajogini, a village of great historic renown, reputed to be the birth-place of Dipankar Sree Jnan, the Buddhist monk and far-famed scholar of ancient days and a big centre of Buddhist lore and practice and later on of *tantric* and Hindu revivalist programmes in the old days. It was part of Rampal, the capital city of the Pal Dynasty of Bengal (relics of those glorious days being still extant) and was even in 1905 a centre of culture and distinction. I came to visit my wife's people soon after I came to my village home : there I met a friend of my father-in-law, a member of the Guha Zemindars of the village, who told me he could procure for me a certificate of delegation from the Vikrampur Constituency of Congress if I meant to attend the Provincial Conference which had been summoned at Barisal, where all the leading political lights of Bengal would foregather and which would be presided over by the nationalist Muslim Barrister Mr. A. Rasul.

I have forgotten to mention that though Lord Curzon and Sir Bamfylde Fuller could hardly get a single Hindu to support the Partition, the East Bengal Muslims had almost to a man swallowed the bait of prospective Muslim ascendency, of easy jobs and perquisites, of a University to be started at Dacca, of Dacca being restored to its old glory of a capital city. Sir Bamfylde called the Muslim community his 'favourite wife' and his government spared no engines of oppression to let the Hindu nationalists down and to kill the movement. Barisal was to be a 'test case' and Sir Bamfylde and his advisers on the one side and Congress leaders led by Surendranath Banerjea, Mr. J. Choudhury, Aurobindo Ghosh, Bepin Chandra Pal, Kaliprasanna Kavya-Bisharad and Manoranjan Guha Thakurta of Barisal, whose fervid nationalism can never be forgotten by Bengal, Krishna Kumar Mitra, and others on the other hand prepared for the fray. But of this later on.

'There is a divinity that shapes our ends' and without any previous idea of joining the Barisal Congress, I found myself armed with a delegation certificate and with a few silver coins in my pocket, I boarded the steam-vessel that was to carry us from Narayanganj to Barisal (a few hours' journey). To Bepin Chandra Pal I was already known as a student-leader. He introduced me to Aurobindo Ghosh, a short, squat gentleman of very modest and shy temper —the man, to whom shortly before, while he was yet at the Gaekwad's College at Baroda, I had addressed a communication signifying my readiness to work as a Lecturer in English at the Baroda College in preference to accepting any government appointment in Bengal, specially as Baroda was a progressive Indian State. When I was introduced to Aurobindo Ghosh, he smiled gently and asked me if I was the young man who was the writer of that letter addressed to the Principal. Now the Principal was an Englishman and he showed my letter to Sri Aurobindo who was the Vice-Principal with the comment that national and anti-British sentiments were very rife and rampant evidently in Bengal, as the straight tone of the contents of my letter showed ! So I was put at ease and we spent some pleasant time conversing together.

We reached Barisal in the morning and were billetted at the Hostel of the Brojomohan College founded by Aswini Kumar Dutt. The open conference marched to an open plot of land about a mile from the conference pandal, called Raja Bahadur's Haveli and were formed into lines and asked to proceed in ordered formation to the pandal, along the broad streets. The shouting of our national cry *Bande Mataram* had been interdicted by a Government Circular (the Emerson Circular ?) sometime before and it had been decided that every delegate should cry *Bande Mataram* as he proceeded ; the carrying of *lathis* and other weapons, even short sticks during the procession had been forbidden by our leaders.

What was our surprise when at the first shout of *Bande Mataram* as the procession was just marching out of the open space, before which was a broad street flanked by a tank, policemen set on the first line of delegates and belaboured them with *lathis*, then proceeded to deal with the second and third lines who had by this time gone out to the street, with broken and bleeding heads, and one of Monoranjan Guha Thakurta's sons, Chittaranjan who was profusely bleeding and continued to shout *Bande Mataram* was being mercilessly belaboured by the constabulary and thrown into the tank flanking the street ! The District Magistrate and the Police Superintendent, both Englishmen (Emerson and Kemp were their names, if my memory does not betray me) were in the melee : I was in the fourth line and that line had not yet been attacked by the police. Meanwhile, Surendranath Banerjea and Mr. J. Choudhury were having an altercation with these two English officials and I found Bepin Chandra Pal and Mr. Choudhury holding the reins of their two ponies and preventing them from proceeding further into our formations. Surendranath and Choudhury were at once put under arrest and summarily fined Rs. 50 each after a mock trial by the Magistrate, held in a small room which was police quarters or had been requisitioned for these purposes.

Meanwhile, the whole body of processionists numbering several hundreds—all the delegation to the Conference, that is,—marched under our leaders' orders to the pandal in slow silence with the severely mauled and bandaged Chittaranjan in front, helped by volunteers and there was wild excitement and tremendous resentment accompanied with steeled enthusiasm in the audience of thousands assembled in the conference, when we marched in. Surendranath and Mr. J. Choudhury joined the conference shortly after and the cheering of the heroes and the indignation against Government were unbounded. Mr. Rasul read his dignified address in an atmosphere of tense silence—he was the pioneer of the nationalist Muslim movement in Bengal and in sweetness of character, dignity of manner, depth of patriotism Rasul has never been surpassed by any Muslim leader.

It was reported that Sir Bamfylde's government launch had arrived with himself on board and was moored off the Barisal river-ghat and that he had issued orders to treat the rebels with utmost severity. Anyway the conference passed resolutions of country-wide boycott of British goods, establishment of national agencies of education and of the nation's determination to carry on the fight till the partition would be reversed and Bengal would again be one, United Bengal as of old. This was my "fire-baptism" in politics and Barisal has thus been to me, even a place of pilgrimage where I was initiated into the Swadeshi *mantram* in an

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atmosphere of brutal governmental repression of the most unashamed variety.

The memory of Barisal stuck and drew me 15 years after into the open highways of political fight under Mahatma Gandhi's lead in 1921, when 15 years of college teaching and administration and deeper acquaintance with our people and their problems throughout Bengal, and a more instructed mental and moral equipment had fitted me to don the non-violent soldier's armour and shield and join the India-wide struggle for emancipating Mother India from the shackles of foreign usurpation and tyranny and slow but sure poisoning of the life-blood of the people. Meanwhile, I had become a member of the "Anti-Circular Society" started in Calcutta principally by Rama Kanta Roy (who had been trained in Japan for industrial activity, had come back and joined the movement) and Sachindra Prasad Basu of 'Rangpur fame.' The Society's business besides organising agitation against the repressive Circulars of Sir Fuller's administration was to push on the boycott and create markets for 'Swadeshi' goods and products by opening sale-bureaus and show-rooms and by propaganda in rural areas by itinerant bands.

I returned to Kurigram and opened a branch there and carried on these activities for some time. I had to give them up, however, at the request of my respected father whose position in the service of Government was being jeopardised by his son's activities and who had been served with several warnings already.

It was 1906 : I was a high-class M.A. now at the age of 21 and was ripe for the teaching profession. And here begins a fresh chapter in my life when for 15 years, as a college teacher in Bihar, Sylhet and Bengal proper, I could be of some service to the rising generation of students who came after us to be either the torch-bearers of the New Political Dispensation of the Congress or to be henchmen and parasites of the foreign government, according to the training they received.

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A PRE-GUPTA SCULPTURE FROM TALANDA

By BISWESWAR CHAKRABARTI

"Archaeologically Bengal has been a much neglected province." Very few of the ancient ruins have been excavated. There has not been even a proper exploration of the whole area. Thus only an insignificant portion of our ancient art treasures has come to light. The specimens in our museums are mostly chance finds in fields, tanks and ditches and, as such, confined to the upper stratum. Now, the face of the country has changed and is changing much owing to the influence of the mighty rivers and other factors. So these collections from the upper stratum represent the latest stage of development of our pre-Mohammedan art and sculpture. These belong to the Pala or Sena epochs. There are some which belong to the "eastern version" of the Gupta tradition. But there are only three sculptures which may be said to exhibit some affinities with the art of the Kushan period. Very recently a fourth one has been added to the list. It was found by the present writer in a bamboo grove at Talanda in Rajshahi district and is now housed in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University.

The sculpture under notice is a broken head of Vishnu in buff-coloured sandstone. As the other parts have not been available it is difficult to pass any dogmatic opinion. But it can, perhaps, be safely assigned to a period earlier than the fifth century A.D. The lips are flabby ; the eye-brows are raised and the features are heavy and broad. There is a stern frontality and the accents are on the linear effect. All these are characteristics of the Mathura school of sculpture, which cannot be lightly passed over. Of the three specimens showing Kushan affiliation one is of Vishnu from Hankrail in Maldah district. The next image in point of time is that of Buddha from Biharail in Rajshahi district and assigned to a period not later than the early fifth century A.D. The accompanying photograph will show that the present image is very like the former and quite unlike the latter. The stylistic difference is so well-marked that it can not be assigned to a period later than the fourth century A.D. The stolid dignity of Kushan art is unmistakable. The material used should also be taken into consideration. It is not the red sandstone used by the sculptors of Mathura, nor the Chunar sandstone used by those of Sarnath but the buff-coloured sandstone which was used by the local artists of Bengal who were only distantly touched by the Mathura tradition as is the case with the other three specimens showing affinity with Kushan art.

The find-place of the image deserves some special notice. Talanda is a big village, twenty-two miles north (slightly west) of Rampur-Boalia and standing on the District Board road leading to Manda. Some twenty miles up the road is Biharail, the find-place of the earliest Buddha image of the early fifth century. Three miles down the road is Tanore, where Raja Ganesh is said to have encountered the Sultanate army from Gaur. Here the road bifurcates : one leading to Gaur *via* Mundamala and the other to Talanda, Manda, Biharail and Kusumba—names so familiar to the scholars of the ancient history of Bengal. The road here runs north to south and divides the village into two unequal sectors. The eastern part occupies the alluvial land gradually sloping into a marshy land (Bil Kumari) through which runs an almost dried-up river, the Siva Nadi. A few miles down it empties itself into the Baranai, identified with Bata Nadi of the Gupta inscriptions. Higher up the Siva Nadi is Kusumba, identified with Kausambi Astagaccha Khandala of the Velava inscription (c. 1200 A.D.). The western sector, about half a mile in radius, occupies the south-eastern tip of the red laterite region, known as Varind. It is at a level some twenty feet higher than the surrounding region. It is full of mounds of varying heights. The area is almost uninhabited and has been reclaimed from jungles only in recent years. At places the brick-looters have unearthed massive walls of bricks (9 ins. × 9 ins. × 1 in.) and they are having a brisk trade. A mosque

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built up of fragments of bricks of the same size and some chlorite pillars lies in ruins under the thorny *babla*. Here the victor, victim lies. There are some broken chlorite and sandstone pillars. with sculptural designs, lying in a ditch which the brick-looters could not dig deeper for stones underneath. A serpentine canal round the site can still be traced. There is another about forty yards inside. Broken images are sometimes fished out of the numerous big tanks which are now being reclaimed. The image under review is one of those. Another unique image, procured from the locality and treasured in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, will be reviewed in a later issue. Many more, though not so important, are found in the houses and *thans* (Devasthans) in the western part of the village. An excavation of the site is likely to amply repay the labour. But if it is long left unprotected, the face of the land will be completely changed by these brick-looters and many things of archaeological importance may be lost for ever. May this draw the attention of the scholars to this hitherto unknown site of great antiquity.

Head of Vishnu in buff-coloured sandstone

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TWO ART-CRAFTS OF KARACHI

By S. I. CLERK

The two main art-crafts of Karachi are embroidery work and carpet weaving. Their products are artistic and traditional. In both the artisans are hereditary. At the same time, it may be noted that today merchants do bring workers from Benares for carpet weaving as these are cheaper and more industrious than the local artisans.

A general view of a carpet-weaving establishment having sixteen looms

The embroidery work of Sind is a very interesting folk-craft. Mostly women work in this craft during their spare time. Both simple embroidery and beautiful mirror work (known as *abhala* work) is done. Designs are traditional, but occasionally, merchants give their own ideas so as to make popular combination designs which may find a ready market. Usually, the materials are supplied by the merchants themselves. The cloth is, generally, dark green, vermilion red, black, etc. Both Swadeshi and foreign cloth are used. The embroidery threads and the glass pieces are Indian. The threads are dyed locally.

There are about 350 to 400 workers in Karachi and about 2,000 in the rest of the Province. They are usually paid on piece-work basis. Sometimes, the merchants employ the artisans on a monthly wage basis so as to get a definite quantity of work in a fixed period of time. Payments based on piece-work obviously depend on the intricacy of the design and the beauty of the finished product. Usually, embroidery work is done on articles, such as blouses, sari borders, and pallavs, table centres, belts, purses, curtains, scarves, sandals champals, table covers, teapoy covers, shopping bags. These are very beautifully embroidered. At the same time, there is a considerable scope for improvement both in the living conditions of the workers and the designs they make.

As regards carpet weaving in Sind, Mr. G. P. Fernandes has written in his *Report on Art-crafts of the Bombay Presidency* (1932) : "These carpets could easily compete with the Baluchi carpets, and at times even with the Persian patterns." However, today the local workers are not very efficient and the merchants bring artisans from Benares. Usually, the worker is paid on a piece-work basis. He gets about Rs. 8-15 for a carpet of 6 ft. × 3 ft. for which he takes about five days. This renumeration includes 25 per cent dearness allowance. In this particular case this allowance comes to Re 1-4. Incidentally, the maximum price of locally

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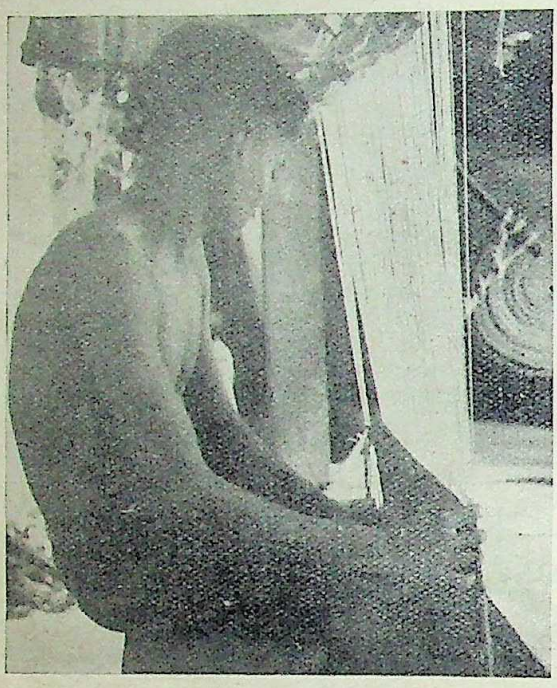
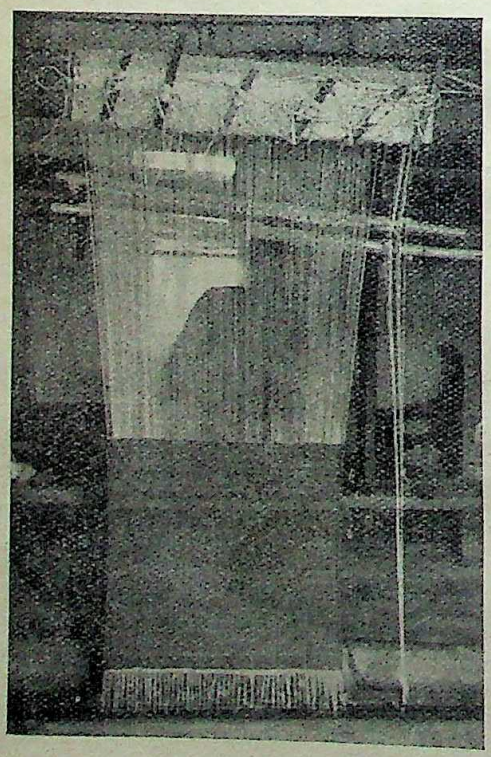
manufactured carpet is about Rs. 3-12 per square foot, the price varying according to the design of the carpet.



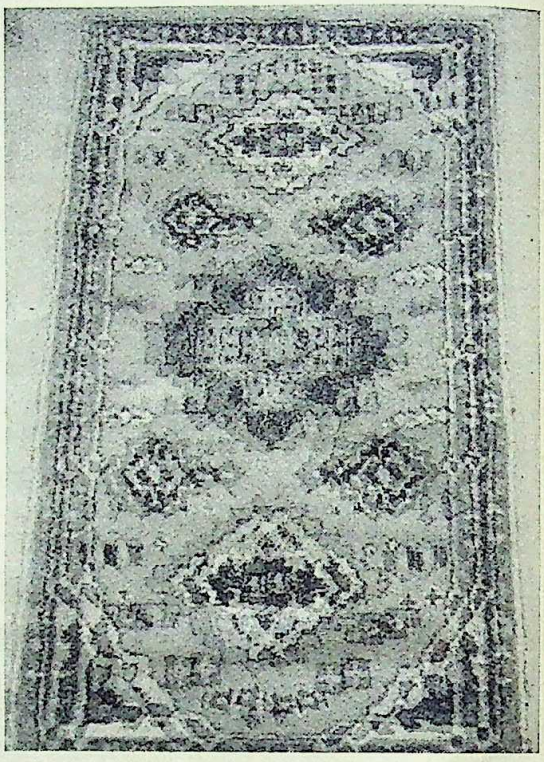
A carpet weaver at work

Most of the materials required in the process of manufacture are obtained locally. To save time and labour costs, extensive use is being made of aniline



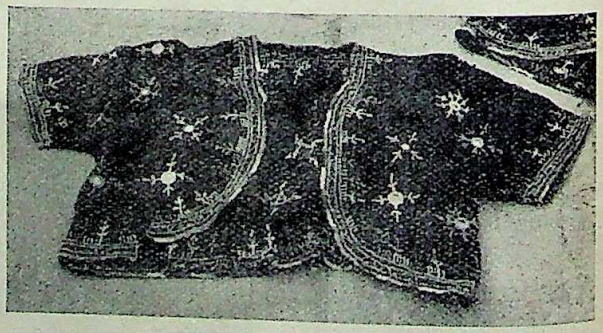
Another view of a carpet weaver at work

dyes. The final product is not as good as it would be if vegetable dyes were used. However, use of vegetable dyes is not possible until the consuming public demands quality rather than cheapness of price.



A finished carpet ready for sale

Unfortunately, these crafts receive little or no state-aid. They are almost neglected. This is in utter contrast to Surat art-crafts which are fairly well aided by the Provincial Government by way of training classes, loans to the artisans, sales depots, etc. In this connection, mention may be made of Sind Constitution Co., Ltd., (Court Chambers, Wadhumal Udharam Road, Karachi) which is pioneering in systematically organising the craft of embroidery work, albeit from the merchant's point of view. However, the artisans too



A blouse embroidered by a Sindhi woman

will benefit from such an organised manner of working, especially, if this private firm is sufficiently broad-minded and does not hanker after quick short-time profits only. Obviously, the lot of the artisans can be much more improved if the Government takes an active interest in the arts and crafts within its jurisdiction. Mr. G. P. Fernandes in his already quoted report also complained of the state-neglect of folk-

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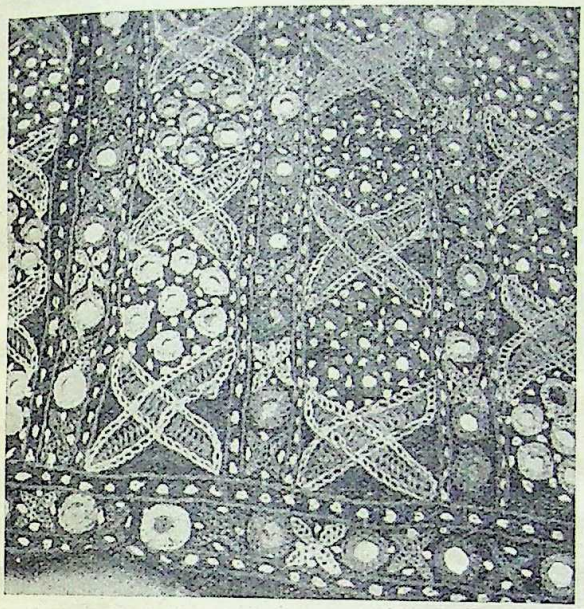
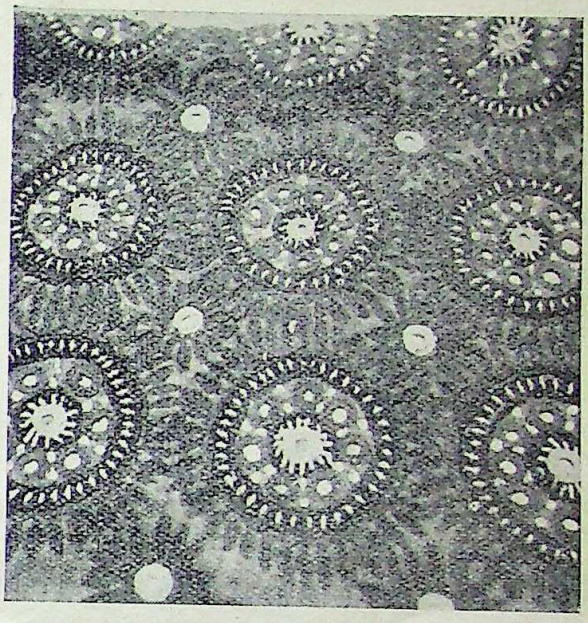
arts and folk-crafts. We too are compelled to make the same observations with a hope that soon the Provincial Government will step in and prevent the artisans from being exploited by the merchants. Sind Government have already opened Sales Depots which sell the products of these and other art crafts of the Province. which can buy the materials directly from the market and sell the finished goods through the Government sales depots. Further, the Government will have to do something to popularize the finished products. Appeal should be made to the aesthetic and patriotic senses of the public. Use of the products of folk-crafts should be



Detail-depicting a motif design commonly used by Sindhi women in their embroidery craft for which Sind is famous



Details from a piece of Sind embroidery work showing circular motifs

Apart from these, there should be organised centres where young artisans should be given opportunities for regular and systematic training in design-making and other technical matters in general. Government should try to organise the artisans into co-operative groups considered fashionable. Unless the State steps in, any folk-craft either withers away (and that is always a great national loss) or the artisans are mercilessly exploited by the merchants who can have only pecuniary motives in their interest in the whole thing.

———:O:———

COMBINED HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL CENTER HELPS SAFEGUARD NEW YORK'S HEALTH

In New York City fourteen years ago, a group of important medical institutions were brought together and housed in eleven modern structures of unique design and advanced conception centered about a towering 27-storey building.

These medical institutions are organized as New York Hospital—Cornell Medical Center and occupy several city blocks on East River Drive between 68th and 71st streets on Manhattan Island, in the heart of New York City. The impressive structures contain 28,000,000 cubic feet of space in America's largest institution of its kind.

The three great currents of modern medicine—healing, teaching and research—flow together through all the diversified activities of this unusual Center. The two main institutions of the Center, as indicated by its title, are the New York Hospital and the Cornell Medical College. The hospital was founded in 1771 by a grant from King George III of England. The Cornell Medical College, a unit of Cornell University, a noted educational institution in central New York State, was established in 1898 and soon began training its students at the New York Hospital, with which it made affiliation in 1912.

Other institutions absorbed by the Center include the New York Lying-In Hospital, founded in 1799 ; the Manhattan Maternity and Dispensary and the New York Nursery and Child's Hospital. The Center's annual number of students, about 300, is selected from a list of 3,000 applicants. Those enrolled in an average year hold degrees from 80 different colleges and universities and represent 39 of the 48 States of the United States.

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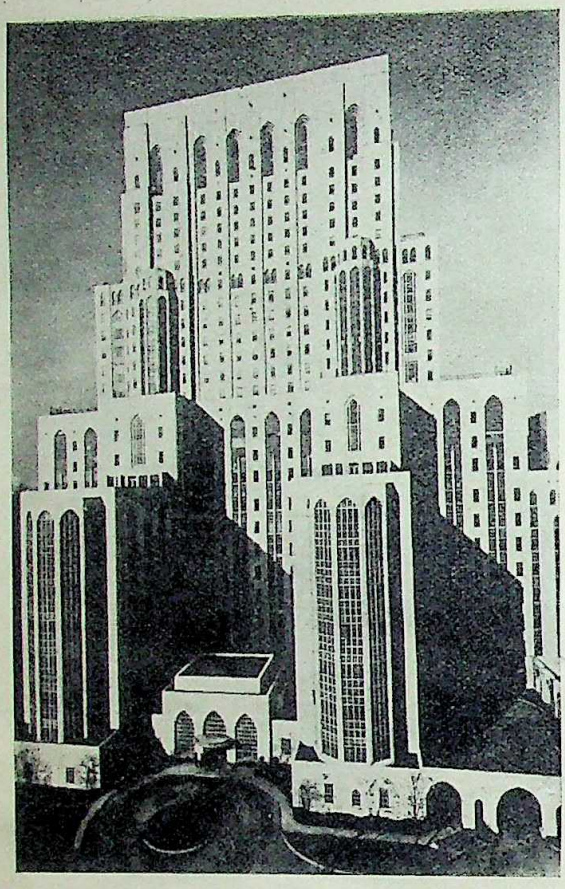
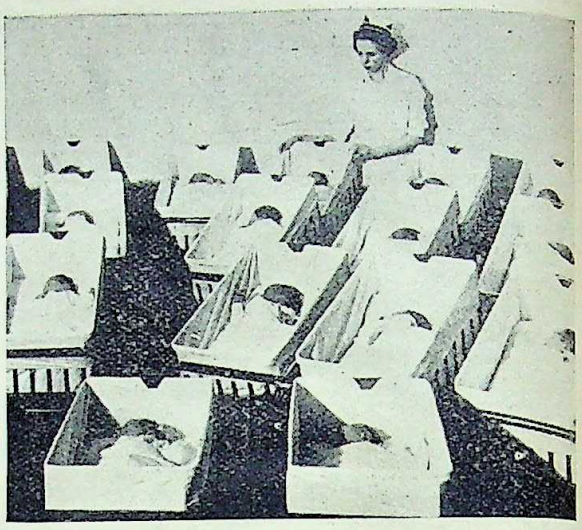


A view of the 27-storeyed New York Hospital—Cornell Medical Center, largest institution of its kind in the United States



Twenty-two new-born babies lie in their bassinets in one of the many nurseries of the maternity department of the New York Hospital

ened from four to three years with special training in military medicine. The School of Nursing instructed students, inactive graduates, and volunteer aides, while the New York Hospital taught the principles of first aid to hundreds of non-professional men and women.

In a typical year, the Center has 1,420 beds in use; 23,321 patients; 44,661 out-patients; 312,000 out-patient visits and 3,305 babies born. In the first 10 years of its existence, the Center treated more than 600,000 patients.

In research, the Center has been one of America's greatest exponents of the modern conception of medi-

Mobile book-shelves make reading easily available to patients in the New York Hospital

The New York Hospital—Cornell Medical Center maintained a military unit, the Ninth General Hospital, United States Army, during the war. Answering the nation's call for doctors, the college course was short-

cine, which is not merely to cure the sick but to pre serve and promote community health. Through i great size and extensive equipment, the Center is ab to place the latest devices and laboratory discoveri

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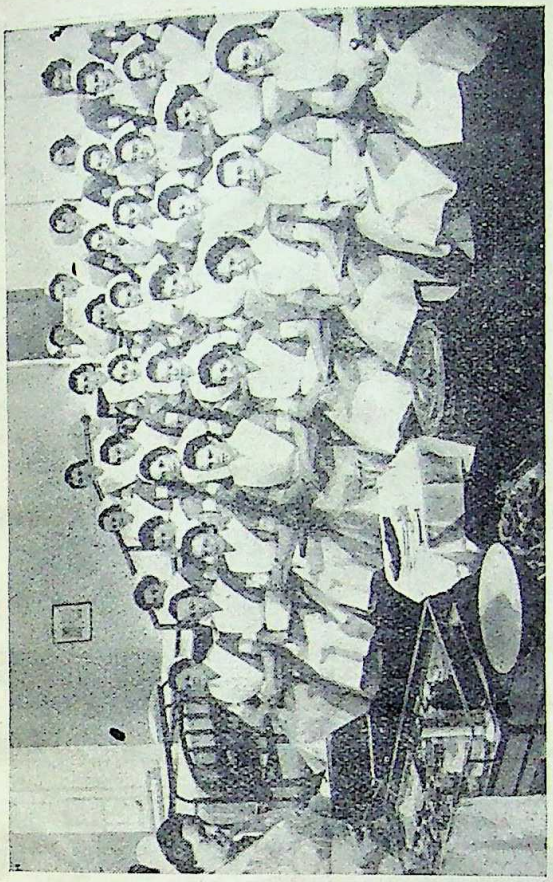
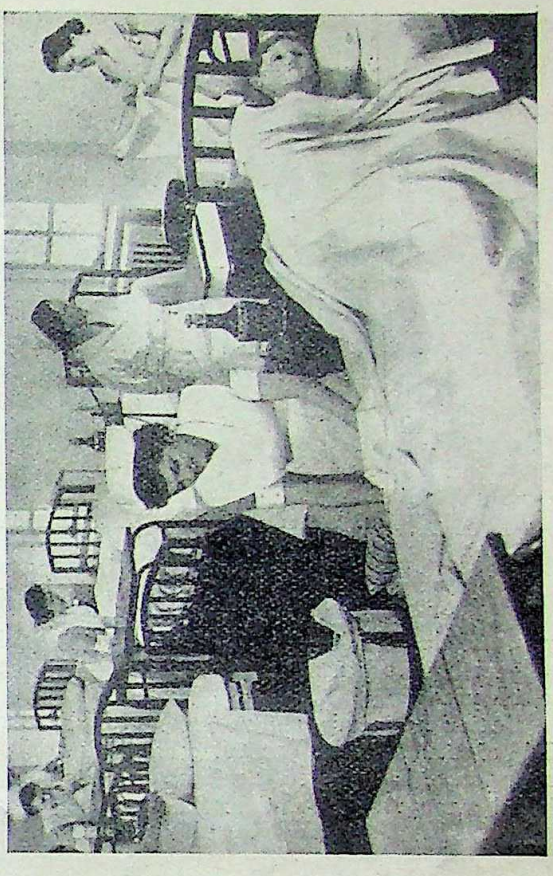
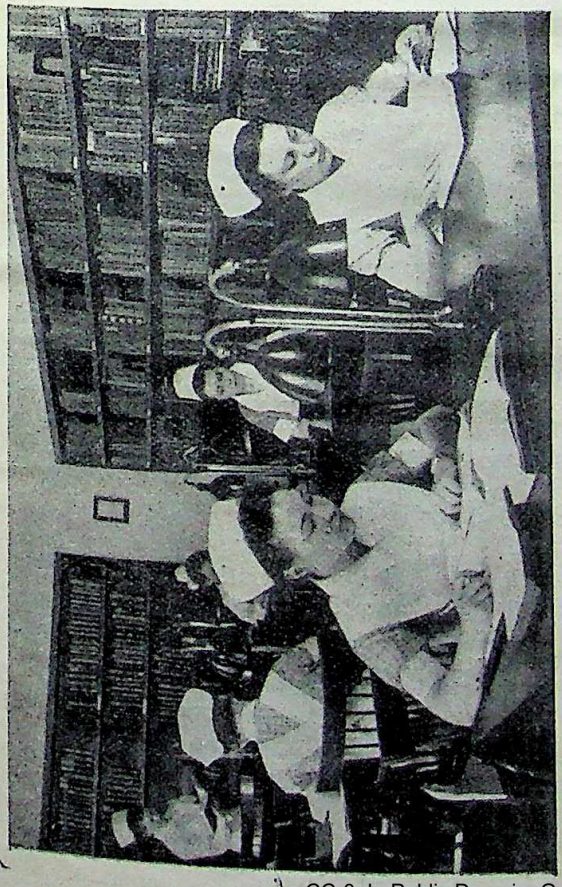


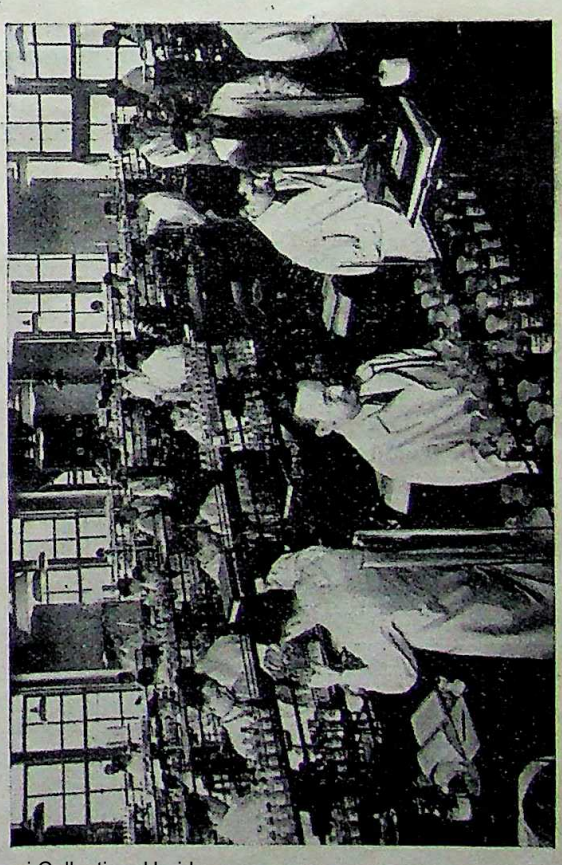
A demonstration of the technique of sterilising instruments is given for a class of student nurses



Student nurses practise bed-side care, working with life-size mannequins, before they are allowed to handle patients



Student nurses study in the reference library of the New York Hospital—Cornell Medical Center



Medical students conduct laboratory tests at the Cornell Medical College

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An isolation ward for infectious diseases in the children's department of the New York Hospital

directly in the doctor's hands, and its resources enable laboratory workers to become more intimately aware of the doctor's needs.

The Center has made many important advances in the field of medicine. The Center's maternal mortality rate, for instance, is 1·81 per thousand compared with the national average of 6 per thousand.

Those who organized and built the New York Hospital—Cornell Medical Center designed it to endure "not less than a hundred years." In this regard, the Center already has fulfilled the vision of its founders in demonstrating its capacity to cope with the pressing medical problems of the war and the post-war world. —*USIS.*

———:O:———

WHERE THE GODS DWELL

By E. E. SPEIGHT

Glad am I to have lived to see this all
Transcending scene, this hope for mankind befall,
That out of the East, where women long have sheltered
From scorn ill-founded, dangers men foretold,
Knowing themselves, suddenly this high-souled
Lady of India* went, nor ever faltered,
Among the stern, the stalwart and the shrewd
Legates of alien allegiances,—
A lonely spirit, finding beyond all feud
Pregnant words that, by her heart's command,
Richly persuasive, sighted at the last
An honest world, a world to shame the past
Of man's adventurous autocracy,—
Words to challenge a purpose leading to
The worst of fate, the supreme irony
Of trust in steel and slaughter.

Tell me who
In all our history ever moved among
So strangely harassed victors so sedate,
So calmly confident, uttering thoughts that stung,
In all their quiet candour, the brood of hate
Our deeds have yet to bridle ere we know
That all we fought to rescue are to share
What guerdon we have gained of right to trace
New avenues of Freedom.

Glad am I
Her spirit moves to a noble truth they tell
In a revered scripture of her race :
"In the house where a woman is honoured
There the gods dwell."

* *Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit.*

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SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

A Center of Culture

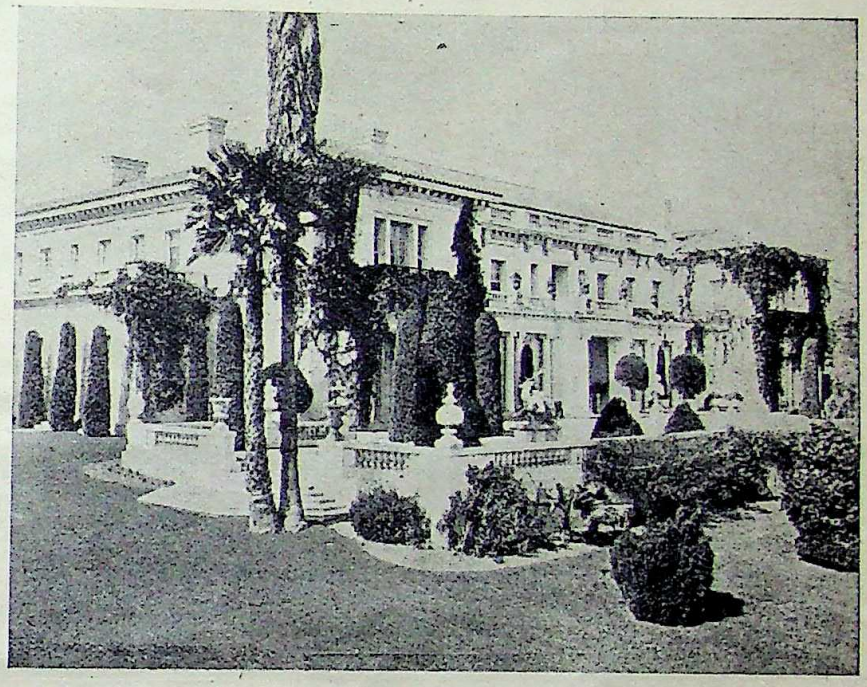
SOUTHERN California, on the Pacific Coast of the United States, has become one of the nation's and the world's important cultural centers. In recent years writers, painters, sculptors and musicians have established a sizable colony in the region and since the beginning of World War II their number has increased.

All agree that the California area is stimulating to creative work. Some of the Europeans who have made their homes in the vicinity of Los Angeles and Hollywood include Thomas Mann, German author; Jean Gabin, French actor; Bruno Walter, Viennese orchestra conductor; Otto Klemperer, German musician; Theodor von Karmen, Hungarian mathematician; and the late Franz Werfel, author of the book *The Song of Bernadette*.

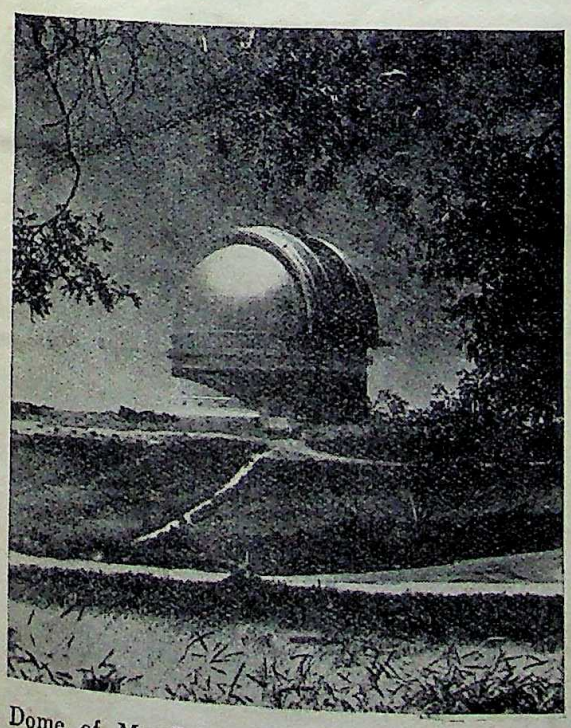
In Los Angeles county alone there are thousands of persons of Russian, German, Scandinavian, Polish, French, Dutch and Turkish origin. The stimulus of these groups living in close social contact has spurred the cultural advance of the entire area.

A number of institutions of research and learning exert their influence on Southern California. Three famous centers are in sight of each other—the Mount Wilson Observatory, which over 75,000 persons visit every year, the California Institute of Technology and the Huntington Library and Art Museum.

Mount Wilson has drawn to Southern California astronomers and geo-physicists from all over the world, and after the war its attractions increased with the completion of the Mount Palomar Observatory, on



The Huntington Library and Art Gallery at Pasadena, California



Dome of Mt. Palomar in San Diego County, California

Mt. Palomar near San Diego. Its new telescope will penetrate the heavens four times farther than the Mount Wilson reflector.

Prehistoric research in America has centered in Southern California for years, because of the location near Los Angeles of the La Brea asphalt pits, which thousands of years ago were deathtraps for now extinct animals. The bones of these prehistoric monsters, besides the richness of the district in fossils and the important research done by the Institute of Technology, increases the attraction of the region to scientists in general and geologists in particular.

As an example of contrast, a ten-minute ride from the La Brea pits takes one to the famous Hollywood Bowl, where the world's great music is interpreted by leading conductors, listened to in open-air concerts by audiences of 20,000 and more.

The Huntington Library, with a collection of 800,000 rare manuscripts, has drawn scholars from many countries. On its grounds is a garden which contains plants from every country. These features have drawn botanists of world importance to Southern California.

In a sense, Southern California is a mirror of the cultural development of the United States. This is true not only in regard to its cosmopolitan population, but to its youthful and thriving cultural life.—*USIS*.

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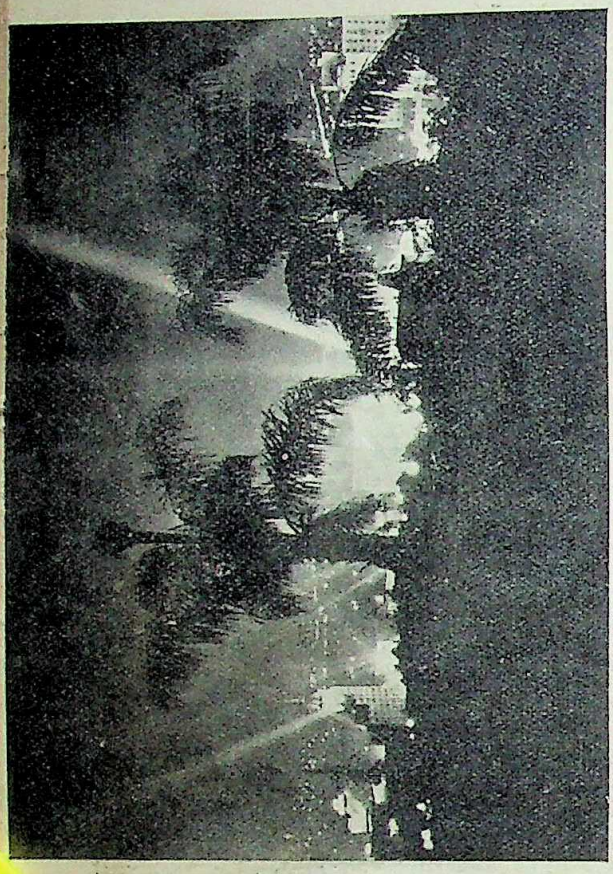
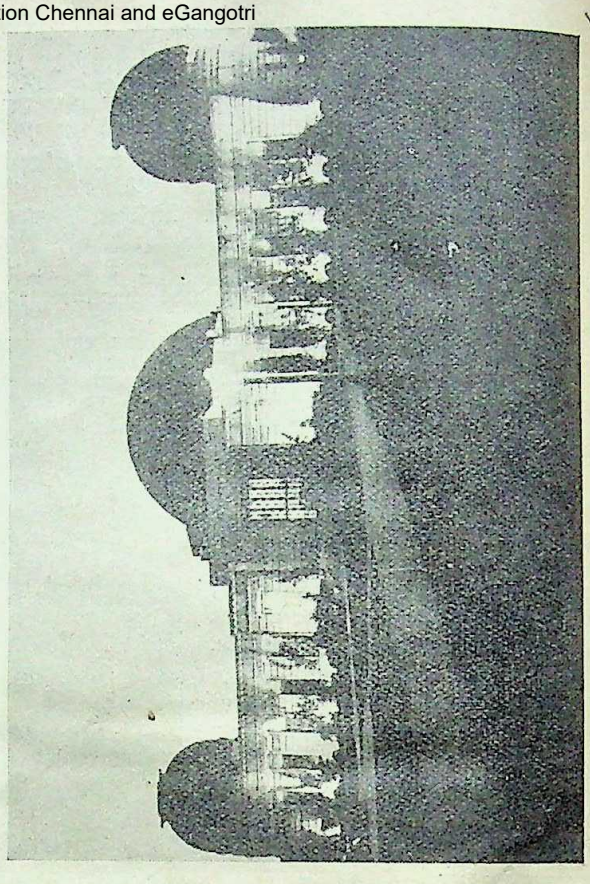
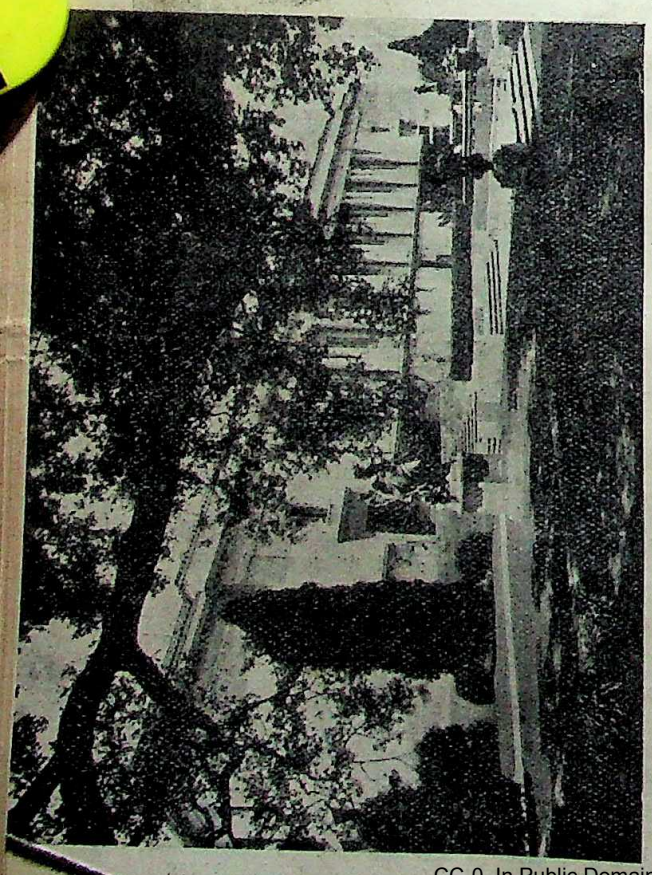




A night scene in Los Angeles, California. The searchlights announce a Hollywood motion-picture premier



The Huntington Library building at Pasadena, California

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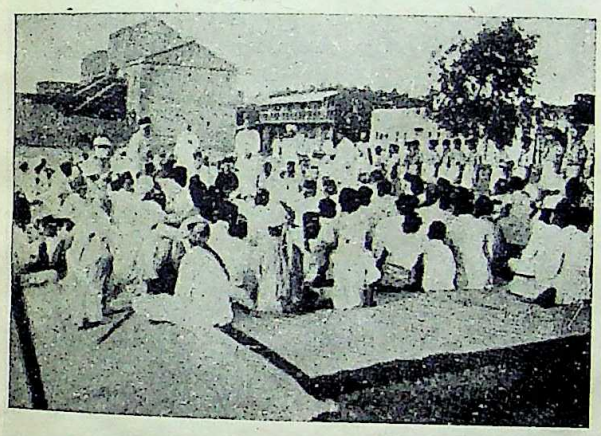
IN ART AND LIFE

By NAGESH YAWALKAR

"Art is not a luxury of the well-to-do. The poor man needs it as much and employs it in his cottage building, his floor decorations, his clay deities as in many other ways."

—Rabindranath Tagore

The fundamental unity of Art and Life is well known. Art cannot live without life and so also life cannot without Art. The life of a country means the life of the masses of the country. If the masses are starving, how can Art flourish in India? It will flourish only among the privileged few of the capitalist class as a form of luxury, but that will be of no use to the masses who are crippled by poverty.

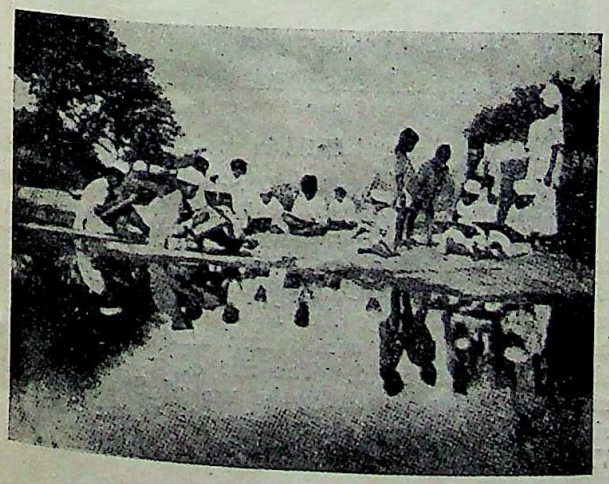


The opening ceremony of the Art Centre in Gwalior, which is under the active guidance of Nagesh Yawalkar.

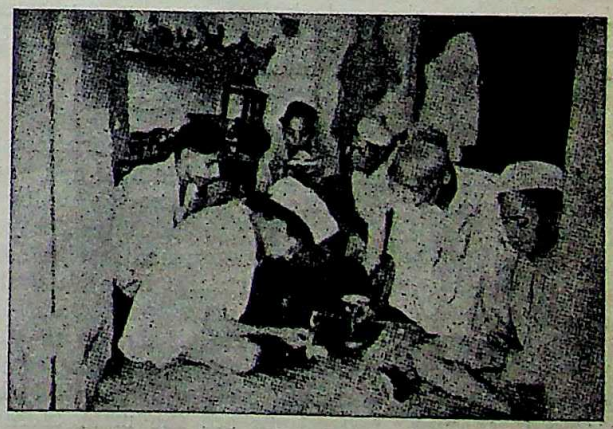
Therefore, we have to make such a use of Art that it will make life worthwhile. Let us consider the life and living of the masses that belong to the villages and the country. There are many problems facing the villages at present, but the most urgent is one of poverty. How can Art flourish in the villages while poverty is stalking along the country? Art in big cities and in a few institutions privileged for the upper and middle class people that comprise only a ten per cent of the whole population of the country of four hundred millions, has totally failed in bringing life to the 7,00,000 villages of India. The task *is* stupendous, but actually we have no clear outlook. The solution is found out by a great man, a non-Artist, Mahatma Gandhi, who has given a new vision to our people and, a new outlook of rural India, and who is bringing new life into the villages through his life-giving art.

Studies under the cottage roof

Art and machinery have never been great friends and the latter has sometimes hindered the progress of the former. Creative and constructive Art has to play a great role in an agricultural country like ours. Gandhiji has given a new impetus to Cottage Industry



Studies by the village pond



Trimbakrao guides village students in his village of Suwasara in Central India

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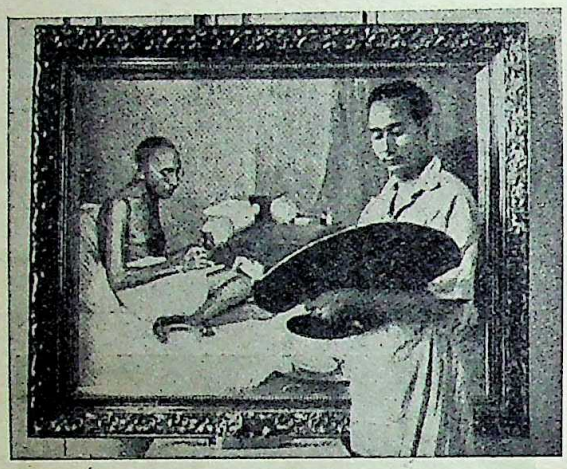
as a means of economic salvation to the masses. He rightly says: "Extinction of Village Industries would complete the ruin of 7,00,000 villages of India." There is no doubt about the result; the result is before us. The suffering is horrible. Under such circumstances, revival of Village Industries is the only economic solution, and this alone will relieve poverty to a great extent.



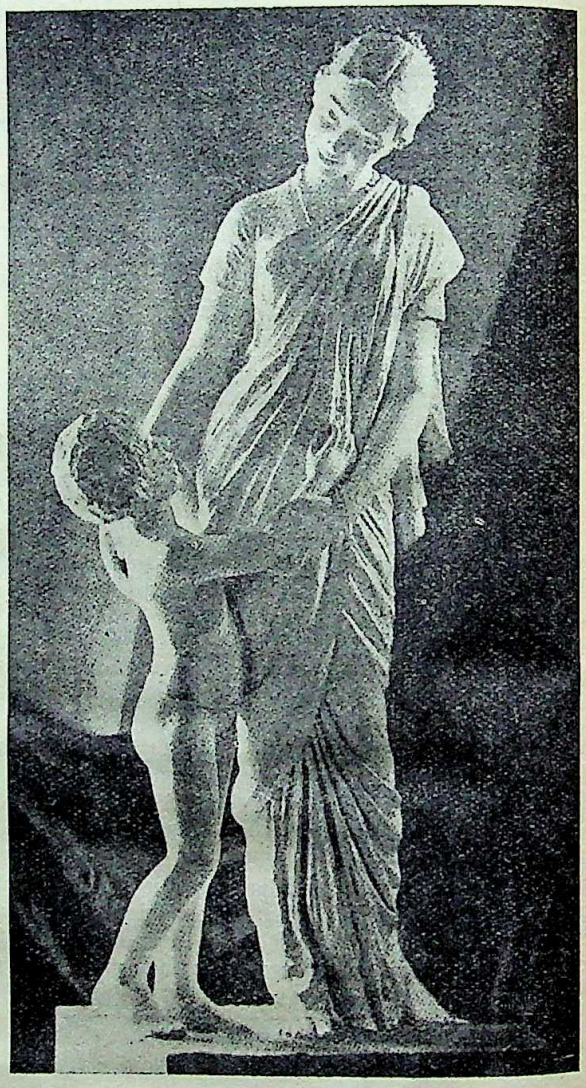
Nagesh Yawalkar in his studio in front of Mahatma Gandhi's portrait

The Western school of economics and their patrons have failed and their measures have proved ineffective inasmuch as they apply these foreign ways of salvation; as a result increasing poverty has become the order of the day in a country of villages which has altogether different geographical conditions and cultural backgrounds. One can realise this when he finds terrible and forced unemployment among the toiling millions who have no work to do for at least four months in the year.

Considering these facts it stands to reason that under the circumstances only through the revival of Cottage Industries we can build up rural India to bring new life into the villages. Handicrafts have that potentiality. Apart from this, Cottage Art Industries have a cultural value of their own since they develop the artistic capacity and skill of the village talent. Cottage Art Industry offers the best employment to the labour force we have in India.

Economics of Cottage Art

Cottage Art cannot survive if it is not economically perfect. Cottage industry has been dislocated and overpowered by cheaper imports and deliberate planning of destruction and that is why village industries decayed. In spite of the struggle for existence and foreign competition, some Cottage Art Industries have been able to retain their vitality when mass production has become the order of the day. This is due to the fact that for such Cottage Art Industries, only a small capital is required. Simple and hard-working habits and skill acquired through generations are the main cause of their maintenance. The proper use of Swadeshi raw materials has enabled it to survive. Look at the earthen pottery made in the villages, coloured and beautifully decorated. In the villages pottery has been economically so perfected that it still exists everywhere. The reason is that the process of making these potteries is simple, cheap raw materials are required and they are available abundantly in nature. These are cheaply made and cheaply sold. This is why they could stand the foreign competition of machine-made products.



Mother and Child in papier mache

India is very rich in minerals and has got abundant manpower and all other facilities that Nature can afford for flourishing Cottage Art Industries. There are several other Cottage Art Industries which have not been annihilated by competition and such industries should be encouraged. The use of waste and cheap materials and particularly the use of Swadeshi materials should be the guiding principle in the revival of Village Art.

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FUNDAMENTALS OF CHINESE NATIONALISM

By V. G. NAIR

Among the different systems of political science that shape the destinies of mankind, the most significant thought representing the ancient wisdom of China, strikingly vehement for its universal appeal against the evil forces of exploitation, slavery and injustice, and for its staunch advocacy of human rights and freedom, is the *San Min Chu I*, the Three Principles of the People, formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Chinese Republic. With the exception of *Capital* written by Karl Marx, which has revolutionised human thought for reconstructing the world entirely on new economic and social foundations, no other political message of the present century has been so ardently read and followed by the nationals of any country more than the *San Min Chu I*, which is adhered to by people numbering one-fourth of the total population of the world.

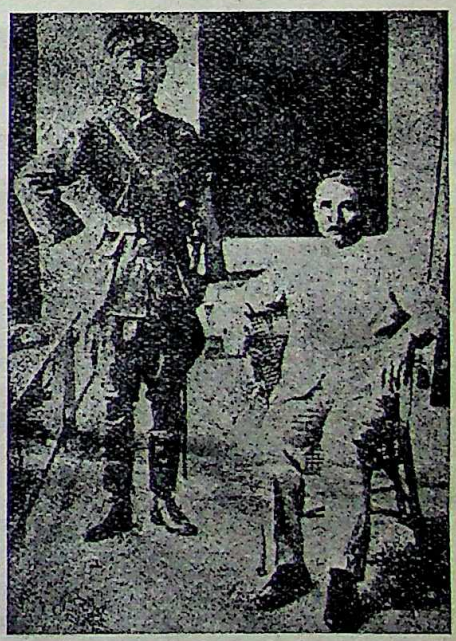
The first principle of the *San Min Chu I* is Nationalism, which in the early stage of the Chinese revolution stressed for the overthrow of Warlordism and foreign Imperialistic exploitation. In the international sphere, it demanded the freedom of all the nations of the world, freedom from political tyranny and freedom from poverty and economic exploitation.

The second principle is Democracy. In this connection is considered political tutelage for China during the period of transition beginning from the attainment of full national rights, up to the time of introducing a Democratic form of Government. It aims to train the Chinese in the art of self-government. To give China a free democratic government Dr. Sun advocated a Five-Power Constitution, which he distinguished by two sets of powers exercised separately by the people and the government. The first set comprises the four democratic rights of Election, Recall, Initiative and Referendum ; and the second set includes the five functional powers of Executive, Legislative, Judiciary, Examination and Control. These five functional powers constitute the Central Government of China.

The third principle of Livelihood or Economic Democracy aims to provide food, shelter, clothing and the means of travel. Equalisation of landownership and regulation of capital are its cardinal principles. It advocates evolutionary methods rather than revolutionary means of effecting reforms in the social and economic life of China. In other words, the Principle of Livelihood is a planned economy which purposes to control and operate all large-scale industrial enterprises and aims at the national ownership of all lands, all means of production, all communications, all transport and the public sale of food.

In other words, the objective of the *San Min Chu I* is the fulfilment of the three phases of the Chinese revolution, first, political unity of China by uprooting Warlordism and national independence by racial struggle against Imperialist domination, such as extra-territorial rights, leased territories, concessions and unequal treaties ; secondly, Political Tutelage or Provisional Party Rule under the Kuomintang ; and thirdly, the introduction of a Constitutional Democratic Government.

The aim of the first principle of Nationalism has been partially realised by China through the brilliant military victories gained by Generalissimo Chiang over Warlords, and through the abrogation of all unequal treaties except that of Hongkong. Chinese leaders are demanding that Britain should restore this Island to China. With the restoration of Manchuria, Korea, and Mongolia, China will regain her lost possessions, and will assure fully her territorial sovereign rights. Besides, the Communist problem is the most vital aspect of China's national life. But with the armistice agreement concluded between the National Government and the Communists in January 1946, followed by the Agreement for military reorganisation and for the Integration of the Communists into the National Army signed in February 1946, through the intervention of General George Marshall, United States' Special Envoy, the eighteen years' civil strife in China is expected to come to an end. The first principle could not be fully realised until the Communist problem is settled in the interest of internal peace.



A rare picture of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the planner of the *San Min Chu I* State for China and Generalissimo Chiang, the executor of the plan. This picture was taken just after the first revolution in 1911

The second principle is Democracy. Political Tutelage is not yet over in China. Therefore, the present Chinese Government cannot be called a Democracy. It is bureaucracy marching towards the goal of self-

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government. Until Democracy is introduced, the Kuomintang will act as the 'trustee' and 'tutor' of the Chinese people, and it will cease to exist as the ruling party of China as soon as the Democratic Government is introduced by convoking the National Assembly.

The third principle of the People's Livelihood, according to Dr. Sun, is of primary importance to China. But unfortunately, it has created the Communist problem, culminating in ten years' civil war with the consequent loss of millions of lives. The People's Livelihood, Dr. Sun defined, is economic equality, which the Chinese Communists claim as the essence of Russian Bolshevism. Though the essence is one, the fundamental difference lies in the methods of achieving its objectives. No less a person than Dr. Sun Fo in his book *China Looks Forward* says : "The principle of People's Livelihood is not in conflict with Russian Communism and is not opposed to the theory of Communism." Yet, the difference between Communism and Sun Yat-senism lies in the practical application of its principles inasmuch as the former adopts revolutionary means while the latter desires evolutionary methods in effecting economic and social reform in China.

The Chinese Communists worship Marx and Lenin as their national heroes and look to Moscow as their holy of holies. It was only after the truce in 1937 that the Communists began exhibiting the pictures of Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek at Yennan along with those of Lenin and Stalin. Since that eventful year, has begun the process of absorption of Russian Communism within the folds of Sun Yat-senism, because the Reds had to give up their policy of forcible land-confiscation and the Soviet emblem on their soldiers' headgear. Their Army was renamed as the Eighteenth Route Army and their Soviet areas were converted as Special areas under the Central Government, though these Special areas were given local autonomy.

Absorption rather than self-conversion has been the past history of China in all her dealings with foreign political and religious institutions. Bertrand Russell in his *Problem of China* says :

> "The Chinese think not in decades, but in centuries. They have been conquered before, first by the Tartars and then by the Manchus ; but in both cases they absorbed the conquerors. Since the days of Confucius, the Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman Empires have perished ; but China has persisted through a continuous evolution. There have been foreign influences—first Buddhism, and now Western Science. But Buddhism did not turn the Chinese into Indians, and Western Science will not turn them into Europeans."

In further support of Bertrand Russell, China's intellectual giant, witty and wise Dr. Lin Yutang says prophetically in his book, *The Vigil of a Nation*, as follows :

> "There is a bout going now inside China between Master Kung and Karl Marx, and my bet is that Master Kung will win. Time will settle that, not words, and I can imagine that twenty years from now, the ardent Communist advocates will become as pro-Confucian and as desirous of having roots in one's own racial and historical traditions."

Recent events in China undoubtedly foretell this end. If the Communist-Kuomintang negotiations succeed, it will be the last phase of Bolshevist Marxism in China.

The Chinese Communists no doubt consider Dr. Sun Yat-sen as a great leader of China. But they respect his person far more than his precepts. In a sense, they are 'democratic', but only in relation to the rights of peasants and labourers. They are vociferous now in their demands to introduce Democracy and the Principle of People's Livelihood in the Chungking administered Provinces. But like the past, they do not desire revolutionary methods in effecting such reforms since they have decided to join hands with the Kuomintang. With the convocation of the National Assembly and the inauguration of the new Constitution, the old revolutionary methods of the Communists for realising the aims of People's Livelihood through forcible land-confiscation, wholesale murder of landlords, insurrections and sabotage, all copied from the Russian model, will become a shadow of the past. These violent methods are diametrically opposed to the methods prescribed by Sun Yat-sen. According to him, China's moral code of loyalty, filial piety, kindness, love, faithfulness, justice, harmony and peace, all these should be revived if China desires national salvation and her former greatness. Marxism cannot provide China with these forces. Only Confucianism and Sun Yat-senism could provide China with them.

Long before Communism was preached by Marx, Universalism in all spheres of life, political, economic, and social, was preached in China by Chinese sages thousands of years ago. It is called 'Ta Tung,' the ideal of universal brotherhood and commonwealth of all free nations. Here is Dr. Sun's favourite quotation from Confucious on 'Ta Tung', which he proclaimed to the world for the first time at a memorable meeting held at Tokyo in 1907 :

> "When the great (*tao*) way prevails, the world is a common State. Although not to be thrown away, wealth is not to be kept as personal property. While not to be idle, labour is not to be used for personal advantage. Under such a scheme of Society, selfish plans cease to exist and banditry and rebellion cannot rise. This is the Age of the great Commonwealth."

The ideal of Confucius, no doubt, is a classless society. He wanted to form this Society without upheavals and revolutions. And therefore, in its political aspect Sun Yat-senism is nothing but Confucianism.

In formulating his Three Principles of the People Dr. Sun Yat-sen was influenced by the political philosophies of the West, particularly Marx's writings on Socialism and Communism, the history of the American Republic and the French revolutionary motto of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity"; but it is an admitted fact that he has not copied any one of the European systems, and that his *San Min Chu I* with its Five Power Constitution is remarkably original in its conception. Curiously enough, both Dr. Sun and Marx evolved their theories after several years' study in the British Museum Library in London, but they had never met each other, as the latter died in 1883, while the former commenced his political career in 1896. Apparently, Dr. Sun was not content with Marx's scientific theories of 'value and surplus value', the class struggle, and the overthrow of capitalism with the help of such weapons as sabotage and insurrection. He therefore evolved his own theories suitable to the Chinese temperament, social condition, culture and

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civilization. In comparing Marx with himself Dr. Sun regarded the former as a pathologist and himself as a physiologist. And therefore, Dr. Sun asserted that Marxism would not be suitable to the Chinese soil. Yet, he relied much on Russian help for realising the aims of the Revolution. But in such help being given to China, Dr. Sun never anticipated that Russia would manoeuvre to create a State within a State in China, as seen in the Border Regions, Manchuria, Sinkiang, and Outer Mongolia. Discussing Sino-Soviet relations, Mr. Stanley Powell, the well-known author of *Soviet Attitude Towards China* : *Pacts and Facts* has made the following observations :

> "The Chinese Communists are allegedly independent of Moscow, so they say, but they have adopted, in the Chinese internal policy, the methods applied by the Communist parties elsewhere, that means the methods of struggling for 'total democracy' and 'friendship' with the Soviet Union, which allows them to criticize or to oppose or even to fight the Governments of the respective countries, unless the latter recognise the Soviet leadership or accept to be their tools ; while in foreign policy the Chinese Communists take a stand not only for a close collaboration with Russia—which could still be understandable—but also for the adoption, by China, of the principles guiding the Soviet foreign relations, including their tactics and propaganda, the latter at least in its official form."

It is needless to say that in spite of their 'democratic principles' the Chinese Communists have proved the greatest stumbling bloc to the peaceful and gradual introduction of a Constitutional Democratic Government in China.

Since 1937, Generalissimo Chiang has been persistently trying to reach a settlement with the Chinese Communists. in spite of the fact that Dr. Sun has clearly laid down in his *General Principles for National Reconstruction* adopted at the First Kuomintang National Congress held in Canton during January 1924, that

> "The Government shall use military force to remove all obstacles within the Nation ; and shall preach the principles of the Revolution to the people of the whole Nation."

However, by the word, 'use of military force,' it is generally accepted that Dr. Sun had never visualised the idea of waging war against his own countrymen as the birth of Communist State in China was as remote as the north pole during his days. Grasping this truth, Generalissimo Chiang's tolerance and liberality towards the Chinese Communists need no further mentioning here as they are too well-known.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, no doubt, believed that Russia would stand as his Government's ally, and not as the instigator and creator of a Soviet State in his country. His famous letter to Soviet friends written before his death is clearly vouchsafed in the spirit of looking to Russia as a liberator and friend, for it says :

> "Russia is the leader and vanguard of that grand union of free republics which look to the future and the great federation of Nations is truly the priceless heritage bequeathed to all oppressed peoples by the immortal Lenin."

Dr. Sun, therefore, adds :

> "He leaves behind him the Kuomintang Party, which shall co-operate with the Soviets for the realisation of his political ideals."

In the early days of his career Dr. Sun had appealed to foreign Powers for economic aid and assistance, but none came forward to help him. At last Soviet Russia in her own interests, declared her policy of co-operation and friendship with the National Government and renounced her extra-territorial rights. Borodin and Blucher were deputed to China for training the Nationalist Armies and the Kuomintaung Party. As a gesture of goodwill Dr. Sun admitted the Communists within the fold of the Kuomintang and encouraged them to work for the National revolution. But the Communist-Kuomintang co-operation did not last long. After the death of Sun Yat-sen, Generalissimo Chiang assumed the supreme military and political power in 1927. He began to realise the peril of China being transformed into a Soviet State within the political orbit of Russia. Borodin, the high-priest of Communism in China, was, therefore, expelled and his adherents were driven out to the Border Region in the North-West. This episode has been well advertised for the Reds by Edgar Snow, in his *Red Star Over China.* But Stanley Powell tells us a different story. He says :

> "The defeated Red Army made to Chiang Kai-shek the offer to withdraw from South-Eastern China and to proceed to the thinly populated province of Kansu in Western China, almost at the other end of the country. Chiang Kai-shek accepted the offer to avoid further bloodshed and because of the graver task confronting him in connection with the Japanese invasion then threatening. The famous march of the Chinese Red Army over an immense distance of several thousands of kilometers proceeded along a route agreed upon in advance and without any sanguinary incidents."

Thus was the 'Long March' achieved by Chinese Reds for establishing Soviet Chinese rule against the well-planned national rule of Sun Yat-sen, the acknowledged leader of the Revolution.

Whatever may be the fundamental difference in methods between Marxism and Sun Yat-senism, it is evident that China is turning Communist according to her own conception of Communism, Chinese Communism aims to achieve political democracy, freedom, economic prosperity and social reform without crises, upheavals and revolutions by establishing full confidence among all the communities, thus ensuring internal calm, peace and peaceful developments. These are the fundamentals of Chinese nationalism preached by Sun Yat-sen, who is considered today almost as a demi-god by four hundred and fifty million people of China.

During his life-time Dr. Sun failed many a time, but in death he will surely see the signs of victory in no distant day.

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BREEDING CATTLE FOR HIGH MILK PRODUCTION

By Dr. AMIYA BHUSON KAR,* m.sc. (Cal.), ph.d. (Edin.),

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Genetical research has proved beyond doubt that to obtain high milk production the cow herself must first of all have the inherited capacity for making large amounts of milk and butterfat. A cow minus this ability, no matter how well-fed and well-kept, cannot produce efficiently. She is just as guilty of wasting feed as a useless automobile engine is of wasting petrol.

There are two ways to obtain a herd of cows with high producing ability. 1. Through purchase of such cows ; 2. Through careful breeding and selection. In general, the second method should be followed.

Types of Breeding Programs

In selecting breeding animals for the herd, it is necessary to have an understanding of the various general breeding methods which may be followed. A definite program should then be chosen and strictly adhered to.

1. *Inbreeding* refers to the practice of breeding full brothers and sisters, dams and sons, or sires and daughters to each other. It is the closest form of breeding. It concentrates the characteristics present, both desirable and undesirable. Continuous practice of this form of breeding almost always results in some decrease in size and vigour of the offspring. It is, of course, valuable where the animals concerned are especially outstanding in practically every respect, and if they have no undesirable characteristics in respect to type, productive capacity or health.

2. *Line-breeding* : In this method, animals largely of the same family and blood lines, but not as closely related as those in an inbreeding program, are mated together. It enables a concentration of the characteristics of the particular strain. By rigid selection of individuals and careful planning of matings, any undesirable characteristics or weaknesses can be largely eliminated from the herd. It has been by the careful use of this type of breeding that practically all progress in developing and improving the present breeds of farm animals has been made in the U.S.A.

3. *Cross-breeding* : It is the mating of almost entirely unrelated animals. The crossing of breeds as a method of herd improvement has been subjected to much research and trial. It produces all kinds of variations particularly in the second and succeeding generations. The first generation in some cases may be desirable from the standpoint of size, productivity and health, but the second generation will have all possible variations in characters between the extremes found in original parents used in the cross. Breed and herd improvement is based upon the concentration of blood for the purpose of establishing desirable characteristics and reducing variation. Cross-breeding does just the opposite.

The Value of a Cow in a Breeding Program

A great deal of emphasis is being laid on the value and importance of a good bull to a herd. This emphasis should not in the least be diminished. However, the role a proven brood cow may play through her offspring in both herd and breed improvement should not be under-estimated. There are frequent instances of great proven sires who have come from dams who have proven themselves great. A great cow must meet three fundamental requirements : 1. She must be capable of high milk and butterfat production. 2. She must be excellent in type and conformation, especially because these characters are closely associated with her ability to stand up through many years of high productivity. 3. She must be capable of transmitting the productive capacity to her offspring.

Within each of the great dairy breeds and within majority of individual herds there are cows who have stood up to these requirements and have unfailingly transmitted to following generations.

The Value of a Good Bull in Breeding Program

It has been stated that "The bull is half the herd." This statement is certainly true in so far as the breeding program is concerned. The inherited characteristics of the offspring in the herd come one-half from the bull. All of the dams of the herd together contribute the other half.

I am quoting here two instances which prove beyond doubt the tremendous effects, either good or bad which herd sires may have on a herd. Data of both of which cover a period of approximately seven years were collected at the animal breeding department of Cornell University.

Herd A : Two bulls used—each sired daughters with production markedly *lower* than their dams.

Herd average :

1932—398·6 lbs. of butterfat
1939—243·2 lbs. of butterfat

Decrease 155·4 lbs.

Herd B : Four bulls employed—each increased production of daughters over their dams.

Herd average :

1931—342·1 lbs. of butterfat
1939—486·6 lbs. of butterfat

Increase 144·5 lbs.

In herd A, in spite of heavy culling, the bulls used lowered the production to such an extent as to nearly wreck the herd. In herd B, little culling was necessary, the herd doubled in size and still the average produc-

* Formerly at the Institute of Animal Genetics, University of Edinburgh (U.K).

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tion was greatly enhanced. The value of such bulls can hardly be estimated.

Selecting a Proven Bull

When a bull is available whose abillty to sire high production and desirable type has been demonstrated, a large part of the chance element in the selection of a bull is automatically eliminated. The transmitting ability of a bull may be measured in terms of *dam-daughter comparisons.* These are based on the assumption that the production of the daughters of a bull tends to be half-way between the production of their dams and the transmitting ability of the bull. Thus, if ten daughters of a bull average 400 lbs. of butterfat and their dams average 500 lbs., his transmitting ability is not 400 but 300 lbs. of butterfat. In other words, if bred to 300 lbs. cows he would be expected to just maintain that level of production. In selecting a proven bull, dam-daughter comparisons are helpful but possible limitations, like health of the bull and husbandry conditions, must be kept in mind if they are to be used effectively.

Selecting an Unproven Bull

Where the number of desirably proven sires is extremely limited and many of those cannot be purchased, the herds must be headed by unproven bulls. There is, however, a great amount of risk involved in using any untried bull but it can be reduced by selecting a bull from proven parents. The ideal bull is one who is backed for several generations by great proven sires and dams. The immediate sire and dam should receive the greatest consideration but better if the entire family is subjected to careful study. If each sire in the pedigree has proven himself able to sire uniformly desirable daughters, and each dam is a high producer, there is considerable assurance that the bull will prove able to sire high production.

Records are important criteria in selecting a bull but type should not be ignored. Many dairymen make the mistake of purchasing their future herd sire without even seeing the dam or daughters. A dairyman when purchasing a bull should see that it must be better than the best cow he possesses.

The bulls or bull previously used in a herd should influence the next selection. When a bull in a herd has been proven successful it is advisible to follow him with a bull bred along the same blood lines. This, however, does not mean inbreeding. The practice of inbreeding is dangerous and when followed must be accompanied by rigid culling. The mating of half brothers and sisters has sometimes given good results but certainly it is as close breeding as can be practised. Direct out-crossing, as previously mentioned, tends to produce wide variations. Obviously, where no particular blood lines have been established in a herd, selection can be made from any family that possesses the desired characteristics.

The Bull Should Be Proved

So far as my information goes there are very few bulls in Bengal about which there is sufficient information to estimate their value. There are several reasons. First, very few of the dairy cows are tested. The true transmitting ability of a bull cannot be known unless the cows with which he is mated and his daughters are tested. The latter procedure is scientifically known as "Progeny testing." Secondly, the average dairy farm is not equipped to handle a mature bull. I think by co-operative use of bulls by several dairymen these drawbacks can be eliminated. Of course, the co-operative use of bulls can only be successful if dairymen co-operating are able to eliminate disease from their herds.

Ideally, a young bull should be bred to about 25 representative cows and heifers in the herd as soon as possible. His uses should then be limited in preference to a proven bull until his daughters develop. Fairly complete information is not available until the daughters have completed one lactation period, making the bull nearly five years old. However, if his daughters as yearlings are of good body type and show signs of large body capacity and desirable udder development, his moderate use is warranted until actual production records are available.

Artificial Insemination

Rapid progress has been made within recent years in developing the technique of breeding cows artificially. The semen is collected from the bull, usually diluted with a nutrient buffer, and a portion used to breed individual cows by a person trained for that work. If properly diluted and kept at near freezing temperature the male sex cells or spermatozoa will live for many days and be suitable for breeding a number of cows for a period three days or longer.

This practice allows the use of outstanding bulls on many more cows than otherwise possible. Semen also can be sent to distant places and particularly desirable matings can be made which would otherwise be impractical.

Artificial Breeding Units

The development of the technique of artificial insemination has led to the formation of artificial breeding units in the U.S.A. A number of bulls are kept at a central point and semen sent out for use by trained persons in the surrounding herds. For many dairymen this makes available services of better bulls than they be able to keep themselves. The service charge is $5 or $6 per cow which in small herds proves less expensive than keeping a bull. These units have proved to be of immense value especially for owners of small herds interested primarily in improving the general level of milk production in the herd. In my opinion, establishment of similar units by the government in different parts of Bengal and if managed by trained personnel will prove to be of immense value in improving the milk-producing capacity of the cows throughout the province.

Conclusion

It is needless to point out the dietetic value of milk and the immediate necessity of improving its production. In this article I have endeavoured to discuss in non-technical language the different aspects of perhaps the most important method of improving milk production, *i.e.*, through breeding and selection. I hope that this article will be of some use to those who are interested in the improvement of dairy cattle in Bengal.

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THE MYSTERY OF COSMIC RAYS

By SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

Modern Physics has unravelled another mysterious phenomenon of Nature called Cosmic Rays. It is the most remarkable of recent discoveries in Physics and was first noticed in 1906. Unlike Roentgen rays and radio-active rays, Cosmic Rays are of extra-terrestrial origin and reach us from beyond the Milky Way. It is due to the Cosmic Rays that a charged electroscope is discharged more rapidly in a balloon than on the earth. R. A. Millikan, the famous American scientist and indefatigable investigator of this mystery observes that the earth is being continuously bombarded by super-power particles of Cosmic rays, the energy of which rises to at least 20 billion electron volts and a hundred or more such particles shoot each minute through the head of every person living on the earth.

In order to properly understand the true significance and immense possibilities of Cosmic Rays, an idea of X-rays and radio-active Rays is absolutely essential. X-ray was discovered in 1895 by Professor W. K. Roentgen of Munich. While investigating the phenomena of Cathode rays Roentgen observed that the discharge through a vacuum tube completely enveloped in opaque paper caused a luminous glow to appear on a distant florescent screen. The X-rays originate within the vacuum tube on account of radiation and cause invisible luminosity. It means that X-rays are emitted when a stream of high-velocity electrons, that is a Cathode Ray, is suddenly stopped. This invisible ray is not deflected in a magnetic or electric field and can pass through many solids. Flesh is more transparent to these rays than bone. X-ray-therapy and X-ray photography are now widely used for medical purposes. When a pin is accidentally swallowed, an X-ray photograph will reveal the location of the pin in the stomach. If a beam of X-rays is directed through a man's hand to a paper coated with zinc sulphate, an inside view of the hand is obtained when the bones are plainly defined. Stones in the kidneys and tuberculous patches in the lungs are also radiographed by X-rays. For cancer treatment X-rays from 160,000 to 200,000 volts are used.

Radio-active Rays were discovered in 1896 by M. Henry Becqueral who found that the element uranium and its compounds emit rays which are able to penetrate very considerable thicknesses of matter. In 1898 Madame Curie discovered radium and polonium which are two extremely powerful radiating substances. Eve Curie, Mme. Curie's daughter, has given a graphic account of how her mother obtained through the Austrian Government one ton of pitch-blende ore of Uranium and carried out with her father the Herculean labour of extracting in 1902 one-tenth of a gramme of pure radium from this mass of raw material. Uranium, a highly radioactive substance, has made possible the production of Atomic Bomb, the terror of the modern world. More recently a number of other radioactive elements such as thorium, bismuth, etc., have been discovered. Radioactivity is absolutely independent of temperature and pressure and its rate is the same under all conditions. Sir Earnest Rutherford analysed in 1899 the radioactive elements and found that they emit three kinds of rays which are termed respectively Alpha Rays, Beta Rays and Gamma Rays. Alpha rays are in fact positively charged helium atoms, very easily absorbed and depleted in a magnetic field. The Beta rays are negatively charged high-velocity electrons and deflected in a magnetic field. The Gamma Rays which are not affected by a magnetic field are X-rays of extremely short wave lengths. The difference of these three kinds of rays consists in their power of penetration. Alpha rays are about 1/100 as penetrating as the Beta rays, while the latter are 1/100th as penetrating as the Gamma rays. Radio-active Rays are generated by the spontaneous disintegration of elements and this disintegration results in all original atoms of elements gradually disappearing.

Radium, an important radioactive element has marvellous curative power which has brought relief to untold thousands of suffering humanity like X-rays. Deep-seated necrosis which baffles all medicines yields in many cases to radium treatment. It is not yet possible to fully estimate its healing medicinal value of X-rays and radium as this has yet been by no means fully realised. T. F. Wall observes in his *Electricity* (Home University Library, pp. 159-160) that Experiments have been made with X-ray treatment in which 500,000 to 10,00,000 volts have been used in order to obtain the same effect as by radium treatment. It has been observed that the mean wave length of the radium emanation corresponds to an applied pressure of about 9,00,000 volts X-ray tube, and that in so far as biological effect is concerned treatment by 2,00,000 volts X-rays is identical with a corresponding dose of radium treatment.

Cosmic Rays have more penetrating power than either the X-rays or radioactive rays. Light darts or light bullets emitted by Cosmic Rays and called photons by Millikan have the highest frequency. The highest measured velocity of Cosmic Rays is 36,000,000 billion billion (36×10^{24}) per second. Of the visible rays, the red light has the longest wave length and the violet the shortest. One Angstrom unit (A.U.) being equal to one-hundred-millionth part of a centimetre = 10^{-8} cm. Red light waves have 76 millionth part of 1 cm. = 76×10^{-6} cm. = 7600 A.U. As the colour changes through yellow, green, blue and indigo, the wave length decreases to about 3800 A.U. beyond which the waves cannot affect the retina of the human eye. That is, the waves shorter than 3800 A.U. are invisible to man. It may be noted that bees can distinguish 4 colours of which the one is in the ultraviolet range and dragon flies and some butterflies can distinguish colours in the ultra-violet zone. The wave length of visible light between infrared and ultra-violet rays are from 40 millionth to 40 millionth of 1 cm. The wave length of the shortest visible light is 4×10^{-5} c.m. Above the violet end of the spectrum there are 4 octaves of ultra-violet rays extending up to 4×10^{-6} c.m. These are

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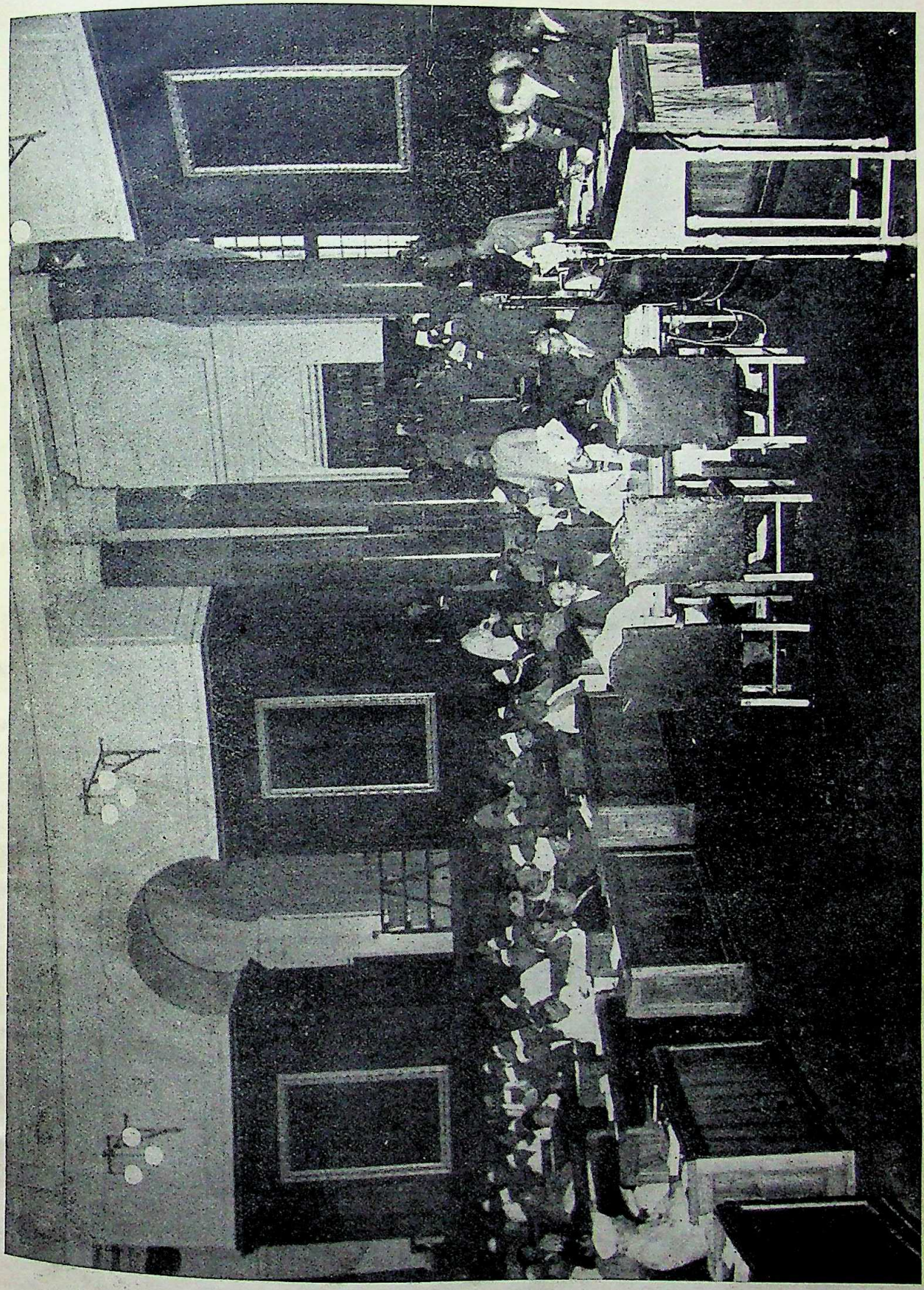

Constituent Assembly meets at Delhi for the first time in the history of India. Acharya Kripalani is seen in front of the mike

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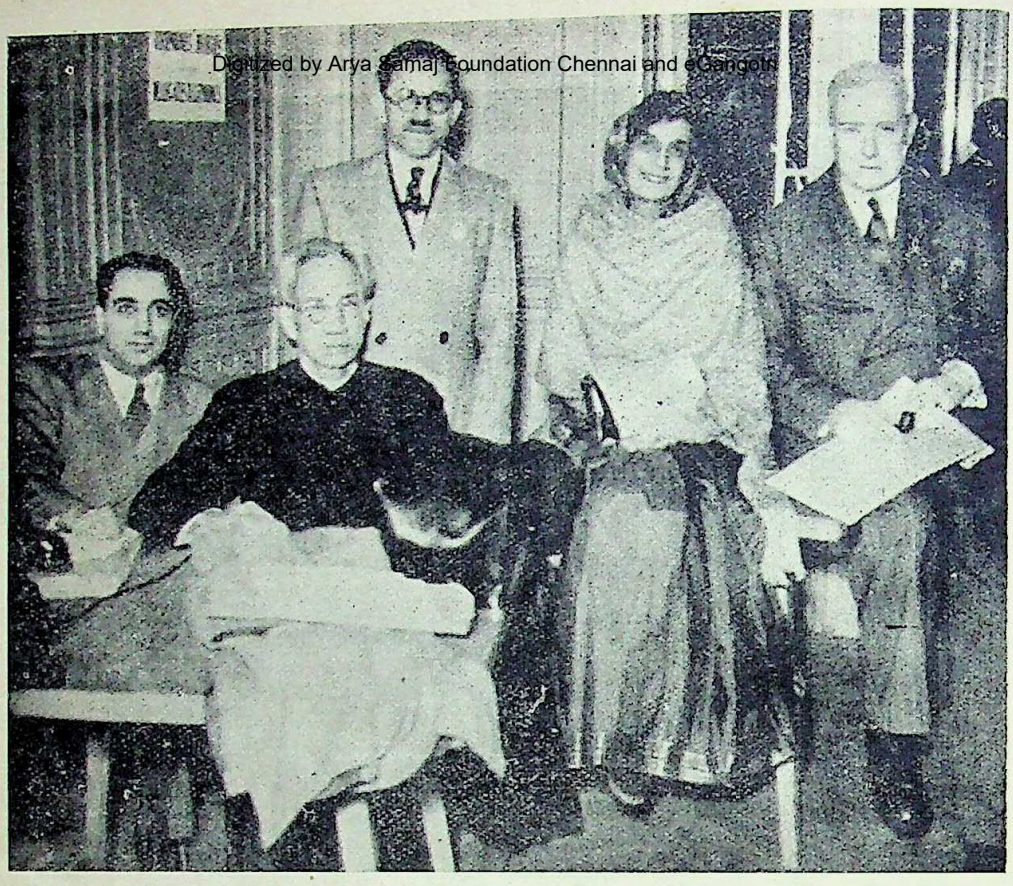
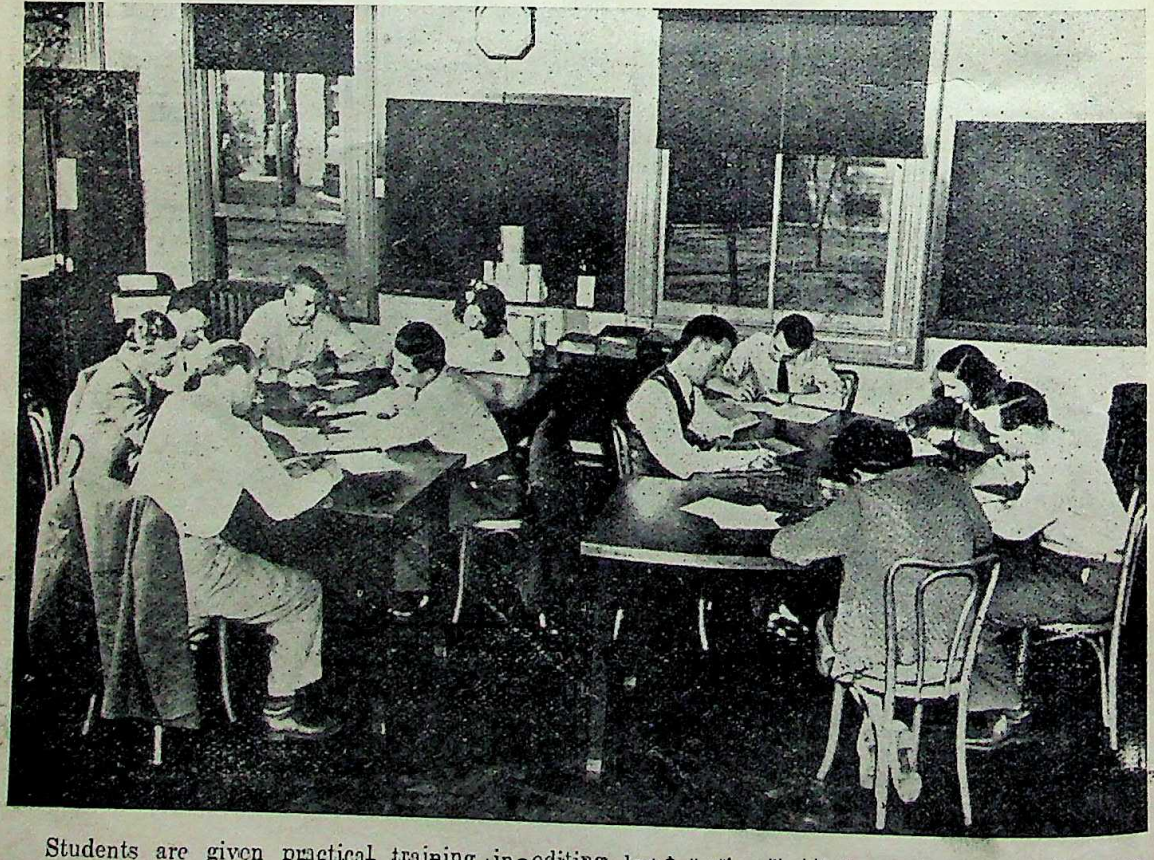


Indian delegation to the UNESCO General Conference which met in Paris
Sitting left to right : Dr. H. J. Bhabha, F.R.S., Sir S. Radhakrishnan (Leader)
Standing left to right : Mr. K. G. Saiyidain, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Sir John Sarjent



Students are given practical training in editing local, national and foreign and domestic news in the news laboratory of the Medill School of Journalism, Illinois

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followed by the octaves of X-rays, the wave lengths varying from 2×10^{-6} c.m. to $1\cdot5\times10^{-9}$ c.m. X-rays have the wave length round about $\frac{1}{10,000}$ of those of the visible light. X-rays are, therefore, very short wave length light of wave length from a thousandth to a hundred thousandth that of ordinary light. Finally above the X-rays on the gamut there are several octaves of Gamma rays generated by radioactive elements. The short wave length of Gamma rays is about 7×10^{-10} c.m. Cosmic rays are shorter than Gamma rays and are shortest rays so far explored. Shorter is the wave length, greater is the frequency or penetrating power. The highest velocity observed is of 19,200 kilometers per second from radium. The velocity of radium ray is 20,000 times greater than that of a rifle bullet. The frequency of the pendulum of Grand Father's Clock is one per second (electrical wave length of 300,000 kilometers), whereas the highest measured frequency of Cosmic rays is 36,00,000 billion billion (36×10^{24}) per second. The Cosmic rays are five to ten times as penetrating as the most penetrating radioactive rays.

The Cosmic rays were first so termed in 1925 by Millikan in their report on their experiments about these extra-terrestrial rays in snow-fed lakes. In 1909, Gockel in Switzerland took up an electroscope in a balloon two or three times and found it always discharging faster at a height of 4 kilometers than at the earth's surface. In 1910, Hess, the Austrian scientist, advanced the hypothesis that these high-altitude rays originated outside the earth and observed also that discharging effects of these rays are independent of the position of the Sun. In the next two years, the German scientist Kolhorster extended the balloon observations to an altitude of about 29,000 feet and found the discharging effects at those altitudes some eight or ten times greater than those found on earth. In 1922, Millikan and Bowen made experiments with self-registering electroscopes in balloons launched from San Antonio, Texas, (U.S.A.) into the Stratosphere up to 55,000 feet height and made the similar observation that Cosmic rays discharge electroscopes much faster at high altitudes than on earth. In 1925, direct measurements of the penetrating power of the Cosmic rays were made by Kolhorster on the top of the Alpine glacier and then in a crack some distance beneath the surface; as well as by Millikan and Cameron by sinking electroscopes to depths of 70 feet beneath the surface of the radium-free water of the Muir Lake, California. All of them noted that the discharging power of the Cosmic rays diminished from the high altitude to subtarrenean depth and is weakened by both earth's atmosphere and the thickness of the radioactive-free water. In 1926, it was definitely proved by experiments made in South America where the Milky Way is out of sight for hours at a time that the intensity of the Cosmic rays is just the same where the Milky Way is out of sight as when it is in full view, thus showing that these rays come from beyond the Milky Way and is not originated in earth, or Sun or any Star.

In 1929, the penetrating power of Cosmic rays was measured in depths of as much as 300 feet in the waters of snow-fed mountain lakes. Regener later made similar experiments in Lake Constance and found minute traces of Cosmic rays down to depths of 220 metres. Superpower particles of Cosmic-ray bullets were traced by Barnothy, Ferro and Volney C. Wilson at even greater depths of up to one thousand metres of water. Dr. Carl D. Andersan and R. A. Millikan have built in 1930-31 an electromagnet which is exceedingly powerful and can directly measure the energies of Cosmic rays. With this apparatus it was possible to measure electron energies of these rays. With some precision up to 6 billion electron volts and to ascertain that some few electrons have energies as high as 10 billion electron-volts. This was approximately a thousand times higher than the highest particle energies hereto measured. A large number of photographs of Cosmic ray tracks have been taken with this apparatus. When two or more tracks of the Cosmic rays appear to spring from a common centre, they are called 'space-associated' tracks. But a difference of a small fraction of a second in time of formation causes a notable difference in diffuseness of the track. Tracks of the same sharpness are designated 'time-associated' tracks. The majority of the tracks, however, are both associated in time and space. As the energy of a photon is completely transformed into electrons[1], the Cosmic ray photographs reveal that a single photon reaches the very large energy value of 3 or 4 billion (10^9) electron volts. Photographs taken on Pike's peak which is 14,000 feet high show few straight incident Cosmic rays radiate huge energy of 20 billion electron volts as measured by the big Paris Magnet. Andersan and Neddarmeyar found from the photographs taken on the Pike's peak in the summer of 1935, they are notably greater on high altitudes than at sea-level. Rossi, Anger, Clay, Picking and a number of observers have clearly observed that Cosmic radiation is more abundant on mountain tops than at sea-level but the average penetrating power of the Cosmic rays at considerable elevations above sea-level (10,000 to 30,000 feet) is very much less than those at sea-level or below. Millikan and Neher took up electroscopes in 1933 in bombing planes at March field to altitudes of 20,000 feet and found that the Cosmic rays can discharge electroscopes shielded by large thicknesses (up to 16 c.m.) of lead, aluminium and iron.

Carl Andersan, while taking photographs of Cosmic rays in 1932 has made the significant discovery of positive electrons or positrons[2] in the nucleus of the atom. Before this no one had imagined the existence of the positive twin of the negative electron. G. P. Thompson in his *The Atom* (Home University Library, pp. 197) writes :

> "Greater part of the Cosmic rays are positrons or electrically charged particles and their radiation is weaker at the equator than at the higher altitudes. They are deflected by earth's magnetic field and tend to enter the earth's atmosphere in the northern hemisphere from the west rather than from the east."

It has already been said that the rate of ionization of the Cosmic rays decrease from higher altitudes to lower depths. About 70 per cent of the sea-level ionization disappears at a depth of 30 feet of water, *i.e.*, at the equivalent of 1 atmosphere below sea-level.

1. This is called materialization process, as by this process electromagnetic radiant energy is wholly changed into material entities called electrons.

2. See *Electrons (plus and minus) Protons, Photons, Neutrons and Cosmic Ray* by Blackett and Occhialini, (pp. 335 to 42). Published by Cambridge University Press.

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No Cosmic ray having energy less than about 5 billion electron volts can throw any ionizing influence at all down to sea-level. It is inferred that about 70 per cent of all the Cosmic rays found at sea-level have energies under 5 billion electron volts. Millikan, Cameron and Regener found by experiments that 90 per cent of the sea-level ionization goes at a depth of 300 feet or 10 atmospheres. It means that not more than 2 per cent of the Cosmic rays at sea-level have energies over 50 billion electron volts. The positive electrons (positrons) and negative electrons (negatrons) appear to be present in the superpower particles of Cosmic rays. The French scientists have also noticed that positrons and negatrons are secondaries produced in our atmosphere. The high-energy negatrons are more easily absorbed in lead than are high-energy positrons. The observations of Le Prince, Ringent and Jean Crussard show that more than half of the Cosmic rays found at sea-level of energy from 1 billion to 10 billion electron volts seem to be able to pass through 14 c.m. of lead and that superpower particles of very high energy and of very high penetrating power exist in the Cosmic rays in the neighbourhood of sea-level and below. But there are serious difficulties in identifying the superpower particles of the Cosmic rays at sea-level with either electrons or protons. In 1934, Andersan and Neddermeyer have reported the existence of particles of a new type called X-particles provisionally. Andersan has suggested the appropriate name of Mesotron to them. A Mesotron meaning an intermediate particle or something more fundamental than electron or porton is a dying Cosmic ray and has been beautifully photographed.

All observers have agreed that there is a small equatorial dip in the intensities of the Cosmic rays, no matter from what point in the north temperate zone one starts south across the equator. From airplane survey it is noticed that there are latitude and longitude effects in the Cosmic rays. Dr. Nehar came to Madras and with the co-operation of the Indian Meteorological Department repeated experiments for latitude survey of the Cosmic rays. The experiments of Millikan and Cameron have proved beyond question that Cosmic rays do penetrate not merely through 1 atmosphere (or 10 metres of water) but through not less than 10 atmosphere (or 300 feet = 100 metres of water) and also 15 or 20 c.m. of lead. Though the earth's atmosphere extends up only a few hundred miles at most, its magnetic field reaches out into the space for a distance of two or three earth's diameters, *i.e.*, ten thousand miles and more. The effect of earth's magnetic field upon the Cosmic rays is maximum in the equatorial belt. The Cosmic rays are rapidly absorbed as a whole in the outer layer of the atmosphere and at equator they produce their maximum ionization before they have penetrated the first tenth of the atmosphere. Millikan and Cameron reported[3] at the Leeds meeting of the British Association on their voyage in 1926 made from Los Angeles to Peru to look for the effect of earth's magnetic field on Cosmic rays that 10 billion volts positrons of the Cosmic rays are absorbed in the outer atmosphere. Mesotrons different from electrons and pestrons are heavy particles of some kind and are transformed into photons. Carmichael concludes that a single high-energy Cosmic ray produces thousands of separate ionizing superpower particles. Millikan[4] has calculated that one 10-billion-volt electron enters one square centimetre of the surface of the upper atmosphere every eleven seconds. One Uranium atom when bombarded is transformed into 10 billion electron volts which can penetrate some feet into the earth whereas one Cosmic ray can burst into 10 billion billion electron volts and can penetrate several hundred feet into the earth. Millikan who has almost devoted his life to the experiments and observation on Cosmic rays draws the conclusion that the Cosmic rays do not originate within the stars or in any portions of the Universe where matter is present in appreciable abundance, and do not pass through an appreciable amount of matter on their way from their point of origin to the earth, and form a bended structure before they enter the sun's magnetic field. There are many speculations as to the possible modes of origin of the Cosmic rays that they are not produced in celestial electrostatic field is proved by the uniformity of their distribution over the celestial dome. Hannes Alfven's speculation that the Cosmic rays originate in the accelerating effect on electric charges of a pair of rotating double stars, each possessing a magnetic field is still unconfirmed. It was suggested years ago that the Cosmic rays might be due to partial or complete transformation, according to Einstein equation, of the whole rest mass of the atom into Cosmic radiation—Cosmic rays are said to be produced by the annihilation of atoms of elements—boron, carbon, nitrogen, oxygen, aluminium and silicon which are most abundant in the nebulae.[5] This speculation is regarded by Millikan as most plausible one now in sight as the electrons of the incoming rays are certainly predominantly positives, quite possibly exclusively so.

Scientists of different countries have been making for the last several years serious investigations into the mystery of the Cosmic rays. But unfortunately for us, no Indian scientist has made so far any mentionable research in this line. The Soviet Government which has been investigating since 1936 in the Caucasus, how the Cosmic rays can be harnessed, has recently sent for the same purpose an expedition of scientists under the leadership of Dr. Vecksuller, the famous Russian physicist to the Pamir plateau, the Roof of the world. It is rumoured that they have made notable advances in their mission. When the Cosmic rays are harnessed, the marvel of atomic power that has led to the creation of the atomic bomb will be left far behind and revolutionary results will be achieved. The two branches of modern physics—astrophysics and nuclear physics, have been revealing one marvel after another of Mother Nature and making man more wise and powerful.

3. See *Report of the International Conference on Physics*, Vol. I, section on Cosmic Rays, p. 182.

4. See his John Jolly lectures delivered at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1937, and published by Cambridge University Press as a book entitled *Cosmic Rays*.

5. Bowen and Wise have determined by means of electroscope that these elements are abundantly present in the nebulae.

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TOLSTOY AND HIS THEORY OF ART

By SARBESHWAR DASH

In 1898, in his seventieth year, Tolstoy gave the world from his retreat in Yasnaya Polyana, his famous essay, "What is Art?" For fifteen long years he had been working on it. Almost at once it was recognised as the most unorthodox thesis hitherto published on art. Bernard Shaw, the arch-heretic against conventional values, said of the book, "This book is a most effective booby trap . . . Whoever is really conversant with art recognises in it the voice of the master." Tolstoy in this essay had broken the idols of European culture. The man who had earlier said, "Shakespeare cannot be recognised either as a great genius or even as an average author," went on to condemn Goethe, Mallarme, Flaubert, Balzac, Wagner and Beethoven, Kipling, Hyusmans, Manet, Burne-Jones, and almost all the great European artists and litterateurs of the post-Renaissance period. Writing at a time when decadence was supreme in the field of European art and culture, he roundly condemned it as "an accidental and transitory phenomenon . . . a logical outgrowth of the moral emptiness of the modern society, which lends its applause to the inscrutable, the incredible in the name of developed artistic sense." It was a shocking surprise to find the writer of the remarkable novels, *War and Peace*, and *Anna Karenina*, saying that he considered none of his works worth being called good art except the two short stories, "God Sees the Truth but Waits," and "A Prisoner of the Caucasus."

Before considering his theory of art, it is necessary to bear in mind that Tolstoy, the art-critic of 1898, was a radically different person from Tolstoy, the young intellectual aristocrat who had accepted the triumph of life over questioning reason, and had submitted to the gay philosophy that "one should live so as to have the best for oneself and one's family." Tolstoy's life, like the life of John Christopher, was the journey of a soul. His passionate craving for a religious justification of his life had led him to searching self-analysis. At last, in 1884, the conflict of his soul resolved itself—the soul in its journey found a haven of rest in the acceptance of the tenets of Christianity as presented in the Holy Bible in contradistinction to the rituals and dogma of the Church. It is this later Tolstoy, this pacifist, anarchist, and heretic Tolstoy, who took upon himself the task of presenting a theory of art in accordance with Christian principles; and as a consequence, the heretic in religion proved a heretic in art.

Hitherto the conception of art had been based chiefly on the conception of beauty, and its inherent capacity to delight men. Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Cousin, Jeffrey Ravisson and many other aestheticians had declared that beauty was something having an independent existence, that it was one of the manifestations of the Absolutely Perfect, of the Idea, of the Spirit, of Will, or of God. Tolstoy considered this objective-mystical definition merging the conception of beauty in that of the highest perfection, or God, as a fantastic definition, "founded on nothing." This mystical conception, he felt, was very indefinite, and consequently embraced philosophy, religion, and even life itself. He did not agree with Kant and his followers in their definition of beauty as a certain kind of disinterested pleasure received by us, as it widened out to include pleasure derived from drink, from food, etc. He described beauty as "that which pleases us without evoking in us desire." He was of opinion that the acknowledgement of beauty, *i.e.*, pleasure, as being the aim of art transfers the question to a region quite foreign to art, and leads to metaphysical, psychological, physiological, and even historical discussions as to why a given production pleases one and does not please another. Therefore, the conception of art, he maintained, should not be based on the conception of beauty. He traced the mystical conception of beauty to the unwarranted identification of beauty with goodness which according to him, "has no foundation other than the fact that among the Greeks, in consequence of the low level of their moral ideal as compared with the Christian, the conception of what is good was not sharply divided from the conception of the beautiful." On this obsolete Greek view, he argued, the science of aesthetics was erected under the leadership of Baumergarten. Tolstoy believed that "beauty is nothing but which pleases us," and that "the notion of beauty not only does not coincide with goodness but rather is contrary to it; for the good most often coincides with victory over the passions, while beauty is at the root of our passions." As to truth, "it is a means of arriving at the good" and is not equal to goodness itself which is more fundamental than either beauty or truth. "With beauty truth has not even anything in common, but for the most part is in contradiction with it, for truth generally expresses the deception and destroys the illusion which is a chief condition of beauty."

Thus Tolstoy dislodged beauty from the citadel. Art, according to him, is not a means of pleasure; it is one of the conditions of human life. It is a means of communicating one's feelings. "Art is not, as the metaphysicians say, the manifestation of some mystical idea of Beauty, or of God; it is not, as the aesthetic physiologists say, a game in which man lets off his excess of stored-up energy; it is not the production of pleasing objects, and, above all, it is not pleasure; but it is a means of union among men joining them together in the same feelings, and is indispensable for the life and progress towards the well-being of individuals and humanity." "Art is a human activity consisting in this that one man consciously by means of certain external signs, hands on to others' feelings he had been through, and that others are infected by these feelings and also experience them." The feeling with which the artist infects others may be of various degrees and qualities.

But from this larger conception of art, Tolstoy soon passes on to a narrow definition when he says, ". . . by art in the limited sense of the term, we mean only that part which we for some reason select from it, and to which we attach a special importance—usually the part of artistic activity which transmits feeling flowing from the religious perception." This insistence on religious perception as the basis of art is the distinctive characteristic of Tolstoy's theory.

Tolstoy believed that the criterion of good art should not be the "judgement of the finest nurtured,"

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but the highest religious perception of the time. The aesthetic experience or feeling that is expressed in a work of art does not belong to a separate aesthetic world, nor can its valuation be an absolute aesthetic valuation independent of the moral or other standards of the ordinary world.

He traced the perversion of the artistic conception to the period of the Renaissance, even as Trotsky traced the origin of the perverted bourgeois art to the same age. Owing to the impact of the Renaissance and the study of the classics, the aristocracy lost faith in Church Christianity and the Reformation did not really substitute any new faith in the place of the old. As a result of this moral bankruptcy, the aristocracy soon accepted the pagan Greek cult of beauty as the basis of art. On the other hand, the common people remained faithful to Christianity and continued to think in terms of medieval art, or art of the early centuries of Christianity, both of which had their basis in religion. As a result, two forms of art developed, the genteel art, and the art of the people. Through the social superiority of the wealthier classes, this genteel art has come to stay as the standard form of art. Tolstoy condemned the post-Renaissance art of Europe as the art of a class, and wrote in disgust, "Fine Art can arise only on the slavery of the masses of the people, and can continue so long as the slavery lasts . . . Free the slaves of capital, and it will be impossible to produce such art." But for the insistence on religious perception as the basis of art, his attitude towards the art of his day is an anticipation of the Marxist attitude towards bourgeois art.

Modern art, he felt, was confined to three elements only—the feeling of pride, the feeling of sexual desire, and the feeling of weariness of life, and thus was not worth being called good art. He refused to accept the contention of Mallarme and Jules Huret that there should be an enigma in poetry. He condemned Nietzsche and Wagner for their contempt for the taste of the vulgar crowd and their theory of superman. The conception of life of Baudelaire, the leader of the French decadents, seemed to him to consist in elevating gross egotism into a theory and replacing morality by a cloudy conception of beauty, and specially artificial beauty. "He had no sympathy for the Symbolists, the Impressionists and the Neo-Impressionists who were considered original, and yet, if anything, they are original in the field of art only for their obscurity." The new drama headed by Ibsen appeared to him equally perverted as a form of art. He failed to appreciate the famous "Ninth Symphony" of Beethoven, and attacked Wagner for having tried to mingle the two distinct arts of music and drama. Their music, he felt, was devoted to the feelings accessible "only to people who have developed in themselves an unhealthy nervous irritation evoked by the exclusive, artificial, and complex music." Goethe's famous drama *Faust*, according to him, lacked the chief characteristics of a work of art—"completeness, oneness, the inseparable unity of form and content expressing what the artist has experienced." In the whole range of contemporary literature he could appreciate only these few works—*The Robbers*, by Schiller ; Victor Hugo's *Les Pauvres Gens* and *Les Miserables* : the novels and stories of Charles Dickens—*The Tale of Two Cities, The Christmas Carol, The Chimes*, and others : *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Dostoevski's works, especially his *Memoirs from the House of Death*, and *Adam Bede* of George Eliot.

But Tolstoy was no pessimist. He believed that the religious perception, though blurred, was still there. "The religion of our time, in its widest and most practical application is the consciousness that our well-being, both material and spiritual, individual and collective, temporal and eternal, lies in the growth of brotherhood among all men in their loving harmony with one another." And this should be the basis of art. "And the greatest work of art is no longer a cathedral of victory with statues of conquerors, but the representation of a human soul so transformed by love that a man, who is tormented and murdered, yet, pities and loves his persecutors." The end of professionalism will ring the death-knell of exclusive art. A new form of art will arise—a form of art appealing to the humanity as a whole, and based on the religious sense of universal brotherhood and the sonship of humanity in relation to God. "Until the dealers are driven out, the temple of art will not be a temple. But the art of the future will drive them out." The artist of the future will not be a social parasite as he is now. He will earn his living by some kind of labour. He will create only when he is impelled by an inner need for creation.

It was probably bearing Tolstoy's thesis on art in mind that Rabindranath Tagore, in one of his lectures on art, said :

> "It is a sign of the recurrence of the ascetic ideal of the puritanic age, when enjoyment as an end in itself was held to be sinful. But all puritanism is a reaction. It does not represent truth in its normal aspect. When enjoyment loses its direct touch with life, growing fastidious and fantastic in its world of elaborate conventions, then comes the call for renunciation which rejects happiness as a snare. . . . Yet I can assert as a general truth, that when a man tries to thwart himself in his desire for delight, converting it merely into his desire to know, or to do good, then the cause must be that his power of feeling delight has lost its natural bloom and healthiness."

No better criticism can be made of Tolstoy's approach to the problem of art. If the decadents erred in considering the aesthetic world as a world independent of the world of reality, Tolstoy erred in attaching an unwarranted measure of importance to the ulterior worth of the aesthetic experience or the feeling behind a work of art. Great artists and aestheticians of various ages beginning from Plato, Aristotle and Horace, through Dante, Tasso, Spenser and Milton, to Arnold and Pater have subscribed more or less to the moralistic theory of art. Tolstoy's mistake lay in confining the conception of morality to a single narrow channel, the sense of universal brotherhood under the parenthood of God, and making that the standard of valuation. His failure to appreciate the objective mystical conception of beauty was due to the short-sightedness peculiar to a rank rationalist. His attack on the Greek ideal as "the ideal that was held by a small, semi-savage, slave-holding people who lived two thousand years ago, imitated the nude human body extremely well, and erected buildings pleasant to look at." is as shocking as the famous diatribe of Shelley against chastity—"Chastity is a monkish and evangelical superstition, a greater foe to natural temperance even than unintellectual sensuality."

Tolstoy's thesis is a pointer to modern thought. Few will refuse to admit that there is much truth in

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his criticism of the art and literature of his time. Even such a sane person as Arthur Symons regrets "the spiritual and moral perversity" of the art of his time and refers to contemporary literature as "really a new and beautiful and interesting disease." Written about half a century ago, Tolstoy's criticism still holds good to a great extent. If the decadence has ended, it has not really given place to a healthy and vital art or culture. Much of what we call art today is exclusively intellectual and hedonistic. Extreme individualism in the field of art has inevitably led to a chaos. Young courageous artists have chosen to break away from conventions to strike out new paths. But the new paths are too narrow to admit others. A Romain Rolland or a Bojer is an exception. The battle for the universal art was only partly won in the October Revolution. In the place of a bourgeois art we have a proletarian art, but not a universal art.

After a devastating war, in the dawn of a new age rich with enormous possibilities, we re-read Tolstoy, and wonder, if it is not time now to retrace our steps to make a final attempt at creating a universal art on the basis of a comprehensive sense of morality, to utilise its tremendous influence on the human minds for building up a better and wiser world.

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BRITAIN AND SOCIALISM

By S. M. TAQI HASHMI, M.A.

Modern ideology, whether political, economic or social, owes its origin to the French Revolution which was not a mere revolt against the political order prevailing at that time but a strong assertion of human rights. The Revolution started iconoclasm of all those beliefs and conceptions which were firmly inculcated in the human mind by abuse of religion by those who wanted to perpetuate their sway, political and economic, over a great part of humanity. Human society, being reinforced by intellectual progress and rational thinking, started its march along the path of freedom which was full of hindrances and obstructions. It had to fight against two enemies—political tyranny and economic exploitation. These were largely overcome by the inauguration of the present type of democracy but were not stamped out of existence, because the capitalist system, with its 'exploitive' aspect, was allowed to remain, rather reinforced by the policy of *laissez-faire* which resulted in the political and economic domination of the exploiting class. The necessity for purging the democracy of exploitation was, therefore, keenly felt generally and, in consequence, the powerful movement of socialism came into being.

The object of socialism is the total abolition of the capitalist system which emerged from the Industrial Revolution in Europe and deprived the factory labourers of the just reward for their toil and industry and reduced them to the position of serfs working for the comfort of their masters; complete elimination of vested interests and economic groups; State regulation of economic life and nationalisation of the means of production; equitable distribution of wealth brought about by the recognition of the dignity of and a true assessment of the value of labour as a factor of production.

The socialist movement in its extreme form was led by Karl Marx during the last century and with the growth of industrialism it gained momentum and culminated in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the significance of which is revealed by the fact that socialism is now being actively pursued by at least one country and trade unionism is firmly entrenched in almost all countries. Now the importance and power of labour has been recognised by all nations who have set up a separate international body called the International Labour Organisation to deal with the problems of labour which are now recognised as the problems of the common man according to the *Philadelphia Charter*.

Britain, more than many other countries of the world, has been truly democratic in the sense that it has given unfettered liberty of thought and expression to its people. Any movement initiated in any quarter of the globe is freely studied and discussed and in case of its acceptance by a sufficient number of people, finds its expression in an association in this country. So far as socialism is concerned, there are now four main bodies allied to it—the Fabian Society, which is an academic body, the Labour and the Communist parties having political aims and the British Trade Union Congress devoted to labour welfare work.

Now that the Labour Party has formed its Government and the dawn of Socialism has appeared on the British horizon with the Government starting nationalisation of economic life, the question whether the Government will go completely socialist, is being mooted all over the world. This question can be adequately answered only after examining the measures of nationalisation so far adopted by the Government and knowing the general reactions of the public to these measures.

The Labour Party in their election manifesto "Let's Face the Future" which, more or less, embodies a plan of the socialism of the Fabian type for Britain, had declared that if returned to power, it would first take steps to nationalise the Bank of England, fuel and power, steel and transport. The Party, has, after taking up the reins of Government in its hand, addressed itself, in conformity with its election pledges, to the task of nationalising the Bank of England, the basic industries and the public utility services as the first and essential part of their programme for the socialisation of economic life. Except the Bank of England, which has already passed into public ownership, bills have been submitted to the Parliament for the nationalisation of coal industry, tele-communications and civil aviation which will become law with the conclusion of the present session.

The nationalisation of the Bank of England was comparatively easier for it did not involve any radical changes in the organisation of the Bank. The Bank now retains many features of its former self. The Act

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provides £400 of 3 per cent Government Stock for £100 of Bank Stock (on which 12 per cent dividends have been paid); a reduced number of directors to be chosen by the Crown but not enjoying the status of civil servants and slight alterations in the composition of the Court of Directors. It must be noted, in this connection, that the Government is against nationalising ordinary banks.

The Bill pertaining to the nationalisation of coal industry provides for some 850 collieries to be taken over, the establishment of a National Coal Board and the setting up of a Compensation Tribunal to assess the value of coal assets to be taken over which will have to be paid for by the issue of "frozen" Government Stock.

The Bill relating to tele-communications provides for the transference of the services of the Cables and Wireless Ltd., to public ownership and the Bill for the nationalisation of civil aviation, including radio, meteorological and air traffic control services, provides for the setting up of three public corporations to be financed wholly by Government.

The Labour Government now proposes to socialise all the sectors of the iron and steel industry except cast iron foundries which will be left in private ownership. It has under preparation a bill to nationalise the electricity industry while the gas industry and transport services will be brought under public ownership at a later date.

The Government has not yet decided to nationalise land and such large concerns as Imperial Chemical Industries which will, it may be assumed, be taken up during their next tenure of office. They have, for the present, concentrated their attention on the socialisation of industries, particularly basic industries and public utility services, which predominate British economy. But the process of this nationalisation is such as to bring all the industries under public ownership in due course. This process has been revealed by the Coal Nationalisation Bill which lays down the principle that an ancillary can be taken over with the primary industry. It is obvious that the acquisition of ancillary industries is a process which can be stopped and will ultimately lead to the nationalisation of all industries.

Now we have to consider the reactions of the British public to nationalisation. The class which is directly affected by this policy consists of capitalists and industrialists. The latter are naturally very loud in their clamour against nationalisation, although some of their arguments are very reasonable and like to modify the policy of the Government in future. They hold that only such concerns should be nationalised as are inefficient and not those like the Cable & Wireless Ltd., which have always worked efficiently to the benefit of the general public. Besides, they argue, nationalisation will damage the goodwill of British industries like that of Stewarts and Lloyds, the world-known steel tube-makers, in the export market. The British export trade, it is feared, may also suffer greatly by virtue of the fact that British manufacturers will, on account of the nationalisation at home, establish their factories overseas, in the Dominions and Colonies.

Some of the industrial concerns like the Cable & Wireless Ltd., the electrical supply firms and the railway companies have started a vigorous campaign against nationalisation which is likely to have considerable effect on their investors. Besides, the Conservatives have joined the fight by declaring that if returned to power in the next general election, they will denationalise the economy by turning State concerns into limited companies with "care-taker" directors, inviting shareholders to nominate their own directors and returning to normal trading with Government control.

In short, an opposition to nationalisation is growing gradually mainly from the industrialists, investors of the companies paying good dividends and the followers of the Conservative Party, which is likely to modify the nationalisation programme of the Labour Government. Besides, the Labour Party came to power at a time when the War has completely disjointed the British economy and the nation is yearning for the return to the normal life of the pre-war period. The reconstruction will involve a colossal amount of expenditure and is likely to retard the progress of nationalisation by virtue of the fact that the latter is also a highly expensive programme. On the other hand, normal life in Britain can be restored only when the war-torn and over-worked industries are re-equipped immediately and made to turn out goods for the home and foreign markets without delay. Britain must also launch an export drive vigorously (as its prosperity hinges upon the export trade) in order to at least maintain its hold on overseas markets in which the U.S.A., with its superior industrial organisation, is most likely to appear as a formidable rival. These pressing needs of the British nation, *i.e.*, the restoration of normal life and the revival of export trade, have to be immediately fulfilled by the Government not through the nationalisation of industries which, by virtue of its being an experimental measure, is likely to cause considerable delay but by just restoring the industries to their pre-war position which is comparatively an easier task.

On the other hand, the Labour M.P's are not only solidly behind the Government in the latter's nationalisation drive but also urging upon them the necessity for speeding up the programme. The labour strikes may also be taken as a factor in favour of the Government's policy.

Taking all these factors into consideration, it must be admitted that the Labour Government are functioning against heavy odds. But whatever they have achieved during the first year of their tenure of office is more than what could be expected in the circumstances. They will be in a better position after the transition to put their socialisation plan into operation more effectively.

It is worthy of note that the Government is going ahead with their programme cautiously and discriminately. They do not intend for the present to nationalise those industries which are important from the point of view of export trade, although they are bringing them under their general control. Besides, they are not showing a complete disregard for the British sentiment for private enterprise and economic freedom.

The Labour Government have pledged to secure full employment and social security for the British nation. Full employment is now a fact in Britain which is suffering from the shortage of man-power. It is certain that the policy of the Government, with regard to full employment and social security will be in conformity with the recommendations of the International Labour Conferences held at Philadelphia and Paris in 1944 and 1945 respectively.

It may be concluded that the socialism which

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Britain is going to pursue will be neither of the Russian nor of any other type but of an entirely British type. Private enterprise will not be eliminated from the economic field but will be confined to such spheres of economic activity where it is likely to be more useful. It will, however, not remain in the basic industries, public utility services and the industries of national importance. The policy of colonial exploitation will be substituted by that of co-operation with other countries in economic matters. There will be a basic wage for all workers sufficient to maintain them at a minimum standard of living but there will be inequalities in incomes, though not so glaring as they exist at the present time. Efficiency will be duly rewarded and a healthy economic competition, which is a lever of progress, be promoted. There will be equal opportunities of self-improvement for men and women of all classes and creeds. The 'right to work' will be recognised and every citizen will be provided with useful employment. Social assistance will be given to the disabled, the children, the aged, the sick, the unemployed and the expected mothers. Every citizen will enjoy civil liberties and will be perfectly free to use his leisure as he likes.

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NEHRU BIRTHDAY DINNER IN NEW YORK

By HILDA WIERUM BOULTER

On November 14th, the National Committee for India's Freedom gave a dinner in New York City to celebrate the birthday of Pandit Nehru. There have been Nehru Birthday dinners before. There have been Gandhi Birthday dinners, and Independence Day dinners. There have been mass meetings of the India Community and its friends on these and other occasions in New York, Washington and elsewhere. But there has never been any function of any sort given by the India Community in this city or elsewhere in America which drew so distinguished a crowd as the 1946 Nehru Birthday Dinner.

It was held in the Grand Ball-room of the Hotel Pierre, New York's most elegant and exclusive hotel. Ordinarily, India functions are held at more modest establishments, and whenever possible, at one of the two Indian restaurants in New York. But this time it was inevitable that there would be a larger crowd than either of the Indian restaurants could accommodate, and as it would be a crowd composed largely of officials it was thought wise to let the restaurant fit the crowd—to paraphrase Gilbert and Sullivan. Incidentally, the presence of the U. N. in New York and the many dinners given on that account has so filled up the city's hotels and restaurants that one has very little choice.

Scattered through the room that night were members of the Chinese, French, Belgian, Ukrainian, Yugoslav, Syrian, Ethiopian and Haitian delegations to the U. N. There were also representatives of some of the big Trade Unions of this country. There were distinguished writers, lawyers, and scientists of various nationalities—not to mention the many "socialites." There were also present plenty of the "little people" to whom attending that dinner represented a real sacrifice. Special arrangements were made for the Indian students, and for other students—and there were many students present.

The list of people who attended that dinner was in itself a testimonial to the respect in which Pandit Nehru is held here by all kinds. The great number of official representatives was a testimonial to the change of status of India herself—and to the expectation the rest of the world has of India. It was also a testimonial to the esteem in which Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit is held here.

On the dais were the Chinese Ambassador, Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo; the Philippine Ambassador, Gen. Carlos P. Romulo; the Minister from Afghanistan, Mr. Azziz; Mr. Arthur Bottomley of the British Delegation to the U.N.; Mr. Kyril Novikoff of the Russian Delegation; Mr. Camille Chamoun, Lebanese Minister to London and head of Lebanon's Delegation to the U. N.; Mr. Henry S. Villard of the American State Department and the American Delegation to the U.N.; Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas, Congresswoman from California and member of the American Delegation; Mr. Emanuel Celler, Congressman from New York, and sponsor of the bill for Indian Citizenship; Mr. William Shirer, the noted author and foreign correspondent; Mrs. Frances Gunther, India's good friend of many years; Mrs. Celler, Mrs. Shirer, Mme. Chamoun, Mme. Koo—and in the centre sat Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, the guest of honor, and Dr. Anup Singh, Secretary of the National Committee for India's Freedom, who presided.

Part of the proceedings were broadcast, so that many who could not be there in person were able to hear many of the speeches. But the *atmosphere* could not be broadcast, nor could the lovely picture presented by the many Indian ladies in their graceful and colorful *saris*. Mme. Koo, in Chinese dress, was both exotic and elegant. Mrs. Pandit, though dressed far more simply than many others there, was radiantly beautiful, with a beauty of spirit as well as of feature.

Sir Maharaj Singh of the Indian delegation in *achkan* and Gandhi cap, Mr. Nairoji, also in *achkan*, several Sikh students with their beards and turbans, and one young Muslim wearing a handsome gold turban, all added to the picturesqueness—from the American point of view.

There was a gayer spirit than at so many other Indian functions. (The last Nehru Birthday dinner that the present writer attended was held while Pandit Nehru was in jail!). This was, as one of the speakers said, not only the birthday of Jawaharlal Nehru, but almost the natal day of India's *own* government. We—American friends of India—who have been joining our Indian friends year after year in the celebration of India's Independence Day—we now felt that at last that Day was dawning. It was no longer merely a hope that we were celebrating, not a declaration of an intention, but the beginning of a *fact*.

Dr. Koo, indeed, referred to India as having attained complete independence. A slight over-state-

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ment, as Mrs. Pandit pointed out later. But, although every one knew it was an over-statement—that was how we felt.

When Mrs. Pandit rose to make her very brief but eloquent speech of thanks for the tributes paid to Pandit Nehru and to herself—as she rose the entire audience rose and greeted her with a genuine ovation of tumultuous applause.

We knew that India is torn with a horrible struggle between the two major communities, we knew that Pandit Nehru is a harassed man, dealing with a task of such magnitude that it is appalling to consider —we knew all that, and yet there was an electric charge of success, of achievement, in the very air. Never mind the difficulties. A step forward has been taken, such a step that there *can be no going back.* That was the key-note of the evening. It was in the air—that sense of *real achievement.* Moral victories are wonderful. They are, of course, the realest of all victories, and the hardest to win. But it is hard to *celebrate a moral victory,* if there is no *concrete* evidence of victory. This was a celebration of the *concrete evidence of the moral victory.*

Pandit Nehru was eulogized for his many great qualities, for his statesmanship, and for his many literary achievements. Mrs. Pandit received many tributes for her work—both at San Francisco from the outside, and now at the U. N. Assembly.

But the inspiring feature of the evening was not so much the eulogies to Pandit Nehru, not the many brilliant speeches and certainly Dr. Koo, Gen. Romulo, Mr. Krishna Menon and others *were* brilliant. No, the inspiring thing was to look around at the really *happy* faces of the Indians there, and to realize that all this was to honor the man who has been largely responsible for making the dream of freedom become an actuality. To realize that this year Pandit Nehru's whole talents are being used *constructively* for his country.

It was a triumphant evening. All felt it. From highest to lowest—foreign ambassador, delegate to the U. N., Excellency—or just plain Mr., Mrs. and Miss American friend—Indian student and Indian businessman. We were all of us rejoicing over the triumph of a just cause, and that a great man had come into his own—at last.

——:O:——

MODERN IRANIAN MUSE

Patriotic Poetry

By RATTAN LAL KHANNA, M.A., M.O.L., J.D.

"It is glorious to serve one's country by deeds : even to serve her by words is a thing not to be despised."—SALLUST : CATILINE.

One of the most characteristic notes in the gamut of modern poetry of Iran is the note of patriotism. While her classical poetry was pre-eminently the poetry of refuge, modern poetry of Iran is essentially the poetry of interpretation. It is no more an anodyne: it has become a powerful intellectual irritant. It has done much to bring about the social, political and economic transformation of modern Iran. It has roused her from age-long torpor. Among other things modern Iranian poetry has fired renascent Iran with fervent patriotism. It has thus created hope where despair reigned supreme, for as Lloyd George has it : Hope is the mainspring of patriotism.

Patriotism expressed in the modern poetry of Iran is the patriotism of a suppressed and exploited people. It is not the patriotism of super-patriots who swear by Jingo and proclaim arrogantly :

We don't want to fight
But by Jingo, if we do
We've got the ships
We've got the men
We've got the money too.

It is not inspired by Chauvinism. Its main impulse is a love for one's own country and is protection from the greed of Jingos : Iranian patriotism is not of the Kipling brand, which takes an absurd and extravagant pride in England and shows a corresponding contempt, explicit or implicit, for foreign nations. Iranian patriotism is the patriotism of the Indian or till recently Irish or Chinese brand—unsullied patriotism inspired by no ulterior motive.

Modern poets of Iran have written patriotic poetry on a variety of motifs and in a variety of tones. They are themselves great and ardent patriots and have endeavoured to serve their beloved country—by words the winged and moving words of poesy. The most distinguished of these poets are :

Arif : One of the most eloquent nationalist poets of Iran.

Adib-i-Pesawari : The pioneer of the nationalist movement in modern Iranian poetry.

Akhagar : A soldier poet of lofty idealism, his muse has the pulse of fire.

Ishqi : His muse has the tongue of silver.

Nimtaj Khanum : An ardent poetess whose muse is inspired by the ideal of sacrifice in the service of one's motherland.

The Poet-Laureate Bahar : Whose poetry reaches ecstatic heights.

Besides these stars of the first magnitude there are innumerable stars each shining with its own glimmering light.

The most prominent motifs in the patriotic poetry of Iran are illustrated below :

Patriotism has its roots deep in the instincts and affections of man. Torn from one's motherland one fades like an exotic in an uncongenial country. Says an Iranian poet :

A flower said to a flower-vase : "I am afflicted with an old sorrow ;

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My heart is withered and I am swollen with grief
Although I live in a crystal house,
Away from my native-land my heart is bleeding."

Plato said, "Man was not born for himself but for his country. It has always been considered glorious to die for one's country." Compare :

And how can men die better than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his gods !
—Macaulay : Horatio

Sacrifice for the native-land is an important motif in the patriotic poetry of modern Iran :

"Strive," saith God both in the Bible and the Quran,
"Arise and like a striver lay down thy life for thy country's sake."

Again :

Freedom is tied to the handle of the sword.
Heroes always depend upon it.
It is a law of Nature that a nation indulging in luxury and pleasure degenerates.

Says the soldier-poet Asghar :

The hair protects the head and the army protects the country,
I keep my heart clinging to the army of the country.
In the protection of the country night and day, I keep my sword drawn in the face of the enemy.

Traitors, who betray their country for a handful of silver, have always provoked the indignation of the patriots. Denunciation of traitors is a principal motif in this poetry. Sometimes traitors are subjected to withering irony and sometimes to smashing ridicule. Often lava-hot satire is poured on them. In the following lines we have a picture throbbingly alive of an Iranian reactionary who was prepared to sell his country's freedom to the highest bidder :

Hajji ! the market is brisk, the bidding high.
Here comes the auctioneer : Who will buy ? Who will buy ?
I sell the whole land of Iran and the pride and honour of Muslims,
Rashat and Qazwin, Qum, Kushan Yazad and Khawausar, all are up for auction.
Buy this cheap land.
Here comes the auctioneer—Where is the bidder ? Where is the bidder ?

Akhagar condemns the traitor most vehemently in a poem "Watan Faroshi":

To take poison like Socrates instead of honey,
In the ocean to try to drink the milk of crocodile,
* * * *
To roll naked on a bed of bristling thorns,
To fall in a well full of snakes and scorpions
Is a thousand times better than to betray one's country.

The poets look back wistfully through the corridors of history and celebrate the glory that was Iran. They compare the picture of the past with the present picture to indicate the extent of degradation :

O thou soil of Iran, long before this thou wert accomplished like this green dome of sky !
Thou wert a fortunate cradle, thou nursed Bahram and Barjis ;
Thou hadst given birth to Frank and Rudabah too ; thou hadst nourished Faridun and Rustom.
—Adib Peshawari

Here is a pathetic dirge on the distress of Iran :
From the blood of the youths of the land the tulip is abloom.
From mourning for their cypress-like stature the cypress bends its head
Beneath the rose the nightingale has slunk smitten with grief,
The rose too rends its cloak like me in grief.
—Arif

Exploitation of Iran by foreign countries is a very important theme in this poetry :

O watchman, how long this lethargy and heavy slumber !
Sleep is not seemly for the watchman or shepherd.
Behold thy flock without a watchman or shepherd.
On one side is raging wolf, on the other side the roaring lion,
That one snatches the morsel from the claws of this one and this one from that one.
Each one having dyed his claws and fangs with the blood of this flock.
The watchman is intoxicated, the flock is pre-occupied, the enemy vigilant,
The matter rests with God for it has passed out of our hands.
—Bahar

The same poet warns his countrymen against the machinations of exploiters :

I sing a patriotic song with tearful eyes
Altho' it creates no impression.
Till my valuable life endures I will continue singing.
I have said once and I say again
That our country is in danger,
O patriots beware ! the country is in danger.

Epilogue :

Iranian patriotic poetry does not like hatred or bitterness towards any one except of course the traitor or the patriot. It is not merely a sentimentality of flag-cheering, for, it inculcates constructive duties. It evokes noble aspirations. It stands for the honour of the motherland ; it seeks to redeem her from the slough of despair and to restore her to her rightful place in the comity of nations.

When G. B. S. said that you cannot have a quiet world till you have knocked patriotism out of the human race, he was referring to the Kipling-brand of patriotism and not to unalloyed love for one's country which is inborn. It is the second sort of patriotism that inspired the Iranian muse.

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SOME MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE SUCCESSION OF MONARCHS IN THE NIZAMSHAHI DYNASTY

By B. G. TAMASKAR, M.A., Dip. Geog.

It is a matter of great surprise that misconceptions about the succession of Nizamshahi monarchs after 1600 A.D. have persisted till now. Learned savants like Y. K. Rajwade, Dr. Balkrishna, Professor J. N. Sarkar and others have passed over them silently. The persistence of these gross errors may be attributed to the fact that the history of the Nizamshahi dynasty has not yet been subjected to thorough-going investigation, critical examination and systematic study. The Nizamshahi Kingdom in the 17th Century attracted little attention of chroniclers as it was in its dacadent state during this period.

As regards the succession of Nizamshahi monarchs before 1600 A.D. there is no difficulty since all main and important facts of history have been recorded systematically by competent chroniclers of those days. In 1595 the Nizamshahi dominion was torn by civil war into four rival factions after the death of Burhan Nizam Shah II on the 18th April.[1] The Moghul army seized this opportunity to invade the declining kingdom. The disturbed conditions in the kingdom continued till the fall of Ahmadnagar which occurred on the 18th August, 1600 A.D.[2]

The first Nizamshahi monarch, named Ahmad Nizamshah reigned till 1508 A.D. The reign of his successor, Burhan Nizamshah I, came to a close in 1553 on his death. Burhan Nizamshah I had six sons : Qasim, Abdul Qadir, Mohammad Khudawand, Muhammad Bagir, and Hussain. The last-named ascended the throne after his father's death and his brothers fled from the kingdom to escape imprisonment or execution at his hands.[3] The eldest of them, Mohmmad Khudawand, sought shelter in the Moghul empire under Akbar's protection at Agra. Shah Ali, who came to the throne immediately after the fall of Ahmadnagar, was the third son of the late king.[4] He was a prisoner in the fort of Bijapur before his accession to the throne.[5] The succession fell to the Mad Murtaza Nizamshah or more popularly known as Murtaza Nizamshah Diwana after the death of his father, Hussain in 1565 A.D. His immediate successor was his son, Miran Hussain who was deposed on the 30th April 1589 in favour of his cousin, Ismail Nizamshah. The latter was dethroned by his father on the 20th May 1591 who became famous in history as Burhan Nizam Shah II and continued on his throne till he was removed by death on 18th April, 1595. He was succeeded by his son, Ibrahim Nizamshah. His reign was shortlived. After his death in September 1595, there ensued a civil war among rival aspirants to royalty.[6]

The brave Chand-Bibi, sister of Burhan Nizam Shah II, elevated his minor son, Bahadur to the throne in the fort of Ahmadnagar after his release from the fort of Chandwad and kept up a gallant resistance against the invasions of the Moghuls as well as the Nizamshahi factions.[7] Besides the government stationed there, there were at this time three parties of Nizamshahis.[8]

1. That of Miya Raju who, with his protege Ahmad, was hanging about the Bijapur frontier.
2. That of Abhang Khan Habshi who had gone in Bijapur territory and induced Shah Ali, a son of Burhan I to come out of his retirement and become king of Ahmednagar. At this time his age was 70 years.[9]
3. The party whose leader was Ikhlas Khan. He was at Daulatabad and had with him a child named Moti.

It is not pertinent here to give a detailed account of the civil war. It may be said that warring factions after a brief struggle among themselves threw their combined power against the Moghul army. The war against the Moghuls continued with varying success till at length the Fort of Ahmadnagar was captured on the 18th August, 1600 A.D.[10]

The sequence of succession in the Nizamshahi dynasty has been an unsolved mystery after 1600 A.D. The names and dates of each successor have not been noticed by present-day historians. As a result, truth has been sacrificed to myths and fables, chronology has been distorted and history has been mutilated, at times to suit the views of the historian concerned.

After the capture of Bahadur (Nizamshah), Shah Ali was raised to the throne probably in September 1600 A.D. by Malik Ambar at Parenda. This fact is mentioned in the *Futuhat-i-Adilshahi*.[11] But it appears that he did not survive long to enjoy his kingship due to his old age. At the time of his enthronement, he was 75 years old.[12] He must have met his death towards the end of 1600 or early in 1602. His reign was of very short duration.

On the death of his father, Ali, son of Shah Ali must have proclaimed himself king.[13] It is needless to remark that Ali must have been sufficiently advanced in age since his father died at the age of 75 years. Ferishta and other contemporary historians state that son of Shah Ali, Mustafa Nizam Shah II was enthroned. It is evident that Ali can be no person other than Murtaza Nizam Shah II.[14] This view is further confirmed

1. Count Noer : *Akbar*, Vol. II, p. 320 (based on *Brigg's Ferishta*).
2. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 1158.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 1028
4. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 148.
5. Futuhat-i-Adilshahi (*Q.B.I.S.M.*, Vol. XX, No. 2, p. 5) in *Shiva Charitra Vartta-Sangrah.*
6. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, pp. 1025-1156 *Shiva Charitra Vratta-Sangrah.*
7. Count Noer, *Akbar*, Vol. II, p. 327.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 329.
9. *Ahmednagar District Gazetteer*, p. 382.
10. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, pp. 1158-9.
11. *Q.B.I.S.M.*, Vol. XX, No. 2 (in *Shiva Charitra Vratta Sangrah*, Part III, p. 53).
12. See *Supra*, according to Count Noer, his age was 70 years in 1595 A.D.

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by a document where his name is referred to as 'Murataza Ali'.[15]

It has already been mentioned above that Murtaza Nizam Shah II was sufficiently advanced in age. The following evidence may be cited to establish the truth of the statement beyond possibility of doubt :

(*i*) A revolt broke out against Malik Ambar in which Murtaza Nizam Shah participated. Malik Ambar successfully curbed the rebellious spirits without loss of time about the year 1603-4[16].

(*ii*) The year 1604 or 1605 again witnessed the recrudescence of troubles against Malik Ambar. The jealous Nizamshah's Sardars effected a contact with Murtaza Nizamshah II to throw out Malik Ambar.[17]

(*iii*) In 1610, relations became strained between Murtaza Nizam Shah II and Malik Ambar. The latter wanted to dethrone his royal master for which he begged the support and co-operation of Ibrahim Adilshah. The Adilshah refused to countenance such a measure.[18]

(*iv*) In 1607, Murtaza Nizamshah II accompanied Malik Ambar and proceeded against Mirja Raju to Junnar. Minya Raju was defeated and made captive.[19]

Had he been a minor, Murtaza Nizamshah II could not be able to make any effort to shake off the surveillance of his able and self-willed Minister. It may be noted Malik Ambar dared not design against the life of the sovereign as it would have jeopardised his his position. However a temporary reconciliation was patched up between the master and the servant by the good offices of Ibrahim Adilshah. Finally, the providence came to his rescue in 1614 when Murtaza Nizamshah passed away. This may be gleaned from the following excerpt culled in from the *91 Qalami Bakhar* :

"When Shahji Raje reached his twentieth year Jijawa bestowed on him a son, who was called Sambhaji Raja. *That same year Nizamshah Bahsi died.* He left two sons, seven years old, born of different mothers who were both alive.[20]

According to the Chitnis Bakhar, Shahji was born in Shake 1516, that is, in 1594 A.D. From the above extract it can be inferred that Sambhaji, the eldest son of Shahji was born in 1614 A.D. The year of Sambhaji's birth synchronised with that of the death of Murtaza Nizamshah II.

From a contemporary letter of 1614, it can be shown that the regime of a new Nizamshah set in in that year. In the letter, the words **'हजरती बुरहान निजाम'** (Regime of Burhan Nizam) which denote that Burhan Nizamshah came to the throne and the words **'मासाहेब'** (Queen-mother) and **'माहाल'** (Harem) occurring in the same letter, point definitely to the conclusion that the new Nizamshah was a minor.[21]

This fact is further corroborated by foreign travellers of those days. A Dutch traveller named Van Ravesteyn in the entry of 5th June 1615 in the account of his travel observes :

"King Baijro (Burhan) Nisama (Nizamshah) was with the army. He was little more than a child of 9 years ; everything was governed by Melick Ambar.[22]

The Italian travellers, Pietro Della Valla wrote in 1623 that the reigning Nizamshah was a child of twelve years of age. All these are unimpeachable evidence of the minority of the resigning Nizamshah.

The Dutch records are more reliable in respect of the age of the minor Nizamshah. The *91 Qalami Bakhar* says that the two surviving children of the late Nizamshah were 7 years of age in 1614 A.D. The Dutch records are very nearly in agreement with the 91-Qalami Bakhar in regard to the age of the Nizamshah. Ravestyn says that "the Nizamshah was a little more than a child of 9 years." The version of the Italian traveller appears to be not very authentic as it is based on hearsay.

It is manifest from the foregoing discussion that the year 1614 A.D. was the beginning of Malik Ambar's regency. The protege of Malik Ambar may be called Burhan Nizamshah III to distinguish him from the previous two Burhan Nizamshahs. Burhan Nizamshah III was alive during the famous and decisive battle of Batwadi. He set Randulah Khan and Farhad Khan from their incarceration and entertained them into his service.[23] Malik Ambar died in May 1626. He was succeeded by his son, Fatehkhan as a Premier. However, he displayed no exceptional abilities possessed by his father. Smarting under the shackles of his regency, Murtaza Nizamshah III was seized with an earnest desire to assert his right to rule his dominion on attaining majority. Fatehkhan fell into evil odour with his royal master as he was unwilling to relax his authority in any way. Evidently, there could be no love lost between Murtaza Nizamshah III and Fatehkhan. With the help of Hamid Khan, Fateh Khan was thrown into prison in 1630. Fatekhan was released from his imprisonment on the 18th January 1631, and restored to his former dignity.[24] Fatehkhan revenged the insult done to him by murdering the king in February 1632. Fatekhan raised Hussain Shah III, at the age of 7 years. Hussain Shah was the son of the late king.[25] Shahji had crowned Hussain Shah III at Pemgiri in order to revive the Nizamshahi kingdom. However, in 1636, the boy-king was taken prisoner by the Moghuls.[26]

Probably, the contemporary Portuguese Records may embody direct references to the names and dates of all successors in the Nizamshahi dynasty. The Portuguese Records are likely to be valuable in throwing light on one of the dark corners of the Nizamshahi history. They will prove helpful in confirming the conclusions of this brief discussion.

V. K. Rajwade has taken it for granted that Murtaza Nizamshah and Burham Nizam were one and the same person.[27] He advocates that the letter of 1614

13. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 1177.
14. *Brigg's Ferishta*, Vol. IV, p. 314.
15. *Shiva-Charitra-Sahitya*, Part VII, p. 109.
16. *Brigg's Ferishta*, p. 316.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 318.
18. *Busatine-Salatin*, p. 403 (Hindi Edition).
19. *Brigg's Ferishta*, Vol. IV, p. 320.
20. *The Forest Edition*, edited by V. S. Wakaskar, p. 22.
21. *Iti-Vratta* (B. I. S. M. Shake 1840).

22. Malik Ambar from Dutch Records (*Q.B.I.S.M.*, Vol. XI. No. 1, p. 9).
23. *Busa-tine-Salatin*, p. 444 (Hindi Edition).
24. *Jedhe Chronology* (Shivaji Souvenir) p. 5.
25. *Busatane Salatin*, p. 455 (Hindi Edition).
26. *Jedhe Chronology* (Shivaji Souvenir) p. 5.
27. Introduction to *Radhamadhav-vilas Champoo*, p. 55.

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referred to this discussion is incorrect. There appears nothing unauthentic. Foreign travellers had noticed that the reigning Nizamshah in 1614 A.D. onwards was an infant. It has already been established that Murtaza Nizamshah was sufficiently grown up to look after the affairs of his government. It is apparent that Murtaza Nizamshah was a different person than Burhan Nizamshah. His view can hardly be tenable in the light of the high and impartial testimony of foreign travellers. What sounds stranger is that Professor J. N. Sarkar has also identified Murtaza Nizamshah II with Burhan Nizamshah III.[28] He says that one of the Nizamshahi nobles "set up Burhan Nizamshah (called Murtaza II by *Firishtah*, II, 165) a son of Shah Ali as king . . ." Perhaps, by finding the name of Burhan Nizamshah mentioned in connection with the battle of Bhatwadi in the *Busatane Salatin*. Prof. Sarkar has been misled to think he could be no other person than Murtaza III mentioned by *Firishta*. No effort has been made by the learned scholar to establish the abovementioned identity.

Wasudeo Shastri Khare is perfectly right in pointing out the mistake committed by Grant Duff in the following statement :

> "Sultan Murtaza Nizamshah II on attaining man's estate was naturally desirous of circumscribing the power of the regent, and violent and inconsistent conduct of Fatehkhan rendered this object a matter of easy accomplishment.[29]

One must agree with his view that Murtaza Nizamshah II could not be in the prime of his youth in 1629 A.D. According to him, he must have been a middle-aged man of not less than 34 years of age in 1629 A.D.[30] He further points out that in the *Ahmadnagar Gazetteer*[31] and in Kincaid's *History of the Maratha People*[32], the error committed by Grand Duff has been repeated.[33] However, Wasudeo Shastry Khare has failed to explain the cause of this misleading error and to notice and point out the fact that there had been a Nizamshah in between the reigns of Murtaza Nizamshah II. The statement of Grant Duff can be corrected by substituting "Burhan Nizamshah III" for "Sultan Murtaza Nizamshah II." The conclusions of the discussion may be summarised in the following table :

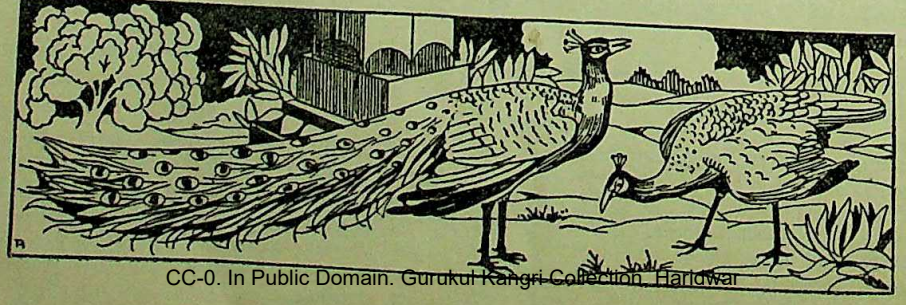
Ahmad Nizam Shah (d. 1508)
||
Bahadur Nizam Shah I (d. 1553)
||

1	2	3	4	5	6
Mohmmad Khudaband	Abdul Kadir	III. Hussain (d. 1565)	Qasim	XI Shah Ali (1600-1)	Mohmmad Baquir
||		||		||	
VIII Ahmad s/o Shah Tahir apparently. (6th Aug., 1595) deposed soon after.	1 IV Murtaza Nizam Shah I (Diwana) (d. 6th July, 1588)	2 Chand Bibi	3 VII Burhan Nizam Shah II (d. April 18, 1595)	XII Ali (Murtaza Nizamshah II) (After 1601-1614).	
	||		||	||	
	V Miran Hussain Nizamshah (deposed Apl. 30, 1589)	1 IX Ibrahim Nizam Shah (d. Sept. 1595)	2 X Bahadur (about Nov. 1595 to 18th Aug., 1600)	XIII Burhan Nizam Shah III (1614-1631)	
			3 VI Ismail Nizam Shah (deposed May 26, 1591)	||	
				XIV Hussain Nizam Shah II (imprisoned 1633)	

Raised by Chand Bibi (taken prisoner).

[The last Nizam Shah was set up by Shahji at Pemgiri. His name was Murtaza Nizam Shah III, who was taken prisoner by the Moghuls after May, 1636]

28. Sir J. N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 34.
29. *The History of the Marathas*, Vol. I, p. 45.
30. *Q.B.I.S.M.*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 13.
31. *Ahmadnagar Gazetteer*, p. 396.
32. *History of the Maratha People*, Vol. I, pp. 111-112.
33. *Q.B.I.S.M.*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 13.



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THE LONGEST AND EARLIEST BRAHMI INSCRIPTION IN CHHATTISGARH

By L. P. PANDEYA

It is little known to the educated gentry of C. P. and E. S. A., that in the forest region of the so-called backward and land-locked Feudatory areas in Chhattisgarh, are hidden the inscriptional sources of ancient history of India and its great and glorious past.

Gunji rock-inscription of about 200 B.C., in the Sakti State, is one of such outstanding importance. It contains a document of India's agricultural prosperity and religious spirit blended together. It records the gifts of 1,000 cows to Brahmans.

This interesting inscription was first brought to light by Rai Bahadur Dr. (then Mr.) Hiralal, B.A., in 1902, when he was an E.A.C. in Bilaspur, C.P., to which district the State of Sakti geographically belongs. Although H. Conson's *Progress Report*,[1] 1904, refers to it, and the inscription was examined by an officer of the Archaeological Survey of India on 17-2-1904[2], the notices as published in Departmental Reports and in *C.P. Inscription*, betray complete lack of proper and reliable study and interpretation of the record. Who is responsible for such an imaginary description of the epigraph—far removed from the main theme and purpose for which it owned its very existence ?

For the last 40 years, the publication of the full text of this long, long inscription has remained un-done. Nothing has been done in the interval to edit the epigraph on scientific lines.

So far as the inscription has been deciphered, it is beyond doubt that it records the gifts of 1,000 cows to Brahmans. As we find **गोसहस्र** in three places in the record, we can take that three different gifts, each of 1,000 cows were made by two *Amatyas* or Ministers for Agriculture, once in the 5th regnal year of a mighty ruler named Sri Kumara-vara-datta-sri and twice in the 8th regnal year of the same king. The huge rock, containing the record, is by the side of a spring forming a pool of water called *Damau-Dahra*, within the area of Gunji village, from which the inscription derives its name. This pool of water was in all probability the **ऋषभतीर्थ (उसभतिर्थ)** of the inscription where the gifts seem to have been made. The **महाभारत** mentions one sacred place of pilgrimage in Kosala (South Kosala) by this name and it can safely be identified with Gunji and its pool of water, close to which, the inscription is incised on a rock at the foot of a hill. I have referred to this in my note published in the *Mahakosala Historical Society's Papers*, Vol. II (1937), Appendix page 11.

Some portions from the text are given below :

Line 1st

सिध नमो भगवतो राज्ञो कुमार वर दत सिरिस (वरदत्तश्री वीरदत्तश्री ?) संवछरे पचमे ५ हेमंत पखे चउठ ४ दिवसे पचदसम १०+५, भगवतो उसभ तिथे (ऋषभ तीर्थे) अमावस उठवे (अमावस्या-उत्सवे ?)

Line 2nd

गोडछ झन गुणेन (गणेन ?) अमातस मते जानपालित × × × अमातेन, दण्डनायकेन, बलाधिकरणेन वसीठी-पुतेनत बोधदातेन दत्तं वर्षसहश्रायुवधनिकेन × ×

Line 3rd

बह्मणान गोसहस्रं

(Here begins the 2nd gift of 1,000 cows).

3rd line continues

वीरदत संवछरे अठे ८ गिम्ह पखे छठे ६ दिवसे २ वितोये गोसहस्रं दत्तं अमातेन (उसुभवने ?) अमातेन दण्डनायकेन

Here is the 3rd gift

Line 4th

इन्द्रदत्तेन दत्तं बह्मणान गोसहस्रं पुण ।

There is no clue to find out who this **कुमारवर**or **वीरदत्त** was and when he reigned in this part of Mahakosala. Scholars, who have studied the letters and alphabet (characters) of the record, opine that it cannot be earlier than 200 B.C. and later than 100 A.D.

About 1905, some scholars had read the name of this king as Kumar Vasant[3], but this name *Kumar Vasant*, too, is equally unknown to scholars.

Now a word about the gift of 1,000 cows (*go-sahasram*). In the Mahabharata and other Puranas, gifts of 1,000 cows are referred to and the Brahmans, to whom such gifts were made, utilised them in 'nation-building' work of various kinds. These Brahmans were then seats and centres of learning and cultures and in miniature served the purposes of residential universities of the present-day civilised world. They were responsible for the bodily growth, mental development and sound health of the band of students under every *Kulapati* or Vice-Chancellor and in every *Gurukula* or University. As selfless and cultured leaders of the people and as messengers of peace and good-will, these Brahmans used to be the guiding forces in the country and in its proper and lawful administration. Such pious and liberal gifts to them were a State concern in the interest of the public and prosperous government. Bestowal of such gifts added to the prosperity and enlightenment of the public and was something like a bounden duty of the Department of Health, Education and Agriculture of any progressive government in the land.

1 Conson's *Progress Report* 1904, page 54.

2 Conson's *Diary of Tour*, during 1903-1904.

3 *Vide C.P.'s Gazetters*: "Chhattisgarh Feudatory States" by E. A. De Britt I.C.S., p vi. Contents II 1909 and *Inscriptions in the C.P.'s and Berar* by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, B.A., 1932, Second edition, p. 180.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

TRANSFORMATION OF SIKHISM: *By Sir Gokul Chand Narang. Second edition. New Book Society, Lahore. 1945. Pp. 395. Price Rs. 6-4.*

This is the second edition of a book which was originally published in 1912. The author has added, in this new edition, a short life-sketch of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and a brief account of the later and more recent activities of the Sikh community.

The book has no claim to be regarded as a scholarly work based on original research, and this is frankly acknowledged by the author. His general views are also marred by a very imperfect acquaintance with the history of India (outside the Punjab). Most of his theories and assumptions at the beginning of Chapter I would be hardly accepted by any. In order to explain the later transformation of Sikhism he starts with the dictum that "inspiration for all great movements comes from religion." As an illustration of this he points out that "even the mild and tender religion of Buddha led to the establishment" of the most glorious Maurya Empire. Even an amateur student of Indian history should have known that Buddhism was the cause, not of the establishment, but probably of the downfall of that mighty empire. It is absolutely untrue to say that "nowhere in the world has the relation of political movement to religion been so close as in India." Sivaji did not found his empire, as the author believes, "by rousing the religious spirit of the people and by proclaiming himself the champion of Hinduism."

It would be difficult to agree with the author that after centuries of political subjection Guru Nanak was the first to raise his voice against tyranny and oppression and that he chose religious revival as the only way of saving Hindu community, as neither "constitutional agitation nor active resistance" against the ruling authority was feasible. Guru Nanak was one of the illustrious band of medieval saints and preachers who sought to purify decadent Hinduism by means of rationality, devotion and genuine spiritual fervour, and it would be unhistorical to construe their endeavour as a means of political uplift of the Hindu nation or any community in India. Some other assertions of the author are also very questionable: for example, the statement, repeated several times, that "Hinduism had adopted the doctrine of incarnation from Jainism." Nor could we agree with his view that the evils of Hinduism were due to "accretions it had received from Buddhism and Jainism."

But these wrong generalisations and unhistorical statements apart, the book gives a lucid and interesting account of the origin and growth of the Sikhs. The transformation of this community from a peaceful religious sect into a fighting class which struck terror into the hearts of the Mughals and the British alike is one of the great romances of Indian History. The author has traced this great change in a continuous narrative, which, though a thrice told tale, never ceases to be fascinating to an Indian reader. The story has not only an academic interest, but also a practical value, and the author has delineated it in simple and graceful style. We see, as if through a kaleidoscope, the horrors of religious persecution, calling forth in return a spirit of revenge which evokes martial ardour and organisation. It leads, during the thirty years following the death of Aurangzeb, to periodical outbursts of frenzy on both sides causing massacre, rapine, and arson on scale which reminds us of the Thirty Years' War in Europe. The collapse of the Mughal Empire before the onslaught of Nadir Shah gave an opportunity to the Sikhs to free themselves from the hated yoke of the Mughals. But they formed a congeries of *misls* (groups), not a united community, far less a stable nation. Their military skill and prowess, great as it was, found its scope only in fighting among themselves and conquering neighbouring principalities. After more than half a century of such inglorious warfare, Ranjit Singh, leader of one of the *misls*, combined them all into a powerful state. For a peroid of about forty years the Sikhs enjoyed the blessings of a united state under his strong personality. But his death revived the old feud and jealousy among the chiefs which paved the way for the British conquest. But for a brief interlude, the Sikhs have been disunited bands of martial communities whose deeds of prowess and heroism were not matched by sound statesmanship and nation-building capacity.

Such is the story that Sir Gokul Chand has unfolded to us in easy flowing style and with sustained interest. The Sikhs of today are more united than in recent past, but Sir Gokul Chand points out that it is too late, and they can never again hope to dominate the Punjab. In his opinion "the best days of the Khalsa are altogether behind them". In these democratic days the number counts and "the chances of the sword carving once more the Khalsa's way to glory are extremely remote." This brings us dangerously near to modern politics, and we may conclude this review by drawing attention to the somewhat curious 'Foreword' of the book by Sir Jogendra Singh in which he finds fault with the author for his "divided loyalties" (between Hinduism and Sikhism) and wonders that Sir Gokul Chand "has not himself become the apostle of Sikhism and followed the road which would lead India to the pinnacle of power."

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME: ITS MEANING AND PLACE: *By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Second edition. Dec. 1945. Pp. 32. Price six annas.*

This is an enlarged edition of the book which Gandhiji first placed before the country in 1941. In it a few more items have been added, so that the total now stands at eighteen. The items at present are: Communal Unity, Removal of Untouchability, Prohibition, Khadi,

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Other Village Industries, Village Sanitation, New or Basic Education, Adult Education, Women, Education in Health and Hygiene, Provincial Languages, National Language, Economic Equality, Kisans, Labour, Adivasis, Lepers and Students. At the end comes a short discussion on the relation between Civil Disobedience and Constructive Work.

It has to be borne in mind that the above list does not exhaust all that people can do for the sake of national reconstruction; they are illustrative of what can be taken up all over India. Workers have therefore to add to the list according to the particular problems and opportunities offered by local circumstances.

TO WOMEN : *By Amrit Kaur. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1945. Pp. 32. Price six annas.*

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur describes in this booklet some portions of national service which women can specially take up in our country. Her suggestions are practical, and should prove helpful to all those interested in real social service.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME FOR STUDENTS : *By S. N. Agarwal. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 55. Price Re. 1.*

Principal Agarwal has described elaborately in this pamphlet a few of the items of Gandhiji's Constructive Programme for the benefit of the student community. He has not only given practical directions but has also described the logical basis of Gandhian Economics here and there in the book. A set of questions is also given at the end with the help of which students can gain a first-hand knowledge of the country's economic condition. We hope the book will become popular with the student community.

A SHEAF OF GANDHI ANECDOTES : *By G. Ramchandran. Hind Kitabs Publishers. 267 Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 56. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is a delightful collection of anecdotes regarding Gandhiji. The author is one of the most well-known Congress workers of South India, and has had the advantage of intimate association with Gandhiji extending over a long number of years. He writes from personal experience, and in a style which is at once chaste and without any undue embellishments. Readers will enjoy the many-sided character of Gandhi revealed by these anecdotes.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE.

DISTRIBUTION OF MUSLIMS IN THE POPULATION OF INDIA 1941 : *By P. C. Mahalanobis, F.R.S. Pp. 6 with a map in eight colours. Statistical Publishing Society, Calcutta. Price not mentioned.*

It is well-known that the Muhammadans form the vast bulk of the people in North-Western and a portion of North-Eastern India. With Mr. Jinnah's re-iterated demands of Pakistan; with the grouping of Provinces according to the Cabinet Mission's plan; with the Constituent Assembly for India sitting, the questions such as, in what areas the Muhammadans are in a majority, whether such areas are contiguous to each other, etc., assume a new importance.

Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis F. R. S., the well-known statistician—India's representative on the U. N. O. Commission—has prepared a map of India in eight colours.

A study of the Map is not only interesting politically, but reveals several facts which are often overlooked. Over more than *two-thirds* of India the colour is scarlet-red (where the Muhammadans are 12.5 per cent. and below). It is only in Eastern Bengal and the trans-Sutlej areas that they are in a majority. The Muslim Leaguers and their friends talk glibly of Hindu-Muslim parity at the Centre and of Pakistan and Bangistan &c. but one has to look at the map to appreciate the preposterous nature of their demand.

Even a cursory study of the map reveals many interesting and important facts, such as that the proportion of the Muhammadans is about twice greater north of the Ganges along the foot-hills of the Himalayas than south of it; that the same phenomena are observed along the banks of the Brahmaputra; that in the Nizam's dominion the proportion is greater in the Marathawara than in Telingana &c.

We have recalculated about 5 per cent. of the percentage figures as given and found them to be generally correct; but there are errors. For example, the percentage of Muslims in Hyderabad is shown as 12.8; it should be 12.2. The value of the letter-press would have increased if Divisional totals were added; and percentages by Divisions have been given. The colouring in the map is pro-Muhammadan. For example, the percentage of Muslims is given in the accompanying letter-press as 76.4; but so far as the colouring goes Western Kashmir is given a shade which shows Muslim percentage to be '87% and above'. If it be urged that it is intended to show the distinction between Kashmir Proper and Jammu then our complaint is, Jammu is given a shade deeper than the percentage of Muslims warrant. From the shading or colouring one would infer that the percentage of Muslims is above 75; but actually it is a little over 61—and the colouring should have been *two* shades lighter. Further the map seems to be drawn on a projection which shows the higher latitudes, where the Muhammadans are in a majority, much larger than they really are. Such a map should be drawn on an equal-area projection.

There are also a few errors and misprints. Mayurbhanj is shown as a Bengal State. But the Bengal Census Tables for 1941 do not include it. The numbering of the States in Rajputana is faulty; one fails to understand why there should be 2 series beginning with 1. Sikkim is shown as "IKKIM"; Charkhari is shown as "Charkher"; Changbhakar is shown as "Changlehakar" &c. &c. After all that may be said by way of criticism, it is a very useful publication and a timely one. The Government of India should furnish members of the Constituent Assembly with a copy of it; and our public men and journalists should each one of them arm themselves with a copy both for study and ready reference.

J. M. DATTA.

BENGALI

JATI-BAIRA or Our National Consciousness : *By Shri Jogeshchandra Bagal. With an introduction by Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerji. Published by Messrs. S. K. Mitra & Brothers, 12 Narikel Bagan Lane, Calcutta. 1946. Price Rs. 3.*

The growth of national consciousness may be exclusive or inclusive in its nature. The idea of nationhood may be the slow but almost spontaneous outcome, the inevitable result, of the love of one's fellow-beings placed in our immediate surroundings; it may also be due to the clash and conflict with an alien nation. *Jatibaira* or racial antagonism is the novel title under which Shrijut Jogesh Chandra Bagal has developed the theme of the growth of nationalism in Bengal, in 13 chapters and 4 important appendices covering 224 pages. He has marshalled historical information, culled from various sources and detailed in a highly interesting way. The Wahabi movement, the tenancy troubles and legislation, the indigo planters and their oppression, the bent of Indian education seen from the politician's viewpoint—that topics like these have been brought together and presented to the Bengali reader in an easy style and connected manner is a credit to the author. This is altogether an instructive book on some aspects of the history on Bengal.

P. R. SEN.

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HINDI

VICHAR AUR ANUBHUTI : *By Prof. Nagendra, M.A. Pradipa Karyalaya, Moradabad. Pp. 156. Price Rs. 3.*

The author is one of the front-rank critics in the present-day Hindi literature. In eighteen short chapters which comprise his present work, he has held up a mirror to the minds of some of our leading playwrights, poets, novelists, short-story writers and critics of today like Prasad, Guleriji, Mahadevi and Agneya, and also to the ideologies and adventures in literary forms of the younger and progressive artists of the pen. Prof. Nagendra's dramatic touch in the treatment of this otherwise abstruse subject has considerably helped the latter in becoming easily and enjoyably illuminating. *Vichar Aur Anubhuti* is an intriguing study in the soul as well as in the synthesis of Thought and Experience as these touch the consciousness of a creative literary artist.

G. M.

AHMEDABAD KI SHAHADAT : *Compiled and published by Seva Sangh, Mandvis' Pole, Ahmedabad. Price Re. 1.*

This beautifully printed and illustrated brochure containing pictures and brief life-sketches of the brave sons and daughters of India who laid down their lives for the cause of the country during the mass upheaval of August, 1942, in and near Ahmedabad, is a commendable publication to keep the memory of our martyrs alive. The reproduction of Hindustani couplets on some pages is far from satisfactory, perhaps for want of time.

M. S. SENGAR.

GUJARATI

(1) ACHARYA ANAND SHANKAR DHRUVA SMARAK GRANTH : *Paper cover. Pp. 445 + 4. Price Rs. 8.*

(2) GRANTH ANE GRANTHAKAR, Vol. IX, 1937-1941 : *Paper cover. Pp. 123 + 104 + 148. Price Rs. 3.*

(3) GUJARATNA PANCH MAHAL ZILLANA BHILO : *By Pandurang Govind Vanikar. Paper cover. Pp. 212. Price Rs. 2.*

(4) GUJARATNO SANSKRITIC ITIHAS, ISLAM YUGA, Vol. I (parts 1 and 2) : *By Ratnamanirao Bhimrao Jote B.A. Paper cover. Pp. 292. Price Rs. 4.*

(5) MADHYA KALIN GUJARATINI SAMAJIK STHITI : *By Ramlal Chunilal Modi. Paper cover. 1943. Pp. 94. Price Re. 1-4.*

(6) ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY : *By Dr. Hiranand Shastri. Paper cover. Pp. 107. Price Rs. 3.*

(7) ABHIDHARMA : *By Dharmanand Kosambi. Paper cover. Pp. 86. Price Rs. 2.*

(8) HANSAULI : *By K. K. Shastri. Paper cover. Pp. 110. Price Re. 1-8.*

The late Dr. H. B. Dhruva was a scholar of all-India reputation and tributes have been paid to his work from all over India from Panditji Madan Mohan Malaviya and Kshiti Mohan Sen to his humblest pupil in this memorial volume. Malaviyaji wanted a scholar and an administrator as Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University and Gandhiji gave him Dr. Dhruva. The choice was amply justified and the University rapidly assumed an importance in the academic field which has gone on increasing under the rules of administration found by him. His name is revered in Gujarat as an Acharya. The memorial volume contains contributions in several languages of India though the section is called Gujarati section. It is a scholarly production perpetuating Dr. Dhruva's achievements.

The publication of that excellent series, *Books and Authors*, was interrupted by the death of its projector the late Mr. Hiralal Parekh. It was brought up to the eighth volume. The present one is the ninth and besides continuing short biographical notices of about 150 dead and living Guarati writers, contains an extended review of the state of Gujarati literature between 1937 and 1941 and an article on the spelling of Gujarati words. The three editors, all well-known writers, Chunilal Shah, Bachubhai Ravat, and K. K. Shastri, deserve sincere praise for their arduous labours.

The Bhils of Panch Mahal are aborigines and forest-dwellers. A. V. Thakkar Bapa has started a Bhil Seva-Mandal for improving the life of these primitive inhabitants of Gujarat and the Mandal is twenty-one years old. Mr. Vanikar, the compiler of this volume, is a life member of the Mandal and lives with the Bhils. This interesting book gives in short and in simple language each and every aspect of their social, domestic and agricultural life and should rank with the works of Verrier Elwin on the life of the Gonds and the Baigas. There was no such detailed work on this subject in Gujarati till now. The fourth publication is the cultural history of Gujarat during the rule of the Muslims over the province. Mr. Ratnamanirao is a practised writer so far as the history of Gujarat is concerned and in compiling the present work, he has exhausted every available source, for documenting his conclusions, in old Gujarati, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Ardha-Magadhi, etc. Beginning with the pre-historic age, he has summarised history right up to the beginning and middle of the Muslim rule. It is a valuable historical work.

Hemchandra, who flourished in the thirteenth century of the Vikram Era (V.I. 1145-1229) was a gigantic historical and literary figure in medieval Gujarat. One out of his many literary productions is the Dwayashraya, (Prakrit and Sanskrit). It is a mine of information in many aspects and Mr. Ramlal Modi, with his keen sense of research, has delved out of the mine, very interesting pieces of information about the state of society existing then. Building of cities, food grains and other articles of consumption, dress, holidays, superstition and a lot of other things are described, and chapter and verse quoted in support. To the student of comparative history of the structure of society, this work should prove a great deal.

Dr. Hiranand Shastri lectured to the students of the Research and Post-Graduate Department of the Society on his pet subject Archaeology and Ancient Indian History. They were delivered in English and have therefore been printed in English. They furnish a land-mark in the path of this somewhat difficult subject.

Dr. Dharmanand Kosambi delivered a series of a few lectures on Abhidharma to the Post-Graduate Students of the Society and they have been reprinted in book form. They are greatly enlightening and provide very important information on the part of Buddhistic religion. The Society was very fortunate in securing the help of the well-known authority of international repute on all that relates to Buddha and Buddhism.

Hansauli is a poem, written in old Gujarati by Asait Naik (Vikrama Samvat 1417). Asait was a non-Jain. Another poem on the same subject written by a Jain Sadhu Marisundar at Idar in V.S. 1621, and called *Hansauli Purba Katha* is printed along with this poem, for purposes of comparison. The present publication contains the base-text of the poem, with variants from other editions, Mr. Shastri's work is both scholarly and valuable.

K. M. J.

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RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society. (ESTD. 1907 A.D.)

He is the only Astrologer in India who first predicted the Allies Victory in the present world war on 3rd. Sept., 1939 within 4 hours the very day of the declaration of war which was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal and who is also the consulting Astrologer of the **Eighteen Ruling Chiefs of India.**

It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate-Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc., and also many reputed personalities of the world (of **England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan,** etc.) have given many unsolicited testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says :—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji. He is a great Tantrik." **Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State** says :—"I am feeling wonder at the marvellous Tantrik work and excellent efficacy of his Kavachas. He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power. **The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt.,** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son."...**The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt.,** says :—On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words. He is really a great Astrologer with extraordinary power." **The Honourable Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Patna High Court** says :—"At a glance on me, he began to disclose my mental thoughts and he predicted marvellously many things. He is really a great personage with super-natural power." **The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities of Panditji on several occasions have struck me with greatest astonishment. Really he is unique in his line." **The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keonjhar State High Court,** says :—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my dead son. I have never seen in my life such a great Tantrik-Yogi." **Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan,** writes :—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." **Mr. Andre Tempe, 2724, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America** :—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." **Mrs. F. W. Gillespie, Detroit, Mich., U. S. America** :—"I am wearing your special Dhanada Talisman and so far my luck has been with me a great deal better than in the past." **Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China** :—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." **Mr. Issac Mumi Eita, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa** :—"I had orderd some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." **Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon** :—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas. I have had transactions with you almost every year for the last 20 years for about Rupees three thousand." Etc., etc. and many others.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

India's Role in Refashioning of World

The following address delivered by Pandit Nehru at the Convocation of the Calcutta University is reproduced from *The Hindustan Review*:

We stand all over the world—in Asia, in India—facing extraordinary crisis in human affairs. We read about critical situation arising in political, economic and other domains, we read about wars and disasters and also the possibility of coming wars. Nevertheless if you have the same feeling about all these as I have, it seems to me that there has been hardly any time in the course of history when humanity has faced such an enormous possibility of changes and conditions as we face to-day. possibly the whole structure of human life will be changed, maybe also the structure of human mind to some extent. I want you to consider our problems with this background that there are bound to be enormous political and economic changes all over the world. If one thing is certain it is this that the political and economic structure of the world which has led to so many disasters during the last quarter of a century has failed. If it does not change completely it will fail again and again. There must be a refashioning of the whole structure if we are to prevent war and have peace. But if that refashioning is still based on the old structure—political or economic—inevitably it is bound to fail.

The history of the period between the two big wars is a record of these failures. True, people tried and tried honestly and earnestly to solve the problems of the age, but always on the basis of the political and economic structure which had continued and which they wished to continue. The strange thing is that in spite of this tremendous disaster there is not sufficient realisation of the fact that these disasters are due to a political and economic structure which has failed.

Spiritual Crisis

While I speak to you about political and economic matters, I do feel that the crisis of to-day is something deeper than that—call it psychological, call it spiritual if you like, something in the spirit of man himself. It seems to me that the world is going through a deep spiritual crisis, not in the narrow religious meaning of the word —I am not a man of religion, you know—but in a larger sense. All of us whether as individuals or as groups or as nations, or taking humanity as a whole, have to face that crisis. What the outcome of that crisis will be I do not know. Out of this crisis is coming that great transformation of the human race which seems to me to be overdue. That is a big question about which I have little competence to speak to you. It is for you to realise, especially the young among you, that we stand on the verge of great happenings which may lead either to disaster or to a new and brighter phase of human existence.

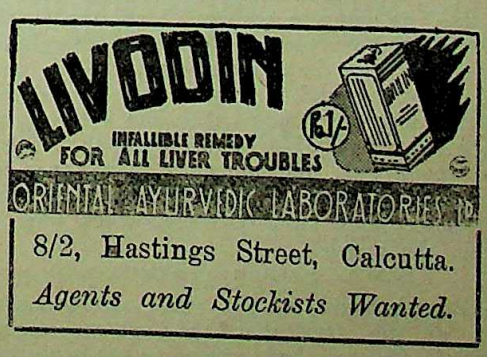
If we look back to our history we find that some hundreds of years ago a change came when Europe, which is a little outgrowth of Asia, began to play an increasing part in its affairs. Then it began to play an aggressive part in the history of Asia. The scene of world events shifted to Europe during the last [illegible] hundreds years or so. In the last 200 years, Europe played a prominent part in world history not merely by force of arms but by virtue of its thought, its science and many other factors. Undoubtedly Asia went down or ceased to play any effective part in the world history because of the lack of those qualities in Asia. Asia became utterly static, unmoving, unchanging or at any rate ceased thinking in terms of changes.

Asia On Ascendancy

What do we find happening to-day? The centre of world events is now shifting from Europe to other parts of the world, to America certainly, and partly to Asia, though the process in this respect is slower. In future both the seats of trouble as well as progress are going to be more and more in Asia. Europe to-day is a shattered continent with many valiant peoples in it. Most of the countries in Europe from the point of view of fall in birth rate alone are likely to be hardly aggressive in future. On the other hand, Asia is gradually and fairly rapidly coming back to what it was some hundreds of years ago. Exactly what shape it will take I do not know. I am not thinking in terms of military power. Because we have arrived at a stage when if countries continue to think in terms of military power they are likely to destroy themselves completely. Some solution other than that of military might has got to be found. So I am thinking in terms of vital energy that takes possession of people and pushes them on and then the people begin to develop in all the various departments of life and human activities. I feel in India and in a large part of Asia we lost that vitality which we possessed long ago in an abundant measure. I believe we are regaining that vitality. Asia is going to play a big part in the future of world affairs and I believe certainly India will play a very big part.

India Isolated by British

One of the principal results of the coming of the British in Isdia was the cutting off of India almost completely from our neighbours in Asia. We were isolated. India for thousands of years had numerous contacts with all those countries. We went away from Asian countries nearer to Britain. That was an extraordinary thing. That produced all manner of other results, especially in the way of our thinking.



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Again we see now a big transformation and change happening, and that is we are developing our old contacts with the Asian countries. That shows how the new situation is gradually developing. India, by virtue of her geographical position, is intimately connected with the whole Indian Ocean region, with South-East Asia, with Australia, New Zealand and right up to the Persian Gulf and the countries on the western side.

From the point of view of strategy and defence, no defence system for this area can be built up unless India is the centre. Without India you cannot properly defend South-East Asia, or without the co-operation of India you cannot defend the western part of the Indian Ocean region. India is so strategically situated that every system of defence must be based in India.

Nature of Our Freedom

All manner of arguments arises about the nature of our freedom, about Dominion Status, Independence and the rest. They are words which may have a lot of meaning or none at all. The point is that India has been looked upon as a mother country by her neighbours, influencing very greatly nearly the whole of Asia. Even now many of these countries look up to India culturally as their mother country. So the position of India can never be that of an appendage to any other country. Now it is a subject country. But as soon as it moves out of the orbit of subjection immediately it jumps into a new orbit not only of independence but, in a sense, to the former intimate relationship with all the countries round about it. You cannot compel India to choose her friends. It is for India to choose her friends. It is for India finally to decide what her future world outlook or foreign policy should be, and of course internal policy.

Peace as India Sees It

India, fortunately for the world, is a country which has stood more than most other countries for peace. Therefore, when we think in this term it is not with a view to having alliance with this group or that country as opposed to any group or country, because every intelligent person realises that if there is going to be any real progress and peace in the world, it must be on the basis, not of military alliance of big groups or races facing each other, but on some kind of world common-wealth growing up, of which all the countries will be free members. So I want you to think in terms of this renascent Asia and a new India playing a very important role, inevitably situated, so as to form a connecting link between the various parts of Asia, Middle East, South East. That does not mean we shall not be bound to other countries, because India is bound to stand for peace.

Building New India

The change to which I am referring was not so much a change which upset a Government suddenly, but a change in the fundamental structure of the society which I think is going to happen. I ask the Universities to train up men capable of building a new India, not of the distant future but of to-morrow. They talked of Indian freedom, but did they have a picture of the kind of India they wanted? Unless they had a certain picture, certain philosophy of life, how could the Universities train the young men and women? It was necessary to be clear as to what kind of social structure India was going to have, what kind of society they were aiming at, to train the people.

Bengal Famine a Reminder

The Bengal famine of two years ago was a ghastly reminder of the fact that the present social and and economic structure had broken and it could not last. That structure had been shattered to pieces and they would have to build something new. So I ask the Universities to think in terms of this new India which we may see sooner than many of us imagine. We may not be able to have an exact picture of that, for no one knows how things will shape when the 400 million people will have the sensation of freedom—they can do what they like, no one knows. I have no idea. But we know the direction in which one has to go and one can prepare for that. Obviously we will have to face the immediate problems of feeding, housing and clothing these 400 million people. We will have to face that problem otherwise our own Government will be swept away. A foreign Government can continue for a while and not for a long time after the Bengal famine, but no Indian Government can continue for a day after the Bengal famine.

How to Solve Problems

How do you solve these problems? Not by putting half a dozen Ministers somewhere, but you have to solve them by well-thought-out process of production and distribution. Maybe your plan is not perfect. But you must have the issues clear in your mind. I consider myself a socialist and agree with the fundamental outlook of socialism. I want you to consider the problems even more practically in terms of feeding, clothing, housing the 400 million, giving them medical aid, education and all other necessities of life, leaving aside your 'isms' for the moment. It is a vast problem. Personally I believe these problems can be solved and will be solved, though not without difficulties.

If you have got to salve all these problems you will require human materials and train the human materials in that context. To some extent you are doing it But your approach obviously must be fundamentally the approach through science. Science is the godmother of

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the modern world which is largely the outcome of the application of Science. The University should produce trained men and women to build up the structure of a free India of to-morrow in which 400 million can live.

Contact with Nations

Also, remember, we have to think in terms of that new reviving relationship with the other countries. Free India will want contacts with other nations of the world, more especially with other countries of Asia. What are we doing in producing men who can be sent as our Ambassadors of goodwill to the other countries? They will have to be specially trained for that. They will have to know languages other than English, other than our own languages. They will have to have some diplomatic training and many other kinds of training What are we doing about that? If we have a sufficiently trained nucleus of men and women for this various work, we can expand that nucleus rapidly when change comes. If we have not any nucleus it will take many years and we will have to start afresh. I want you to consider this wider problem even when you are lost in the controversies of the moment.

It is obvious that the period of history that we have gone through during the last 150 years of British rule is coming to an end. It is obvious that the British Empire in India is fading away, more or less had faded away. India will have to function according to its own ability and strength. Prepare for the future keeping this vision of a new India, a new Asia and a new world before you.

Vision of Free India

I do not know how many of us will see the full realisation of this vision. But certainly all of us will have the realisation of a politically free India. That I take for granted. My vision of a free India is something bigger, more magnificient than just political freedom. It is a freedom in which 400 million people can live the life which man should live, in which every individual in India should have the door of opportunity open to him, in which every person gets his necessaries of life, and those who have leisure can explore the other regions of science and the mind and start again on the great field of adventure of man which started in this country so many thousand years ago. We will leave behind the past, and with hope, march in that adventure again which has no end. The process of travel will give us the satisfaction that we have functioned in our brief life as we should function.

A Striking Debut

The New Review observes:

India made her debut in international society when, in her own right, she joined the General Assembly of the U.N.O. She broke away from her own traditions and from diplomatic usage by sending a woman as the head of her delegation. Hers was to be the message of a reborn nation resolved to bring forth a new world. With her glamourous *saree* and her best Nehru fire, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit enuntiated India's official policy before the attentive gathering of fifty-one nations: 'Self-government wherever possible, international trusteeship of "immature" people, freedom and peace all over the world, no bullying veto by any state, and a suitable place for India in the world's organisations'. After this serene *expose*, she worked herself into a pugnacious denuntiation of South-Africa's policy of racial discrimination: "India is on a footing of equality with all other sovereign nations; Indians shall everywhere receive an equitable treatment." The Assembly applauded heartily and Field-Marshal Smuts was struck dumb.

He took up the case before the Trusteeship Committee. He proposed that South-west Africa be annexed to the Union of South-Africa: India had objected that the Union was unfit to annex anythisg, as was clear from her racial policy. The Field-Marshal, who thought that an attack would be the better tactics, questioned India's qualification to speak of discrimination, and launched into a violent recital of all the inequalities to be found in Indian society. Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, the knightly second of Mrs. Pandit, foiled the manoeuvre: "What is debated at present is not a national situation, but an international proposal. The Union presses for an annexation, India wants nothing of the kind. Annexation is against India's general policy. What qualifies or disqualifies for annexation is not differentiation in societies but the policy of Government. Compare the policies of India and of South-Africa. The Union Government has no African delegate here. delegation represents three creeds, several racial groups and many castes. The policy of our Government is to extend the franchise to all, even to favour the weaker and uneducated classes, and to secure effective equality of civic and political rights. Look at our composite Cabinet, at the posts reserved for the Scheduled castes, at our schools and scholarships for the depressed classes. What of the Union of South-Africa? The Africans are 75 per cent. of the population, and at the Central Legislature they are represented by seven members out of two hundred, and those seven are Europeans. Is there a single post of importance occupied

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by an African? Is there a single Government school for Africans If communal riots are brought against us, has the noble Field-Marshal forgotten the Jameson raid, the Boer war, the ousting of African settlers under official sanction? In any case what matters to-day is not the conduct of individuals, but the policy of the Government. And what is your Government's policy?"

And the Raja went on, reciting facts, quoting figures, marshalling arguments to the utter dismay of the redoubtable Field-Marshal. He surpassed himself later when he broadened the issue and proposed a far-reaching amendment to be included in all mandate-charters. "Let the people inhabiting the territory to be mandated be declared the sovereign owners of the territory." Such an amendment is well in keeping with the preamble of the United Nations Charter which sets out as one of the objects of the Organisation "to reaffirm faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small". The amendment looks the more apposite that these words of the preamble were inspired by Field-Marshal Smuts himself.

Sir Maharaj pursued his advantage and proposed that mandates should, as a rule, be entrusted to the U.N.O. with the mandatory power acting as the U.N.O.'s agent; if there were to be any tutelage it would be best if it rested with an international body. The proposal, if accepted, would mark a great advance towards world-organisation.

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Pacifism, Politics and America

The clear formulation of the ideal of peace is half the battle, but victory against the forces of destruction calls, indeed, for the translation of the abstract ideal into a workable political formula. Hervey Wescott writes in *The Aryan Path* :

A majority of the citizens of every "democracy" professedly feel that war is a deplorable return to barbarism. That same majority has now engaged in or supported the bloodiest and most far-reaching of all wars, having discovered that peace cannot be long maintained simply by disapproving of militarism and slaughter. But simple humanitarian opposition to war as a method of settling international disagreements must in fact be a constructive factor in the unsolved problem of peace. Will it take definite and progressive shape in the post-war world?

Following World War I, large numbers of men and women in Germany, as well as in America and England, enthusiastically adopted pacifist sentiments and promised themselves and their acquaintances that they would never sanction the type of egocentric nationalism which justifies war in defence of "national honour," or to maintain a balance of power. In Germany alone 250,000 people signed a statement completely repudiating their obligation to participate in or support this type of war. But, at almost the same time, both Germany and Japan were being impregnated with the first post-war seeds of a belief in military preparation as the rightful means of redistributing the economic plenty which the prosperous democracies had cornered—and secured by establishment of the League of Nations. Militant leaders pointed out that the democracies refused to arbitrate fairly on economic needs. Subsequently, the German and Japanese Governments began openly to propagandize the philosophy of imperialistic aggrandizement at the expense of any other values—a philosophy which, when couched in softer terms, had once been largely responsible for England's commercial prominence and the territorial acquisitions of the United States. That England and the United States, having achieved economic fortune, should express growing repugnance towards war in no way meant that Germany and Japan, whose conception of success had not yet been attained, would be long dominated by a similar sentiment. While the need for redistribution of natural resources remained after Versailles, the success of the League of Nations depended upon continued acceptance of a peace based on a power preponderance of the victor coalition.

It became increasingly obvious to competent observers of the international situation during the 1920's that one or both of these growing have-not nations, Germany and Japan, would seek to destroy the prevailing balance of power as soon as circumstances might permit.

Treaties were going to be broken and the acquisition of "democratic" territory sought through invasion, and this partially because the League failed to provide for the needs of increased population in Central Europe and Asia. The new war, then, was going to be a war presented to the democracies as a flagrant violation of League terms through open conquest. The American and English public were not going to find themselves dealing with a war answering to the post-mortem description of World War I —*i.e.*, a war of "capitalists" and "munition-makers"—the new war would be introduced to them first as a war of clearly differing political ideologies, and finally as a struggle for "survival." The promises of democratic citizens to renounce the older type of "balance of power" political warfare *seemed* about as relevant as the observations of a botanist during an earthquake. The democracies,

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apparently, were going to have either to take the initiative in an international economic redistribution and share resources more fully or—eventually—to fight.

With the failure of practicability of the League experiment, the whole theory of voluntary world federation and organization seemed a futile gesture with which to meet the pressure of German and Japanese ideologies.

Consummation of a desired international end through non-violent means should be sought in political terms, for unless it appears to be "practical," few will follow the lead. Moral appeal alone is not enough for the average man. If the present devotees of non-violence are to become "social pioneers," they must endeavour to develop a method which society can recognize as a possible practical alternative to war in meeting issues of international disagreement.

In America, as in other nations, the *possibilities* of non-violence need to be ably explored and clearly presented.

If a combination of non-violence and politics can be made practical, it should be immediately considered in concrete form by all war-rejectors. Theoretical idealism is worthless. Without deeply-rooted idealism, the "practical" is dangerous.

If pacifists can help to bridge the gap between the two extremes of the "practical" and the "ideal," between means and ends, they will have made the most important social contribution of our era. The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress has made attempts to do so through the use of *satyagraha*. The religious pacifist often fails to see that one of the reasons for the partial success of *satyagraha* in India is precisely the fact that *satyagraha*, as applied by Gandhi and Nehru, has been a political technique involving millions of men *organized politically* to function in accordance with certain policies. Aside from the religious influence which Gandhi has with fully half his followers, he has won also undying allegiance of others by demonstrating a method of political action that has paid practical dividends.

If the principles of non-violence are to suggest methods of social and political pioneering and become ingredients of a future widespread movement, they must be prescribed in terms that have practical as well as moral appeal to the average man.

It is necessary for pacifists to begin thinking in terms of political influence. For instance, national non-violence seems to imply a very clearly marked foreign policy, *i.e.*, the curtailment of the manufacture of any and all munitions and the consequent "refusal" to ship abroad materials that can be used in the production of armaments by nations possessing armaments, or designs and desires for armament building. Such a foreign policy could only come into operation as a result of continued political success for legislation of this type. Such legislation would necessarily be led to utilize and perhaps even to accentuate the present movement toward controlled production, and for this reason, perhaps, the pacifist plan should be first of all national in application, as well as for the purpose of fully representing the basic philosophical principle of pacifism. That principle seems to be: "Adopt the ideal attitude yourself" without waiting for agreement from all others. This idea might conceivably serve as United States Foreign Policy.

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Dr. Montessori and The Child

Humanity is an organic unity that is not yet quite past the embryonic stage, though its natal hour seems about to strike. Helen Veale observes in *The Theosophist*:

We may hear much talk of the nations organizing themselves for peace and security into some Union, but Dr. Montessori emphasizes the point that the union is there, inevitably brought about by nature though consciously ignored and opposed by man, at the cost of immense suffering that can only be alleviated by understanding and co-operation. There is One Life without a second, and natural growth follows one law for development of any unit, whether a cell or a planet, a human child or civilized society.

Looked at from this point of view, the child assumes a double significance in these critical times, for not only is he the complete epitome of human evolution up to date, but he has in him the potentialities of present and future, as yet unspoiled and undistorted; and psychologists with the aid of biologists have been able to throw light on creative processes from birth onwards that build his faculties of body and mind. Understanding and aiding these natural processes, and specifically abstaining from putting obstacles of the usual sort in the way of natural growth, within a generation disease and crime could be almost eradicated within a nation. Still more, it has been found possible, with children who have been allowed to grow to the age of six in an environment of freedom and happily purposeful activity, to lead them further along educational channels by their own freely exercized will and imaginative interest, and educationists who tried these methods have realized that in this way only can free citizens be developed for the exercise of democratic rights and duties in a civilized state.

Obedience is shown by Madame Montessori to be a sublimation of the developed and exercised will, impossible of evocation by any form of repression or denial of freedom, but needing preparation of the spirit.

For children and for human groups alike it seems to her absurd to talk of freedom where there has been no preparation for its expression in an awakened and self-disciplined will. Children are found easily to thrill to imaginative pictures of the world we live in, given an insight into the mysteries of fascinating sciences, especially such as help to build a consistent picture of an unfolding Cosmic Plan, in which man has a noble part to play in co-operation with all other natural agents. Reverence for Life and its unfolding plan takes the place for them of dogmatic religious teachings that would inhibit human sympathies, and a passionate love for humanity and admiration for its long, unselfish, labours is the result of the right teaching of history. National exclusiveness and racial superiority finds little soil for growth where interest has been centred ever on human struggles all over the world, on pioneers and adventurers of all sorts, on centres of civilization with their achievements and weaknesses whereby they fell, especially on nature's oft-disclosed purpose of bringing peoples and cultures together, by violence if no other means were found, because organic unity had to come in a world that was living and One!

Only through children so taught in all civilized countries will national prejudices and cultural barriers be overcome, so that humanity can enter on its heritage of freedom and fulfil its destiny. Such is Madame Montessori's faith, learnt from the child's inner soul, to which love and intuition penetrated.

Despite advanced age and many discouragements, she labours unceasingly to share with a tormented world the knowledge which alone can bring it to peace and happiness.

Bending in reverence before the Babe, as the wisest have done before us, we can find for ourselves the full meaning of the Christ's saying, that the Kingdom of Heaven is open to man only if he seeks it as a little child. This is no mere tribute to a child's innocence, but means literally perhaps that heaven can only come on earth when a generation of men shall arise who have learnt to retain that right of entry to God's kingdom that was theirs in childhood, to keep open the doors of the spirit, while developing truly human faculties.

A Plea for an Association of Scientific Workers

Science and Culture observes:

Science can no longer be maintained as a profession of a few elites in academic world engaged in leisurely pursuits far away from humdrum of the realities of life. Even in a country like India, where scientific activities are greatly handicapped and consequently remain backward, the seat of a scientific worker is not limited any more to the four walls of a university laboratory. In fact, a scientific worker today has more scope for utilizing his skill and earning his living in factories and fisheries, assembly plants and clinics than in the gloomy laboratories of the universities. Life of a scientific worker is being interwoven with the life of the common man. With the broadening of the scope of a scientific worker, his status too is gradually enlarging. The idea that there can be an individual worker in any domain of science working all alone in his laboratory is as obsolete today as that of an artisan trying to be completely self-sufficient. At the same time, science, like other achievements of the mankind, does not depend on a few persons engrossed in abstruse thinking. A laboratory assistant, a technician or a collector of statistical data is very necessary for the progress of science as a skilled scientist. But it has become customary to regard the scientific achievements and products of science as the result of labour of a few leading individual scientists alone, just as historians in the past generation attributed the social changes or the outcome of a war in a country to the individual monarchs or generals of the period.

From this point of view a scientific contribution should be considered not as due to individual efforts but should be regarded as a production of socially collective

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efforts, just as a factory owner cannot claim his productions to be due to his handful of executive officers. The difference existing between workers of different social strata producing goods in a factory or a scientific conclusion in a laboratory is devoid of any sharp line of demarcation.

With the advancement of science and industry and general education, the standard of labour in all civilised countries has gradually improved.

Besides other factors, trade unionism has played an important role in getting the voice of labour heard—voice against naked exploitation of the workers for the interest of the employees.

The fate of the scientific workers and technicians, although the standard of scientific achievement depends a great deal on their welfore, had already become precarious before World War II. During the war a vast number of technicians and other scientific workers have been trained and this number is out of proportion to the number of jobs available to them during the peace time.

Sugar factories in India employ on the average about five scientific workers in each factory as chemists, engineers etc. These factories are closed for approximately 6 months in a year (such factories are technically known as seasonal factories) and for this period the scientific workers are paid a paltry sum of Rs. 40|- or 45|- as "retaining allowance", while, during the season seldom their salary rises above Rs. 100|- p.m. Textile mills, which are growing numerically every month, employ quite a number of chemists and dye technicians. In a very large number of cases, it is alleged, the scientific workers are paid according to queer systems. In one case, for instance, the scientific workers receive Rs. 3|- p.m. as 'salary' and Rs. 87|- as allowance! It is reported that such a 'system' saves the company from paying a large amount to the Government in the shape of taxes! The scientific workers, however, are expected to eke their existence out of this meagre salary while the sword of Damocles hangs over the tenure of their service.

The Government of Bengal during the epidemic period in 1944 had boasted of having opened 1,200 satellite medical relief centres for serving epidemic-ridden areas. But very few are aware that the 'doctors' at these centres were given an allowance of Rs. 20|- p.m. It is no wonder that so many of them openly boasted of having sent their 'reports' without even going out of their houses.

That the chemists and pharmaceutists in the chemical industries are in no better condition has been amply proved by the stand taken by them along with their less fortunate colleagues, the common workers, during the wave of strikes all over India and specially in Bengal. Though the prosperity of the chemical industries depends much on the efficiency of these scientific workers, the average pay of a chemist is not more than Rs. 100|- or 125|- p.m.

The condition of research workers, teachers and professors in scientific subjects in our country has always been far from enviable.

More than once we have tried to bring to the notice of the people and the Government the conditions under which a scientist has to work in this country. The lack of assistants and proper equipments and paucity of funds sometimes stand as insurmountable obstacles against the efforts of a scientist. Rs. 75|- p.m. is the maximum allowance offered to a research scholar in the Calcutta University where the atmosphere for research is said to be more congenial than in other universities. In several universities in India, we are told, assistants for research work are paid at Rs. 30|- p.m. Even in Calcutta University there are instances of research scholars receiving Rs. 50|- p.m. and in at least one case we know of, a scholar with doctorate degree had to accept this term for the sake of love of his work! Even with this petty allowance a research scholar does not know if he will be given sufficient time to finish his work or if he would have to relinquish his post after the routine grant for two years.

Last year a circular was issued under the direction of the Central Government that no scientific worker with M.Sc. degree employed by the University should be payed less than Rs. 200|- per month. But such circulars are of no avail unless there be a machinery to see that the instructions are adhered to. Lecturers and 'professors' in science in the mufussil colleges in Bengal have been known to accept posts carrying Rs. 50|- p.m.

It is disgraceful for the scientific workers not to take lessons from their own humble brethren and make efforts to save themselves.

After all, the State like God helps only those who help themselves.

It may be mentioned for the sake of information that in Great Britain there was started in 1918 an organization—the Association of Scientific workers—when its membership was only 2,500. With the World War II, it became evident to the scientific workers in Britain that their salvation lay in their own strength. Today the "Association's membership of 16,000 includes scientific and technical staff in industry, Government service, the Universities and Agriculture, and their technical assistants. Practically all of these members are employees. Since the Association registered as a trade union in 1941 it has carried on hundreds of negotiations, both collective and on behalf of individuals, covering not only salaries but, also hours of work, holidays, sickness payment, service agreements, superannuation, compensation etc."

If the case of the British Association of Scientific Workers has been cited in details for an instance, it should be noted that such organizations have been started in other countries as well.

It is high time that in our country too lead be taken to unite the scientific workers in one body specially organized for them. Unless immediate efforts are made to improve the living conditions of such workers, unless their suggestions are incorporated for the betterment of national life, leaving the progress of the country in the hands of the legislators alone would hardly lift the country above the semi-feudal character as it is today.

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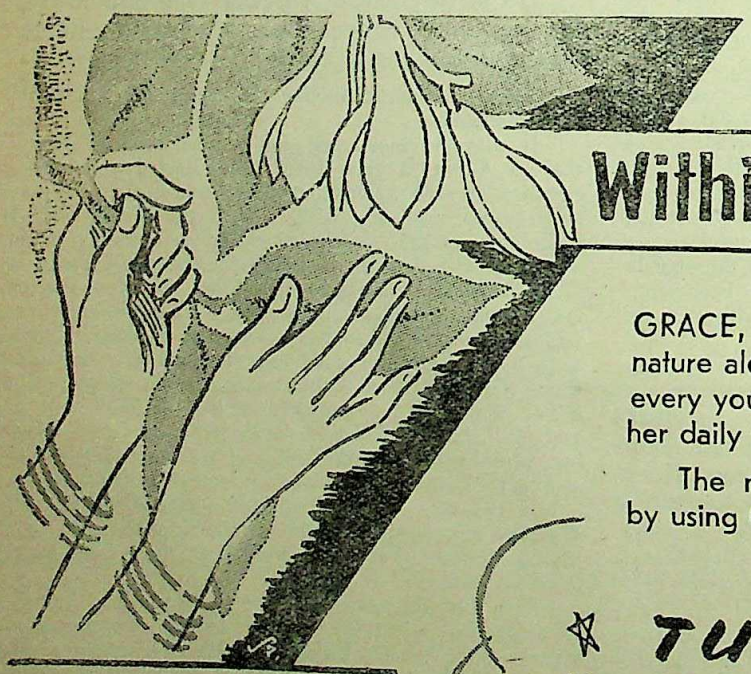

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Place of Ashrams in the Life of the Church in India

P. O. Philip cites a concrete example of the indigenous expression of Christianity among the rural masses of India in the *International Review of Missions*:

In the history of religious life of India, the ashrams appear over two thousand five hundred years ago as forest dwellings where men devoted to religion lived the simple life, and to which disciples came, not only to receive instruction, but to be trained in the realization of spiritual ideals. In the course of the centuries there have been many changes in the conception and working of the ashram, now functioning as a refuge for persons who renounced the world, now as a home given to religious contemplation and austerities, often as a centre of research and study about the ultimate Reality and as a place for the practice of rigorous mental and physical discipline. A common feature of many ashrams was the leadership supplied by a *guru* (preceptor) who after successive experiences as a student in earnest pursuit of knowledge, and as a householder and man of affairs, retired from everyday activities for the purpose of devoting the rest of his life, often with his wife, to an ashram and to inspiring and directing its inmates in their religious pursuits.

It was in such ashrams of the forest that the conception of the identity of the essence of man within (*atman*) and the essence of the world without (*Brahman*) was developed. Much argument and much reflection must have preceded that discovery, as is evident in the Upanishads. The word 'Upanishad' is derived from a root that means 'to sit'—sitting under trees in jungles and debating and discussing the baffling problems of the finite and the infinite. The *Brahman* philosophy was not accepted by all ashrams. It formed, however, the major current of thought and, in course of time, the dominant one. There were also free thinkers in some of the ashrams and they depeloped schools of thought which are agnostic.

While the results of research about the ultimate Reality of the universe will remain as the ashrams' most enduring contribution to India and the world, there are also other noteworthy features. Much of the religious literature of Hinduism, such as the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and many of the Puranas, was produced by sages who lived in ashrams. The ashrams which started in jungles helped in opening up the wild forests of the immediate vicinity as habitable places and in domesticating the animals. They helped to establish contacts with the primitive tribes of the forests and to bring them under the civilizing influence of the advancing Aryan culture. Among those who entered the ashrams were men with trained minds and varied experience. In their new forest environments, they made use of their numerous opportunities for observation and investigation. They studied the herbs and their healing properties and developed systems of medical treatment. They studied the behaviour of animals, their diseases and how to cure them. The study of serpents and of antidotes to their poison was also undertaken. Through the *yoga* practices of the ashram psychology was studied.

The contribution of ashrams to education was perhaps the most valuable of all. They received a limited number of pupils who were instructed in theology along with *yoga*. As *yoga* could be learned and practised only under the fatherly care of a *guru*, education assumed the character of a life process imparted in the context of a family group where vital and intimate personal contacts existed between the *guru* and *sishya* (pupil). For the concept of the *gurukula* (family of the guru) system of education, we are indebted to the ashrams.

Prince Siddharta attained illumination and became Buddha (about 448 B.C.) by way of contemplation and meditation practised in an ashram. Some of the features of ashram life were incorporated by him in the regulations for the order of monks which he established. In admitting women into the order, he was influenced by Hindu *vanaprasthas* living in ashrams with their wives, and not by Hindu ascetics, who were celibates. *Ahimsa*—literally non-injury, but meaning love, including love of enemies and friendliness to all—the cardinal virtue of ashram life, was made the corner-stone of Buddhist morality.

When Buddhism spread in India and established monasteries where large numbers of celibate monks lived and worked, the old ashram ideal which embodied the Vedic religion and the *Brahman* philosophy received a set-back. Again, the revival of Hinduism in the medieval period, stimulated by the spread of Buddhism, was marked by the emergence of new theistic cults, centering on devotion to Siva or Vishnu, and of the Bhakti movement. These introduced a new element of positive satisfaction in religious experience which naturally tended to throw into the background the processes of enquiry and earnest search for the ultimate Reality (Brahman) for which the old ashrams stood.

After being eclipsed thus for some centuries, ashrams have been appearing again in modern India, reviving the enduring ideals of the old ashram, but adapting them to the changed conditions and needs of to-day.

It was for promoting education designed to re-capture some of the values of Indian culture, fast vanishing in changed conditions, that some of the first modern ashrams came into being. The *Gurukula* of the Arya Samaj and *Santiniketan* (abode of peace) established by Rabindranath Tagore are notable as ashrams and also as experiments in education. The former went back to the ancient method of *guru* and *sishya* living together as one family in very simple conditions of rural life. The other imparted education in a new atmosphere created by a synthesis of Indian and international cultures.

Mahatma Gandhi's ashram at Sabarmati, which after some years of existence was closed by order of Government, stood apart. In it several characteristics of the *vanaprastha* ashram were reproduced. Plain and simple living, *ahimsa* in word, thought and deed, observance of continence and poverty, were some of the conditions imposed on members. In its short period of existence, a new attitude to the attainment of freedom and a new political philosophy and weapon of action were brought into existence. This ashram played a great part in creating and popularizing a constructive programme of action for the whole country and in training leaders to initiate it and carry it out.

With eminent men like Tagore and Gandhi adapting the ashram for the purpose of giving effective expression to new ideals in education and political action, and of transforming the outlook of the whole country, it would have been impossible for Christians to remain entirely unaffected.

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The desire to give indigenous expression to Christianity had already taken root among them. There had been growing dissatisfaction both among western missionaries and among Indian Christians regarding the absence of real fellowship and equality among them in Christian service. For the embodiment and expression of the spirit of Christianity, the inadequacy of foreign institutions was widely felt. They were also increasingly aware that, for the message of Christ to make its natural appeal to the religious-minded in India, it should be presented in an atmosphere in harmony with the religious climate of the land, freed from the overgrowths of western Christianity and suffused by the spirit of oneness in Christ, transcending differences of race and culture and the limitations of local and historical development.

Ideas such as these, simmering in the minds of thoughtful Indian Christians, received much stimulus from the National Missionary Society of India, organized in 1905 with the object of carrying on missionary work with Indian men, Indian resources and using, as far as possible, indigenous methods suited to Indian conditions. We find that the late K. T. Paul, when he was General Secretary of the Society, advocated the ashram method at the North India Conference of the Society in 1921 as a most valuable indigenous method of missionary work. This idea of a Christian ashram assumed practical shape about ten years later through Dr. S. Jesudason. He is a highly qualified doctor with Indian and British degrees. When in Great Britain during and after the first world war, he was able to establish intimate Christian contacts with fellow-students of different nationalities through the Student Christian Movement. During this time he was impressed by the need for definitely organizing a supranational brotherhood whose members, thinking not merely in terms of their respective nationalities, will accept as the guiding principle of their lives the only true and lasting kinship, namely, that of the living union of those who seek to act towards all men as their brothers in the consciousness that all are children of the one Father as revealed by Jesus Christ. When Dr. Jesudason was working as resident medical officer of the London Medical Mission, friendship grew between him and a Scottish medical student, E. Forrester-Paton. After the completion of his medical studies, Forrester-Paton joined Jesudason in the work among the poor of London in connexion with the London Medical Mission. They had much in common in ideals and aspirations. Later, they were accepted as honorary missionaries by the Church of Scotland mission to be in joint charge of the mission's hospital in Poona. While there, they tried to put into practice some of their cherished ideals of Christian service. But they felt that the conventional system of a paid staff of superior and subordinate workers tended to destroy the spirit of comradeship which they longed to see established in the sharing of a common purpose and of love among the workers themselves as well as towards the patients. They were also up against the workings of well-established institutions and time-honoured usages which they could not always reconcile with the new spirit of brotherhood and love for which they stood. They turned to the National Missionary Society of India for advice and help in putting their ideals into practice. The writer of this article, as the General Secretary of the Society at the time, had the privilege of sharing with them, and with others of similar ideals in different parts of India, plans for launching a Christian ashram. With Dr. S. Jesudason and Dr. E. Forrester-Paton as its first members, the *Kristukula* (the family of Christ) *Ashram* was established at Tirupattur in the North Arcot District of South India (about a hundred and forty miles south-west of Madras city) in 1921, in affiliation with the National Missionary Society of India. It is two miles from the town, beautifully located on a plateau land of about a hundred and fifty acres encircled by hills. All around there are many small villages and isolated farmsteads. From the very beginning, the members of the ashram so planned their mode of life and activities that they might be of real service to the thousands of villagers living around them. Both the members being qualified doctors, they began with medical relief work. Patients came to them in very large numbers. Soon they had to make provision for in-patients in a well-built and well-equipped general hospital. To-day the hospital called *Sukanilayam* ('abode of health') is equipped on up-to-date lines with medical, surgical and eye wards to accommodate seventy-five in-patients and with a large out-patient department as well. It was here that they made the bold experiment of carrying on the work of medical relief without a paid staff of assistants. Appeal was made for volunteers to come in a spirit of Christian service for shorter or longer periods to help in this work. Doctors, students from medical and arts colleges, and men and women of varied occupations have been coming in response to this call. With work and worship regulated by the discipline of the ashram they live together in simple Indian style as one family. Though such a group is necessarily subject to frequent changes in personnel, and fluctuates in number according to the period of the year, it is none the less remarkable that the needs of the work have always been met. Several workers have stayed for periods of one to five years, and some of them have been fully qualified doctors.

The agricultural operations on the ashram land carried out through the co-operation of paid labourers from the surrounding villages not only supply the ashram family with food grains, vegetables and milk, but serve to

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establish close relationship with the rural people and to teach them the value of improved methods in farming. In labour conditions and wages the ashram maintains fair standards which help to strengthen its Christian witness.

The children in the surrounding villages were found to be without facilities for adequate education. So one or two members of the ashram family who had training and experience in education opened a school called *Kalanilayam* (abode of culture) which has now developed into a higher elementary school with eight classes and about a hundred and forty pupils. Educational methods suited to Indian conditions are followed here.

A unique and central feature of the ashram is the *Japalaya* ('house of prayer') which is a Christian church adapted from the Dravidian style of temple architecture which prevails in South India. As in the case of Hindu temples in South India, the church has an outer wall enclosing a rectangular space. The gateway to this enclosure faces east and is surmounted by a tower characterized by exquisite carving and an elaboration of detail. Over the most sacred part of the temple, the chancel in this Christian adaptation, is a second tower surmounted by a cross fixed on a gilt metal globe. The sides of these towers show a series of terraces, rising tier above tier, on each of which are numerous room-like cells, symbolizing perhaps the ideal monastery. Within the rectangular enclosure is the main hall of prayer, wide open on the three sides except for the rows of pillars which support the flat stone roof. Such broad open halls are admirably suited to the climate conditions of South India.

To help the indigenous expression of Christian witness, faith and worship, the ashram has published a Tamil song book of lyrics bearing upon various devotional subjects. The ashram has also published a Tamil prayer book embodying an order of service based on indigenous modes of worship and expression. Both these are used during worship at the ashram.

The ashram is not connected with any particular church body; but affiliated to the National Missionary Society of India, which is an interdenominational organization, it welcomes members of all churches and accepts the spiritual ministrations of ministers of episcopal and non-episcopal churches.

The argument is sometimes advanced that the ashram movement represents a way of life which India, in common with the rest of the world, is fast outgrowing. It is contended that while the clamant need in India to-day is to raise the standard of life of the people, it is wrong to exalt the simple way of life, as the ashrams do, and thus help to deprive the masses of the incentive to escape from the almost primitive conditions of life in which they unfortunately find themselves. In answer to this, all that need be said here is that the simple way of life which a few with a special vocation are led to adopt is only a means for the attainment of higher ends; and that in the context of the widespread and desperate poverty of the Indian rural masses to-day those who seek to serve them effectively can hope to do so only by sharing with them the conditions of their life. The life and work of the Lord Jesus Christ shows us unmistakably that the way of redeeming love is also the way of complete identification with those whom we long to bring into the glorious heritage of the Kingdom of God.

Congress and The Princely States

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in the course of a press interview at Wardha, said:

"The Congress policy towards the States is that they are to be integral parts of India with the largest possible autonomy. There being hundreds of States of all sizes it is impossible to treat them alike. Obviously only the major States are big enough to form units of the federation or union. The others must combine to form units or be absorbed in an existing unit like a province. There should be no difference in their status. We have deliberately tried to make a friendly approach to the rulers so as to find a way out by peaceful and co-operative methods but it is obvious that there can be no autocracy in the future anywhere in India and the people of the States, as the people of the rest of India, must have final authority. There has been some response from a few of the rulers but on the whole this has been feeble. In some notable cases attempts have been made even to put the clock back.

"Nowhere else in the world is there anything like this system of the Indian States. Even now they are largely dependent on the political department of the Government of India. With the removal of British authority from India the whole present basis of the system goes and inevitably the people of the States will have their way as to their future. The people's organization has already made it clear that they want a full democratic government within the union of India. It is also evident that the same measure of democratic liberty must prevail in both a princely state and a province and that fundamental rights will be common to all the federated units of the Indian union. There may be minor differences in regard to internal administrative arrangements, but there is bound to be a tendency towards uniformity and the same standards of administration and personal liberty. Congress as well as the States people's organization have said that the rulers may remain as constitutional heads but that their people must have full responsible government. That is to say that the sovereignty must rest with the people. It is for the people to decide the inner constitution of the State and the form of administration. In the proposed Constituent Assembly the States, like the Provinces, should be represented by elected persons and not by the nominees of the rulers."—*India Today.*

Sex-Ratio of Births in India

Its Variations in Time and Space

J. M. Dutta writes in *Genus*, an Italian Journal, dealing with the population problem:

It is a well recognised fact that in almost all parts of the world more boy-babies are born into the world than girl-babies. Explanations of such a phenomenon in the present condition of human knowledge must be hazardous in the extreme, but the process of evolution may afford one. Darwin has pointed out that the male sex is more variable in structure than the female, and variations in important organs would generally be injurious. According to the same authority, female infanticide, if long continued, would tend to cause an excess of males at birth. Girls being killed in families where the majority of the children are females, and spared in those where the majority are males, those who survive and become mothers would belong to a stock with a male-producing tendency. Parents to-day are anxious for male children and in earlier stages of civilization this has been more obviously true. The favourite wife was the wife who bore sons to her husband, and the father of many sons established his race at the expense of others. So ardently are sons longed for by the Hindus that, in all parts of India, when a woman becomes pregnant, a special ceremony "*Pumsavanam*" is performed in order to induce the birth of a male child. Thus families in which there was a tendency to breed male offspring survived while others did not. A process in such a manner probably helped to evolve the human race which at present seems to produce something like 21 boys to 20 girls, and its different development would produce what statisticians have found to exist, namely,

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different ratios between the sexes at birth in different races.

There is evidence of this greater masculinity at birth in the higher proportion of women in certain aboriginal and Hill Tribes in Bengal than among the great mass of Bengalis, but vital statistics are not prepared according to race and within the Province. Therefore, it is not possible to compare the actual proportion between female births and male births according to race. Apart from groping in the dark to find explanations of the facts of the case, there are incidental variations of "masculinity at birth", which have been and are being investigated; and are interesting in themselves.

A proposition which was advanced during the earlier part of the last century was the "Hofacher-Sadler law". It laid down that masculinity is slightly higher among the first-born than among others, and held the field for many years, but it is now said to have been based on insufficient data and to be unsupported by the figures for large numbers of instances. But some Bengal statistics lend support to the law.

Mr. S. de Jastrzebski considers that there is evidence to show that masculinity at birth is affected by race, that it is greater in rural than in urban populations, that it is probably slightly greater in first than in subsequent births, and that so far as present evidence goes, war raises the rates of masculinity.

The relevant statistics are given below.

YEARS	BIRTHS				MASCULINITY		
	Calcutta		Municipalities excluding Calcutta		Calcutta	Municipalities	Bengal
	Male	Female	Male	Female			
1933	13.445	12.690	25.843	23.066	937	892	929
1934	13.416	12.301	24.939	22'370	917	897	928
1935	13.585	11.753	27.397	24.604	865	898	926
1936	16.793	13.702	28.672	25.688	816	896	927
1937	14.767	11.871	28.931	26.282	804	908	926
Average for 5 years 1933-37 . . .					868	898	927

It would thus appear that the masculinity at birth in Calcutta is greater than that of the municipalities (or towns smaller than Calcutta); and that the masculinity at birth in the municipalities is greater than that of all Bengal. Thus in Bengal masculinity is not only greater in urban areas, but it seems to increase with the urbanisation.

The Sudan Problem

Under the above heading, the *Middle East Opinion*, announces that Sudanese delegates reaffirm demands for unity with Egypt:

The Sudan Delegation gave a tea-party at the Continental-Savoy in honour of the members of the Egyptian Parliament.

At the principal table sat Dr. Hussein Heikal Pasha, Mtre. Hamed Gouda, Wassef Ghali Pasha, Fuad Serag el Din Pasha, and Mtre. Ismail el Azhari, President of the Sudan Delegation.

Mtre. Ismail El-Azhari spoke of the important task to be performed by the Egyptian Parliament when the moment comes for the ratification of an Anglo-Egyptian agreement.

He went on to say that he was the bearer of a message from the people of the South to the inhabitants of the North to the effect that they desired freedom in association with Egypt under the Egyptian Crown.

In a few well chosen words, Heikal Pasha, President of the Senate, thanked the Sudan Delegation for an enjoyable entertainment.

He added that the meeting brought to mind the memorable stand of the late Sherif Pasha who said: "If we were to abandon the Sudan, she would not abandon us."

He then made allusion to the joint strife of Egyptians and Sudanese throughout the ages standing together in the face of ancient Greeks, Romans and other invaders.

He pointed out that if the inhabitants of the Nile Valley differed on any point, they were unanimous in their conviction of the inseparable character of the Nile Valley.

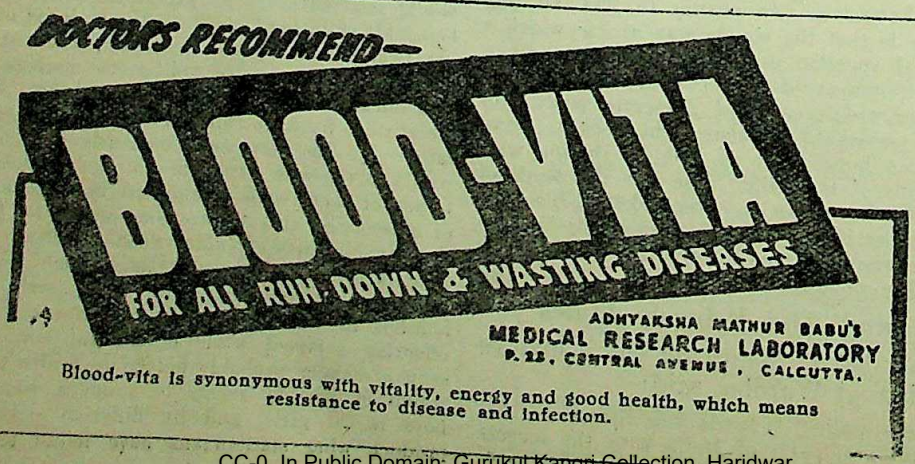
Modern means of communication, he added, had further consolidated the link binding the South to the North.

He pointed out that Egypt had never desired any domination over the Sudan nor exploitation of its resources and as two peoples living in the same valley with various links of a lasting character, they should not do without unity essential to them both.

He continued saying that nature itself had made the two nations a single unit.

With regard to the present negotiations he said that the Egyptian negotiators knew exactly what they wanted and would spare no effort in realizing their legitimate national edmands.

He reiterated his thanks to the Sudan Delegation for the opportunity afforded to them for meeting together and hoped that a future meeting would be held in the Sudan.



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A Defence of the Nile Valley

Mtre. Ismail El Azhari, Head of the Sudan Delegation, has issued a pamphlet in defence of the theory of the unity of the entire Nile Valley.

In an introductory word, Mtre. El Azhari writes :

"The tendency towards an association with Egypt is normal, being the outcome of our mutual history and the identity of our interests. Nor can such important factors as language, religion and traditions be lost sight of. Then, there is the Nile, the strongest bond of all and whose existence as a life-giving artery to both nations reaffirms their unity."

Further, the age of a small nation standing alone is long past as we have entered upon an era of international association and federation enabling united groups to play an important role in world affairs.

"We claim a national right when we ask for a democratic Sudanese Government in association with Egypt under the Egyptian Crown.

Post-war conditions and principles encourage us to claim liberty in the name of the Sudan Congress consisting of all the enlightened elements of the Sudan in association of the different parties.

The Sudan has contributed in a large scale to the final victory of the United Nations by the part played by the Sudanese Defence Force, in the campaigns of Eritrea, Ethiopia, North Africa, Italy, Germany, and even Japan.

In the name of justice and democracy for which the United Nations fought we reaffirm our national claims."

Harvest Time in Ancient Egypt

Dr. Abdel Raouf M. Tantawi, Head of the Ancient Agricultural Section, FUAD I, Agricultural Museum, Cairo, writes in the *Middle East Opinion*:

Visitors to the Ancient Egyptian Agricultural section may see samples of crops discovered in ancient tombs of various ages from the period of the first Pharaonic dynasties to the Arab conquests.

Such samples give a picture of the evolution of agriculture in Egypt. The crop to which particular importance was attached was wheat, the harvesting of which will be the subject of this article.

About 4241 B.C. Ancient Egyptians discovered the oldest calendar as a result of their proficiency in astronomy. Thus, they divided the year into three seasons, of four months each, which were known as the Flood Season, the Sowing Season, and the Harvest Season, almost identified with the present agricultural seasons among the fellahin of Egypt.

Harvest Caused Jubilation

The harvest season started when the crop was ripe. People hurried to the fields in jubilation. Farmers carried out harvesting in the presence of land-owners who were careful to control work in person : tax-collectors surveyed the cultivated land and assessed taxes accordingly ; priests received the portion devoted to temples and professional craftsmen secured their annuities. It is noteworthy in this connection that this type of annual payment still survives in rural districts where the Imam of the mosque, the headmaster of the village school, the water carrier, the barber, the carpenter, and others, receive what is due to them twice annually, at the wheat and maize harvest times.

Pharaohs Started Harvest

As a proof of the particular importance attached to the harvest of wheat, the Pharaohs of Ancient Egypt celebrated religious and national festivals on the occasion. They offered gifts to Nabro, the harvest god, represented by a human body covered with grains. The occasion was one of rejoicing for all classes of the population.

King Amenhat III said about 2000 B.C.: "I have adored the harvest god ; the Nile greets me : and in my reign none of my subjects suffer hunger or thirst."

Beside such festivities celebrated by the chanting of songs to the accompaniment of musical instruments, nets were set up in all fields to catch swarms of quails. Thus, it was evident that Nature had endowed them with a plentiful harvest and provided them with a big supply of delicious birds.

Traditional Ceremony

As a mark of the interest taken by Kings in the occasion, the Pharaoh of Egypt in person inaugurated the season, by going out into the field, sickle in hand, to cut out the first bunch of cobs, thus enthusing the people in their toil.

Rameses II (about 1200 B.C.) gave a picture of the traditional ceremony on the walls of the Gabo Temple at Luxor.

Furthermore, as the wheat was the main medium of barter, the treasury often consisted of huge quantities of wheat as taxes in kind, the surplus stocks used to promote foreign trade.

The story of the arrival of Joseph and his brothers in Egypt to obtain provisions from the well-stocked stores of the Pharaoh stands as a proof that neighbouring countries depended on Egypt for their supply of wheat in times of dire scarcity.

পণ্ডিত ৺রমানাথ চক্রবর্তী সঙ্কলিত এবং
ভক্তিতীর্থ শ্রীউমেশ চক্রবর্তী সম্পাদিত ও প্রকাশিত
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NOTES

The A.-I. C. C. Resolution

The A.-I.C.C. passed the following resolution on January 6th :

The A.-I. C. C. having considered the events that have taken place in the country since the Meerut Session of the Congress in November last, the Statement issued by the British Government on December 6, 1946, and the statement of the Working Committee of December 22, 1946, advises Congressmen as follows:

The A.-I. C. C. endorses the statement of the Working Committee of December 22, 1946, and expresses its agreement with the view contained therein.

While the Congress has always been agreeable to making a reference to the Federal Court on the question of interpretation in dispute, such a reference has become purposeless and undesirable owing to recent announcements made on behalf of the British Government. A reference could only be made on an agreed basis, the parties concerned agreeing to abide by the decision given.

A.-I. C. C. is firmly of opinion that the constitution for a free and independent India should be framed by the people of India on the basis of as wide an agreement as possible. There must be no interference whatsoever by any external authority, and no compulsion of any province or part of a province by another province. A.-I.C.C. realises and appreciates the difficulties placed in the way of some provinces, notably Assam and the N.-W.F.P. and the Sikhs in the Punjab, by the British Cabinet's Scheme of May 16, 1946 and more especially by the interpretation put upon it by the British Government in their Statement of December 6, 1946. The Congress cannot be a party to any such compulsion or imposition against the will of the people concerned, a principle which the British Government have themselves recognised.

The A.-I. C. C. is anxious that the Constituent Assembly should proceed with the work of framing a constitution for free India with the goodwill of all parties concerned and, with a view to removing the difficulties that have arisen owing to varying interpretations, agree to advise action in accordance with the interpretation of the British Government in regard to the procedure to be followed in the Sections.

It must be clearly understood, however, that this must not involve any compulsion of a province and that the rights of the Sikhs in the Punjab should not be jeopardised. In the event of any attempt at such compulsion, a province or part of a province has the ripht to take such action as may be deemed necessary in order to give effect to the wishes of the people concerned. The future course of action will depend upon the developments that take place and the A.-I.C.C., therefore, directs the Working Committee to advise upon it, whenever circumstances so require, keeping in view the basic principle of provincial autonomy.

There was considerable apprehension voiced by many members, notably by the members from the Assam Group, the Congress Socialist Party and Dr. Gidwani from Sind. Dr. Gidwani said that the Congress was in the same position today *vis-a-vis* the League as it was in the years before the Communal Award, although there had been prolonged and strenuous effort to secure the co-operation of the latter through all these years, extending to almost two decades. Therefore, he could not make up his mind either to accept or to reject the resolution. He hoped that this would be the last hurdle in the way of the Congress and he asked for a definite assurance that after passing this resolution there would be no further obstacle by the Muslim League and that the British Government would give no further interpretations which the Congress would be called upon to accept.

Rev. Nichols Roy from Assam clearly stated that Assam reserved the right to go her own way. "If we find that the attitude of Mr. Jinnah has changed, we shall go into the Section. If we find it has not changed, we shall not go into the Section ; if we see that circumstances will help us to frame our own constitution, we shall enter the Section;" were the main guiding principles that they would follow, he said. He made it plain that he did not expect that the League would give Assam a fair deal if she went into the Section without any reservation.

Shri Jaiprakash Narayan's opposition was based on [illegible] He declared that the resolution represented one more step forward on the slippery

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path of compromise, the end of which would be ultimate acceptance of even Pakistan. Just as a leader of Rajaji's eminence proposed we should do some years ago. "The Congress was strong enough," he said, "to come to grips with the British Government but instead it entered into compromises, which enlarged India's internal troubles. We agreed to the Congress joining the Constituent Assembly and Pandit Nehru's resolution moved in it gave us new hope. But that hope has disappeared. After the way that the League and Lord Wavell have conspired together. I do not know how anyone could hope for any advance towards freedom as a result of the Constituent Assembly's work."

We ourselves have considerable misgivings regarding the effect of this resolution. We admit that as circumstances stand, there would be little gain in precipitating a major crisis. But we do put emphasis on the fact that the A.-I.C.C. has failed to indicate unequivocally that no further compromise with basic principles would be even considered. There is not a shadow of doubt left now that the British Cabinet is being guided in Indian affairs by the permanent officialdom in the main, who to say the least are bitter opponents of any grant of freedom to any Asiatic people. Under these circumstances, they will back all the reactionaries in India and lend their fullest support to all intransigence and obstructionist tactics.

As matters stand, Assam is in an anomalous position, the position of Sikhs is jeopardised, and Bengal of the Congress has been thrown to the wolves. We make this last statement with deliberate emphasis. In all the discussions, the question of Bengal found no place. No doubt, the blame rests on the feckless representatives sent to the A.-I. C.C. by the even more unworthy, and caucus-ridden B.P.C.C. But all the same one should have thought that the supreme All-India body would devote some thought to the problems of Bengal.

The Future of Congress in Bengal

The A.-I.C.C. resolution of January 6th has clearly sounded the death-knell of the Congress in Bengal. It is an inexorable fact, and only those who indulge in foolish day-dreams or refuse to face facts may consider other possibilities. We, who have watched the process of extinction through the last twenty years and more, have no such inclination to indulge in maudlin fancies or opium-eater's dreams. In Muslim Bengal, the Congressman has been reduced to a *rara-in avis*, even the handful of Nationalist Muslims having been forced now to be creatures of the underground and shady lanes, through the open and flagrantly violent acts of the Muslim League and the more overt action of British officialdom in Bengal. Hindu Bengal has been disrupted firstly by factions, that have affected the body politic like a plague ever since the days of Mr. C. R. Das, secondly, by the handing over of the government absolutely to the Muslims by the Ramsay McDonald Communal Award, and lastly, by giving heavy weightage and reserved seats to the Europeans and the Scheduled castes. Reactionaries in power have reserved the distribution of loaves and fishes for the reactionaries and corrupt ones in other communities.

Having thus gathered strength and perfected their grip on the province, the Muslim League has now launched on a programme of extermination of the Hindus in particular and Congressmen in general. So far the procedure has been partially veiled, though the Calcutta Slaughter of August and the Noakhali holocaust of October last were open indications as to what is to follow once the League is given a free hand. Death or enslavement would be the only alternatives before the Hindu in Bengal when the League is paramount in Bengal, *let there be no doubt on that point*. Even today, at the time of writing, while brazen falsehoods are being uttered elsewhere regarding Bihar, a minor rehearsal of the extermination and subjugation process is taking place at Saidpur in North Bengal and the Hindu in Noakhali as yet has no means of protection or redress, save and except for the presence of Mahatma Gandhi.

Let us face the facts. The A.-I.C.C. resolution has cleared the path for the removal of all controls over the League, so far as Bengal is concerned. The reins of the Government of Bengal are already in their hands, and what a government they have reduced it to, *despite all controls*, within the short space of a decade! We quote from the Rowlands Committee Report of Bengal Administration, 1944-45, in support of our remarks :

> With such exceptions (petty corruption on the part of minor officials) however, it is generally acknowledged that, formerly, the public service in Bengal enjoyed a high reputation for integrity, but that, in recent years, the position has greatly deteriorated, especially since the war began seriously to affect India. (*Para 223, p. 62*)
>
> So widespread has corruption become, and so defeatist is the attitude taken toward it, that we think that the most drastic steps should be taken to stamp out the evil which has corrupted the public service and public morals. (*Para 227, p. 63*)

Needless to say the Rowlands Committee Report was vague in its condemnations and the reverse of effective in its suggested remedies but that is only what is to be expected of such bodies. But who in Bengal does not know where the fountain-head of all corruption lies, and why there can be no remedy so long as the political position remains unaltered? And what *honest person in his right senses*, is there today in this province who is unaware of the fact that all doors towards employment and profitable occupations are being rapidly shut in the faces of all Bengali Hindus, excepting those few who are willing tools in the hands of the reactionaries and corrupt ones? The day is approaching fast when the League would no longer need any tools or stooges and then the doors would be shut with a bang against all non-Muslim-Leaguers. The Hindu is being denied all his rights today excepting in those few cases where there is intervention by authorities outside the League. Tomorrow there will be no outside authority, and no court of appeal for the Bengali Hindu!

Apart from destroying all prospects for employment or occupation, the League is now rapidly degenerating all the educational and social structures that the Bengali Hindu built by over a century's strenuous effort and continuous struggle against obstructionist officialdom. Colleges and schools are being controlled by men of third-rate stature and all posts in educational, medical and public utility services are being gradually filled with persons of mediocre qualifications and poor ability. Bengal had the proud

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record of leading India in social, educational and public welfare services for nearly a century. In another ten years, Bengal will be on the lowest rung, the way the League is leading it. The League has no capacity to look after its charges, and its leaders have no concern for even their own followers *as witness the two millions or so of the Muslim victims of the '43 famine in Bengal.* So what chance is there for Bengal to escape absolute degradation in their hands?

The Remedy

Is there no way out of this fatal drift towards the precipice that means the absolute extinction of the Bengali, Hindu and Muslim, as nationalists and freemen? There is none, unless the Bengali can cast aside his fatalistic sloth, his blind faith—born of emotional outbursts—in unworthy leaders, his proneness for useless and glib argument, and his refusal to face unpleasant but vital facts. It is a stark staring fact, clear as daylight, that he and his children, down to unborn generations, are going to be sold into slavery to the tools of the British Imperialists, and that there is no movement afoot, not a single hand raised, to save him and his from that horrible fate. Conditions are miserable enough for the Bengali today in all conscience, but it is heaven compared to what is in store, once Pakistan is fully established in Bengal. *And the road for the rapid approach of that day has been cleared by the January 6th Resolution of the A.-I.C.C.*

The sole safeguard lies in vigorous action without any further delay in specious arguments. If the 23 per cent of Muslim minority in India can demand self-determination and autonomy, to the extent of absolute right of separation, from Hindustan, then the 45 per cent of Bengal can demand the same rights and privileges from Pakistan. And it is no handful either, for the total runs into well over 27 millions. Let there be a separate province in West and North-West Bengal, where there is a Hindu majority of over 70 per cent. The Sikh is asking for a province—or sub-province—composed of the twelve districts on the right bank of the Ravi, where there can be a homeland for the Punjabi non-Muslim, where they can shape their own destiny as free men. No footling rubbish, about "defeatism," "cowardice," etc., is being hurled at the Sikh, who is a realist in his own way, and prefers to view facts through his own eyes. In Bengal, we have all this talk, as if there is any courage in allowing your house to burn when there is a conflagration in the neighbourhood or as if allowing your children to perish by not erecting a barrier against plague from the near locality is the sole method of avoiding "defeatism"!

Assam with a population of little over ten millions, inclusive of the Muslims, has been given a mandate to go its own way. But West and North-West Bengal, with a Hindu population of nearly sixteen millions, must not think about preserving its traditions, its heritage, and must not think about the freedom of its children, or their right of self-determination! No one seems to be aware of the fact that the suffering millions of these tracts have any birth-rights of their own for which, and for freedom they have fought as hard as any others in any part of India. The people of West and North Bengal can most certainly be asked to aid and shelter their suffering brethren but to demand that they should also go into slavery and perdition without murmur and without a struggle, just because they are unable to save the whole of Bengal, would be the quintessence of idiocy. Besides who would gain by the enslavement of West Bengal excepting the sworn enemies of all Hindus, the lords of Pakistan and their overlords? Certainly not the Hindus of East Bengal.

The British Cabinet's declaration of December 6, clearly states that no constitution would be forced on any large section of the country or its population. The Sikhs are relying on this declaration and Assam is also staking its all on that. Let Bengal of the Congress also wipe the cobwebs from its eyes and demand that a homeland be given to it. There must be a movement, village by village, sub-division by sub-division, district by district and division by division for a Province of Gaur, where the 70 per cent Hindu majority can live its life in its own way.

Joint Electorates or Separation

There is yet room for an experiment to bridge the present yawning gulf of communal schism through the introduction of joint electorates. Nowhere in India, the viciousness of the separate electorate system has been more manifest than in Bengal. In this province, Eastern Bengal and the eastern portion of North Bengal have a Muslim majority of more than 70 per cent, while in Calcutta, Western Bengal and the western portion of North Bengal, the Hindus are in a majority of more than 70 per cent. By virtue of the Muslims being in a majority of 5 per cent in respect of the entire province, and also by virtue of the fact that they hold a bare majority of the seats in the local legislature where the proportion of Muslim and Hindu seats have been made 120 :80 through the MacDonald Award, a Muslim Ministry functions here and the representatives of the Hindus are excluded from it. This, in effect, means that Muslims of east and eastern half of North Bengal rule the rest of the province. Attempts are now being made to convert the Hindu majority areas into Muslim majority districts by settling Muslims in those areas. A Fallow Land Acquisition Bill is going shortly to be introduced in the Bengal Legislature in order to acquire by compulsion four million acres of land and to settle the Assam evictees and the Bihar refugees there. The Bengali Hindus being in a minority in respect of the province are going rapidly down even in those very areas where they are in a majority. They have been completely ousted from all positions of political or administrative responsibility and replaced by communally-minded Muslims. From the police, magistracy and the education departments, Hindus have been removed. The judiciary is also being gradually Muslimised. In the Civil Supplies machinery, Hindus have no place. Supplies of essential commodities and the grant of trade license or contracts are distributed so as to ensure maximum gain for one community at the cost of the other. The communal ratio rules for public services are applied only to gain communal ends. These changes, backed by separate electorates, mean helpless and absolute political and economic dependence of one community on another. Under the two-nation theory, Muslims refuse to submit even to Hindu-Muslim joint rule through joint electorates. In Bengal these very champions of the two-nation theory have been so utilising the political and administrative machinery as to make the dominance of one community upon another thorough and complete. Not only reason and

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fairplay but even public decency and political decorum have been totally abandoned. We have shown previously how the Calcutta police have been remodelled along communal lines so as to make their services available for the Muslims and to make them inaccessible and useless to the Hindus. The League leaders expected the Hindus to continue to pay the major share of the revenue and to submit tamely to all oppressive and repressive measures introduced by them.

But that is not to be. Oppression has a limit. The conspiracy to kill the Bengali Hindus culturally, economically and politically has reached the breaking point. Bengal has started to talk about partition and create a new *Gaud* province. Organisations are springing up with full public support. The Bengali Hindu never treated the Bengali Muslim as a foreigner but looked upon him as his brother. It was the Hindu, who effaced the Curzon partition with his blood in order to maintain the unity and integrity of the Bengali race. But the response from the other side has been malign in the extreme. Forgetting that they are converts from the Bengali Hindus and racially belong to the same stock, and speak and write the same language, the Muslims of Bengal believe they are more akin to the distant Arab than to their brothers nearer home. The Hindus have been publicly notified in the League organs to quit Bengal. Noakhali has demonstrated that if they want to stay, they must embrace Islam.

The duty of the Bengali Hindu is now clear. Self-preservation is the primary human instinct and he must now act. He must have his own government to save himself from destruction. Brotherly amity cannot be a one-way traffic. When the Muslims refuse to accept majority rule in pursuance of his two-nation theory because the majority happens to be Hindu, the Hindus in Bengal have certainly the right to refuse to submit to the rule of the Muslim "nation" backed by a communal and separate electorate. If Bengal is divided, it will provide a bulwark of strength for the Eastern Bengal Hindu. Today he has no protection whatsoever and with him the entire race of Bengali Hindu is going down. But if the province of Gaud comes into being, it will provide not only a safe friendly shelter to a displaced East Bengal Hindu but also a safeguard against molestation of the Hindu minorities under an oppressive East Bengal Government.

Let West and North-West Bengal present the League with an ultimatum on the following lines. Either it must give an assurance that:

(1) Two-nation theory of the League will be dropped.
(2) Joint electorates will be introduced from the Legislature down to the local self-governing units.
(3) Ministry to be composed of equal number of Hindus and Muslims and the Prime Minister should alternately be a Hindu and a Muslim.
(4) Public services to be filled by men recruited by a competent and non-partisan Public Service Commission through open competitive examination and the appointments must be made free from any description of communal consideration.

Or else there must be a separation of the Hindu majority areas of the West and North-West areas of Bengal to form a new province of Gaud.

Sub-province for Punjab

Giani Kartar Singh, who has succeeded Master Tara Singh as President of the Siromani Akali Dal, considers the division of the Punjab essential for the protection of the political and religious rights of the Hindus and the Sikhs. He has expressed his desire to move in the Constituent Assembly a proposal for the formation of a Hindu-Sikh sub-province comprising fourteen districts of Eastern and Central Punjab between the Jumna and the Ravi rivers. In an interview to the *Free Press of India*, Giani Kartar Singh said that the proposed sub-province must have a legislature, cabinet and administrative machinery separate from the parent province of the Punjab with which it would be linked by a common Governor. There would also be a joint board for the disposal of matters of common interest, such as question of canals and hydro-electric energy.

The proposed Hindu-Sikh province will have a population of nearly fifteen million of which 62 per cent will be non-Muslims consisting mainly of Jats and Sikhs. Communitywise the population will be Hindus 43 per cent, Muslims 38 per cent and Sikhs 19 per cent. No community will be in an absolute majority and the Sikhs will hold the balance between them. The sub-province will include important cities like Lahore, Amritsar, Jullunder, Ludhiana, Ambala and Firozpur.

Justifying his scheme, Giani Kartar Singh said':

> Grouping under the Cabinet Mission Plan has religion as its basis. That is why N.-W.F.P., Sind, Baluchistan and the Punjab having different languages, economic interests, historical background and outlook have been grouped together. This being the case, it is not clear why the Hindu-Sikh majorities residing in contiguous areas in the Punjab and Bengal are not given the same facilities. The provision in the Cabinet Mission Plan enabling the provinces to opt out of the groups at a later stage is illusory, because the Muslim League majorities in Sections B and C can so manoeuvre the provincial constitutions as to make opting out impossible. But even this inadequate provision to opt out of the groups does not exist for areas in the Punjab and Bengal where the non-Muslims are in a clear majority, for this right can only be exercised by provinces as at present constituted.

The Sikhs have demanded that the non-Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal should be granted the same autonomy which has been given to the Muslims in relation to the whole of India, namely, the right to form autonomous groups in areas where they are in a majority. It has been said that contiguous areas in the Punjab and Bengal where the non-Muslims are in a clear majority should be formed into sub-provinces. Giani Kartar Singh says that he would prefer, personally, the formation of a sovereign province in the Punjab to the East of the Ravi river. As a compromise between the Cabinet Mission's Plan and a sovereign Sikh Punjab, the present formula for the creation of a sub-province for Punjab has been favoured. Bengal's case, however, is entirely different and the Hindus of Bengal would prefer the creation of a fully autonomous separate province comprising Western and part of Northern Bengal where the Hindus will be in a majority of 70 per cent.

Ambedkar's Electorate Plan

A "compromise" plan between separate and joint electorates," is likely to be put forward before the

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Minority Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly on behalf of the Scheduled castes by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar as a solution for the issue of electorates for Scheduled castes "which has embittered the relations between the Hindus and Scheduled castes in the political field." Described as a "qualified separate electorates" system, the proposal forms a part of the memorandum prepared by Dr. Ambedkar and discussed at the recent meeting of the Working Committee of the Scheduled Castes Federation at Bombay.

The main features of this proposal embody that the Scheduled castes will have a separate electorate only in those constituencies in which a seat is reserved for them. Only those voters of the Scheduled castes who are residing in that constituency will form a separate electorate to elevate the representatives of that community. The voters of the Scheduled castes residing in other constituencies in which seats are not reserved for it will form part of the general electorate.

Dr. Ambedkar is stated to have pointed out in his memorandum that the proposed system was not an innovation but has been in operation in the elections to the Madras Municipality and is applied to the Indian Christians in some parts of India under the present Government of India Act.

Setting forth the case for his plan Dr. Ambedkar argues that any electoral system for a minority must serve three purposes. It must enable the minority to send its true representatives to the Legislatures. Secondly, the minority must not be politically completely isolated from the majority and thirdly, it must enable the minority to influence the election of the members of the majority community to the legislature. Dr. Ambedkar claims that isolation was the worst thing that would happen to a minority. But by proposing separate electorates he is seeking to perpetuate the isolation to which the scheduled castes have already been pushed. Dr. Ambedkar says that no matter how large a representation was given to the minority, it was bound to remain a minority. But does the learned doctor believe that separate electorates can turn a minority into a majority.

Minority representation has been discussed threadbare recently by the Select Committee of the U.P. Legislature on the United Provinces Gaon Hukumat Bill. The question was raised whether minorities should be given any protection by special representation or reservation when the executive committee, namely, the Gaon Panchayet, is elected. Some of its members were of opinion that it was necessary to provide for the representation of all minorities, while others suggested that this would introduce the vicious system of communal representation. It was considered that the best system of securing justice for minorities was that there should be reservation of seats in such a way that each member of one community should have to secure the votes of other communities in order to secure election. This is the principle which has been adopted in the U.P. Town Areas (Amendment) Bill also.

Separate electorates and cumulative votes, two of the most vicious anti-democratic devices introduced into this country, have proved sources of unmitigated evils not only for the nation but also for the communities affected. For the last ten years they are in operation and the only result is a continuous backward move in every sphere of life. Some people have, no doubt, derived undeserved benefits beyond their wildest expectations but the masses of the communities have suffered. They have not provided an iota of protection for the minorities during the past decade. Separate electorates and cumulative votes must go.

Anti-Corruption Bill

A Bill for the more effective prevention of bribery and corruption has been introduced in the Legislative Assembly. The scope for bribery and corruption of public servants had been enormously increased by war conditions and although the war is now over, opportunities for corrupt practices will remain for a considerable time to come. Contracts are being terminated; large amounts of government surplus stores are being disposed of; there will be for some years shortages of various commodities requiring the imposition of controls; and extensive schemes for post-war reconstruction involving disbursement of very large sums of Government money have been and are being elaborated. All these activities offer wide scope for corrupt practices and the seriousness of the evil and the possibility of its continuance for extension in the future are such as to justify immediate and drastic action to stamp it out. With these objects in view the Bill has been introduced.

After a thorough investigation made into the administrative machinery of Bengal, the Rowlands Committee had only hard words for it. After its Report, Rai Bahadur Bijay Bihari Mukherjee, retired Director of Land Records, Bengal, and an official of very high ability and integrity, was deputed by the Bengal Government to enquire into the causes of corruption and to suggest remedies. He was invited to do so towards the close of the Section 93 regime and submitted his Report when the League Ministry came into being. Consequently his Report has been given a decent burial. Government of India may demand a copy of it which will throw a flood of light on the Administrative machinery of Bengal and will show how a machinery corrupt from top to bottom works.

The Bill has made Sections 161 and 165 of the Indian Penal Code cognizable offences and thus removes a long-standing difficulty that stood on the way of apprehending the corrupt officials. The Bill also provides that if an official or any other person on his behalf is in possession, for which he cannot satisfactorily account, of pecuniary resources or property disproportionate to his known sources of income, the Court shall presume that the wealth is ill-gotten and that the accused person is guilty of criminal misconduct in the discharge of his official duty. This provision follows the lines of the United Kingdom Prevention of Corruption Act, 1906. The provisions of the Bill will apply equally to the Central and Provincial officials.

There are two defects in the Bill which deserve mention. The Rowlands Committee had recommended that Section 162 of the Criminal Procedure Code should be amended to provide that statements made to a police officer in the course of an investigation into a case of bribery shall be available for use as evidence. The immediate reaction of an offender on being caught red-handed by the police is much more likely to represent the truth than statements he may subsequently make when he has had time for reflection. This has not been done in the Bill.

The second defect is that provision has been made

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to secure previous sanction of the Governor-General or the Governor in order to enable a Court to take cognizance of an offence under Sections 162 and 165 I.P.C. or Section 5 of the Act which relates to possession of ill-gotten property. This provision will defeat the very purpose of the Bill where the Provincial Government is perverted as badly as is the case in Bengal and Sind. The law will, therefore, be inoperative in provinces where it is most needed. A provision for a confidential judicial preliminary enquiry or an enquiry on the lines of the Administrative Court of France ought to be sufficient to safeguard against undue harrassment of an innocent official.

White Paper on Burma

On December 20, 1946, Mr. C. Attlee, the British Premier, informed the House of Commons of a new policy of the British Government with regard to Burma and of an invitation to the members of the Burma Executive Council to send a delegation to England to carry on further negotiations on the basis of the new policy of the British Government and the demands of the Burmese people. Conversations between the British Government and the Burmese Delegation began in the second week of January and concluded on January 28. The following is the full text of the White Paper issued by H.M.G. at the conclusion of the talks between the British Cabinet and the Burmese leaders :

H.M.G. and the delegation of the Burma Executive Council, having discussed all matters affecting future relations between Britain and Burma which were raised by the delegation, have reached the following agreed conclusions as to the methods by which the people of Burma may achieve their independence either within or without the Commonwealth as soon as possible :

(1) *Constituent Assembly* : In order that the people of Burma may decide on the future constitution of their country as soon as possible, a Constituent Assembly shall be elected instead of the Legislature under the Act of 1935. For this purpose, electoral machinery of the 1935 Act will be used.

Elections will take place in April for the General Non-Communal, Karen and Anglo-Burman constituencies as constituted under the Act of 1935, and for each constituency two members shall be returned. Any Burma nationals (as defined in Annexe A) registered in the general constituency other than one of those mentioned above shall be placed on their register of the General Non-Communal Constituency.

(2) *Transitional form of Government* : During the period of transition, the Government of Burma will be carried on as at present under the special powers of Section 139 of the Act of 1935 and the Temporary Provisions Act of 1945, together with any Orders-in-Council made thereunder. If any exceptional circumstances arise which in the opinion of either Government require special treatment, H.M.G. will consider what, if any, alteration can be made to meet such circumstances.

(3) *Interim Legislature* : During the interim period there will be a Legislative Council as provided by the Act of 1935. Power will be sought by H.M.G. by an Order-in-Council to increase the numbers authorised from 50 to 100. As soon as the elections to the Constituent Assembly are completed the Governor will nominate the Legislative Council of 100. It will be drawn from among those elected to the Constituent Assembly with the inclusion of a small number of persons to represent the non-indigenous minorities. The powers of the Legislative Council will be identical with those possessed by the recently dissolved Legislative Council of 50.

(4) *Interim Government* : The Executive Council of the Governor will constitute the Interim Government of Burma. While it is not possible to alter the legal powers of the Executive Council or of the Governor which must continue within the frame-work set out in Para 2 above, the Interim Government will be conducted generally in the same manner as the Interim Government of India at the present time and in particular :

(*a*) The Executive Council will be treated with the same close consultation and consideration as a Dominion Government and will have the greatest possible freedom in the exercise of the day-to-day administration of the country. The convention exercised during the currency of the Act of 1935 with the Governor presiding at the meetings of the Council of Ministers shall be continued in relation to the Executive Council.

(*b*) H.M.G. agree in principle that the Government of Burma shall have the financial autonomy. (*See* Annexe B).

(*c*) Matters concerning Defence and External Affairs will be brought before the Executive Council which will be fully associated with the disposal of business in such matters.

(*d*) The Governor will depute to his counsellor for Defence and External Affairs the day-to-day administration of these subjects. Subject only to limitations in the legal position, the Executive Council will be at full liberty to raise, consider, discuss and decide on any matters arising in the field of policy and administration.

(5) *External Affairs* : There shall be appointed forthwith a High Commissioner for Burma to represent the Burmese Government in London. H.M.G. will request the Governments of countries with which Burma wishes to exchange diplomatic representatives to agree to such exchange.

(6) *Membership of International Organisations* : H.M.G. will be lend their full support to any application by Burma for membership of U.N.O. as soon as Burma's constitutional position makes it possible for such application to be entertained. In the meantime, H.M.G. will explore with the Secretary-General, how far it is possible for Burma to be represented at any meetings of, or under the auspices of the U.N.O. They will also approach any other international bodies which the Government of Burma may desire with a view to ascertaining whether Burma can be associated with the work of such bodies as a member nation or otherwise.

(7) *Defence* : (*a*) In accordance with settled practice, all British forces stationed in Burma will remain under the ultimate control of H.M.G.; (*b*) All Burmese forces will forthwith come under the control of the Government of Burma ; (*c*) H.M.G. have agreed in principle that the G.O.C. in Burma shall be subordinate to the Commander and the Government of Burma at the earliest practicable moment, but for the present,

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until the liquidation of inter-allied arrangements of command which cover many countries, the G.O.C. in Burma will remain under S.E.A.L.F. During this period, there will, of course, be close collaboration between the Governor, the Government of Burma and the authorities concerned. Appropriate arrangements will apply in respect of naval and air-services ; (*d*) The question of assistance in building up defence forces of Burma will be a matter for discussion between the two Governments. H.M.G. wish to do their utmost to help the Government of Burma in this matter, but must have regard to their already heavy commitments in other parts of the world ; (*e*) The question of retention or use of any British forces in Burma after coming into operation of the new constitution will be a matter for agreement between H.M.G. and the Government of Burma.

(8) *Frontier Areas* : It is agreed that the objective of both H.M.G. and the Burmese Delegation is to achieve early unification of the frontier areas and Ministerial Burma with the free consent of the inhabitants of those areas. In the meantime, it is agreed that the people of the frontier areas should in respect of subjects of common interest be closely associated with the Government of Burma in a manner acceptable to both parties. For these purposes it has been agreed :

(*a*) There shall be free intercourse between the peoples of the frontier areas and the people of Ministerial Burma without hindrance.

(*b*) Leaders and representatives of the people of the frontier areas shall be asked either at the Panglong Conference to be held next month or at a special conference to be convened for the purpose to express their views upon the form of association with the Government of Burma which they consider acceptable during the transition period—whether (*i*) by appointment of a small group of frontier representatives to advise the Governor on frontier affairs and to have close liaison with the Executive Council ; or (*ii*) by appointment of one frontier area representative as an Executive Councillor in charge of Frontier Affairs, or (*iii*) by other methods.

(*c*) After the Panglong meeting or a special conference, H.M.G. and the Government of Burma will agree upon the best method of advancing their common aims in accordance with the expressed views of the peoples of frontier areas.

(*d*) A committee of enquiry shall be set up forthwith as to the best method of associating the frontier peop'es with the working out of the new constitution for Burma. Such a committee will consist of an equal number of persons from Ministerial Burma nominated by the Executive Council and of persons from the frontier areas nominated by the Governor after consultation with the leaders of those areas with a neutral chairman from outside Burma selected by agreement. Such a committee shall be asked to report to the Government of Burma and H.M.G. before the summoning of the Constituent Assembly.

(9) *Finance* : A number of financial questions have been considered and agreements have been arrived at as to how these matters should be dealt with which is set out in Annexe B attached hereto.

(10) A number of other questions will arise for settlement between H.M.G. and the Government of Burma connected with the change in the status of Burma. These will be taken up as they arise and will be dealt with in the same friendly and co-operative spirit that has marked the present discussions.

Both H.M.G. and delegates of the Burma Executive Council are convinced that by continuation of the present method of consultation and co-operation smooth and rapid progress can be made towards their common objective of a free and independent Burma whether within or without the British Commonwealth of Nations and they have, therefore, agreed to co-operate in the settlement of all future matters which shall arise between them through the transitional period until Burma's new constitution comes into operation.

The Agreement is signed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee on behalf of H.M.G. and U Aung San on behalf of the majority of the Burmese delegates.

The document adds that Thakin Ba Sein and U Saw are unable to associate themselves with these conclusions.

Annexe A states : "A Burma national is defined for the purposes of eligibility to vote and to stand as a candidate at the forthcoming elections as a British subject or subject of an Indian State, who was born in Burma and resided there for a total period of not less than eight years in ten years immediately preceding either January 1, 1942, or January 1947."

Annexe B reads : "*Finance* : (1) H. M. G. have agreed in principle that Burma should have financial autonomy.

(2) "H.M.G. have undertaken to do all they can to secure her effective membership, as soon as she is in a position to make an application and should she so desire, of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank.

(3) "Burma has received an interest free loan of approximately £8,000 000 (net) for the Burma financial year, October 1945 to September 1946, and it has already been agreed that for the financial year October 1946 to September 1947, she should receive a further £7,500,000 (net). H.M.G. have now agreed that they will make a further contribution towards this year's deficit in the ordinary budget, taking account of any contribution of the frontier areas.

(4) "As regards the projects budget (which deals mainly with governmental trading activities) H.M.G. will examine the possibility of credit with a definite ceiling, without U. K. control but with the fullest exchange of information.

(5) "H.M.G. are prepared to agree in principle to the possibility of converting a part of any interest-free loan into an outright grant in the light of results of further joint study of facts of the financial situation (*see* next paragraph).

(6) "It is agreed there should be further joint study in Burma of the facts of the financial situation without commitment on either side. Should further financial assistance be needed from H.M.G. beyond that agreed in Paras 3 and 4 of this annexe, this assistance if given, will be subject to such conditions as may be agreed upon."

U Aung San has accepted the British proposal and Dr. Ba Maw, U Saw and Thakin Ba Sein have disagreed. As far as we can see the proposal falls far short of Burmese aspirations. Under terms of this

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White Paper, Burma will remain a long way off from her cherished goal of independence.

South Africa to Ignore United Nations' Decision ?

The White population in South Africa seem to be seriously disturbed by the decisions of the General Assembly of the U.N.O. One resolution passed at the U.N.O. in which the Indians were specially interested, asked the South African and Indian Governments to report to the next Assembly what measures had been taken in the treatment of Indians in South Africa. Another resolution stated that the data before the General Assembly were not sufficient to justify approval for incorporation into South Africa of the mandated territory of South-West Africa. On January 21, 1947 Dr. Malan, Nationalist leader and leader of the Opposition in South Africa introduced in the House of Assembly a motion covering both these resolutions of the U.N.O.

Dr. Malan's motion asked, firstly, that the South African Government should give no effect to the request by the United Nations that it should negotiate with the Government of India on South Africa's domestic measures on the Indian question and then report thereon, except in so far as such negotiations would have the clear and exclusive object of having South Africa's Indian population transferred to India or elsewhere ; secondly, that Government should take necessary steps to withdraw the recently granted group representation of Indians in Parliament and in the Natal Provincial Council as it now clearly appeared to be undesirable and futile ; and thirdly, that a joint committee of both Houses of Parliament should be appointed to draft a comprehensive policy for the Union in connexion with the colour problem in general, and more particularly in connexion with native coloured and Asiatic groups in their relations towards the white race as well as their relations with each other. Such a policy, the motion adds, should be founded on the principle of separation between Europeans and non-Europeans as regards the political, residential, and—so far as practicable—also as regards the industrial field and that it would be constructive and equitable towards the specific interests of each specific group. The motion further recommended that the Union must not give effect to the request to place South-West Africa under the Trusteeship of the U.N.O.

The resolution of Dr. Malan is nothing short of a challenge to the U.N.O. Surely the negotiations desired by the U.N|O| were not for the purpose of transferring the Indian settlers to India and elsewhere. The device of restricted negotiations suggested by Dr. Malan indicates that his aim is to torpedo the decision of the U.N.O. In fact, in his speech on the resolution Dr. Malan declared that a solution of Union's Indian problem was to transfer the Indian community to India or elsewhere: He even suggested that, "Whether South Africa should remain a member of the U.N.O., should be thoroughly examined, if the U.N.O. became a danger to the Union and interfered with its sovereignty."

Dr. Malan's resolution is still under discussion and. therefore, the opinion of the South African Parliament is not yet available. Meanwhile, General Smuts has stated that the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act must stand, a position which is hardly consistent with the proposal to transfer Indians from South Africa.

Mr. D. Jackson of the United Party felt it rather strange that Dr. Malan should take up the attitude of criticising the Government's policy on Indians, for the Cape Town Agreement had been reached when the Nationalist Party was in power and much of the trouble that arose at U.N.O. was due to the mistakes of the Nationalist Government. It is, however, still more amazing that General Smuts, of all persons, should deny the existence of the Cape Town Agreement, on the ground that no such agreement had ever been registered before the League of Nations and that the Cape Town Conference was nothing more than a consultation between Governments of India and South Africa. But General Smuts should know that to disown the agreement on the plea of non-registration is not worthy of a responsible Minister enjoying some reputation as a statesman, but rather of a pettifogging lawyer. The Agreement has been clearly violated by the anti-Indian legislation in question. If General Smuts persists in that legislation against the expressed wishes of the U.N.O., that body will, in the words of Mr. R. M. Deshmukh, former High Commissioner to South Africa, "have something to say about it at the next opportunity."

League Policies through Nationalist Eyes

The *Tribune* publishes an article from Mr. G. M. Sayed which gives a graphic account of how Muslim League politics is viewed through nationalist Muslim eyes. In our December number, we had reproduced in part another such thoughtful article from the pen of Pir Ali Mahammad Rashidi. Mr. Sayed writes :

> We, in India, have passed through the stage of excitement, agitation and experimentation; we are at the opening of a new phase—the phase of cool consideration, deliberate decision, and definite construction. If we have to build a future, better than what has been our recent past, the history of the past must be summoned to our aid and its events and lessons fully studied, pondered over and converted to our use.
>
> At the present moment the greatest problem which confronts India is the Moslem Problem. What is going to be their future? What type of relationship is going to exist between them and the Hindu majority? In all these matters the activities of the Mussalmans so far have been guided by the Moslem League, and therefore, when we consider this problem we have perforce to do it in the light of the League ideologies, activities, and policies.
>
> Eight years' experience, I think, is sufficient to enable us to form certain definite conclusions about the working of the League which, during this period has had complete sway over the Moslem political field and full latitude to show its worth and work.
>
> How far are its policies likely to assist the Mussalmans in shaping their future and India in achieving her freedom?
>
> In its broad outlines, the League policy has been to build its own power, not by means of strengthening the community from within—through its regeneration and rehabilitation, intellectual, moral, economic, and spiritual—, but by arousing its passions on the basis of hatred of the fellow inhabitants of India—the Hindus, and setting its ten crores to fight against the thirty crores who are more advanced and better equip-

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ped. Having depended wholly on shallow slogans and unscientific schemes, it has done nothing constructive to raise the general level of the Moslem life, without which no real and lasting progress is possible, or to make the Moslems worthy citizens of the modern world —self-confident, brave, patriotic, broadminded, progressive, just, humane and moral beings. Indeed, in its anxiety to organise a front against the Hindus, and incidentally against the country's freedom, it has organised a revolt against Islam's own values, mission, and purposes. It has assembled ten crores of Mussalmans under one roof, only to be bombarded and wiped off.

The League's policies when actually applied have led to what consequences? First Noakhali, then Bihar, and then flight—pellmell—of five crores of Mussalmans from their hearths and homes with a view to crashing into two segregated and overcrowded small strips of land in the Northern and Eastern nooks of India—leaving it entirely to the devil to look after Islam, its mission and traditions in the remaining three-fourths of India every inch of which is soaked in the blood of Moslem martyrs and pioneers—Tipoos and Aurangzebs. Is that not what is implied by the Pakistanic segregation at the pain of civil war, or by the new slogan of wholesale migration of Moslem population?

And, again, if and when you have Pakistan you impose upon the unfortunate people the types of governments you have established in Sind or in Bengal —corrupt, oppressive and unjust—the governments of a few capitalist favourites of Mr. Jinnah inured to exploiting and profiteering. And furthermore, as if you have not already sufficiently sullied, injured, and scandalised Islam, you confer upon such governments the colours, the sign-board of "democratic Moslem Government"!

A greater betrayal of Islam, Musalmans, and India is almost unimaginable. But if these are not the achievements, politics, or the policies of the Moslem League I should earnestly wish to be enlightened as to what they are? Have not we tried it for eight years? Is its eight years' history not before our eyes?

Is the Mussalman of India intellectually, economically, spiritually and morally a better Mussalman today as a result of the way the Islamic values have been interpreted by the Moslem League Is he for the very same reason more self-reliant, brave, and high-minded than he used to be before? Has his credit as a patriot, or a moral being, or as an exponent of the Islamic code of life, gone up in the estimation of the world? Has his outlook in matters national and international become broader and more up-lifting and ennobling as a result of the political education he had through his Moslem League Masters? If not—and if in all these fields there has been further decline, then any edifice that has been built is an edifice founded on sands incapable of standing up to the inevitable storms of Nature, despite all the care and goodwill that an obliging Churchill, or a friendly Mudie, may for the time being condescend to lavish on it.

In this connection, perhaps a recent incident has been a most revealing and telling one; I am referring to the Egyptian incident. Can there be, I ask, anything more puerile, ridiculous and disgraceful than this that the free and seasoned Moslem warrior of the Middle East should be told that unless grouping was established in India—and in modern parlance Pakistan and grouping are synonymous terms—the Hindus of India will develop into the Antonys, Caesars and Napoleons of the future, bent upon conquering every country in the Middle East—alas, the beautiful valley of the Nile itself falling as their very first prey!

With these politics, morals, and constructive faculties, I am afraid, the Moslem League will only be leading its unfortunate dupes to sure disaster, unless the dupes themselves quickly get out of the spell of the present leadership's unhygienic and soul-crashing influences. In the death of the modern Moslem League lay the life of India and of Mussalmans themselves. For love and not hatred, self-confidence and not truculence, moral superiority and not brutal ferocity, patriotism and not foreign slavery, expansion and not contraction and segregation, reputation as ideal neighbours and not wholesale migration, compromise with your own compatriots and not capitulation to foreign slave-drivers, Islam's socialism and not League's capitalism, genuine democracy and not the caprices of Mr. Jinnah and, finally, the march of the brave and not the retreat of the coward must be the mottos of Mussalmans if they have to survive as respectable, free, inspiring and powerful elements composing the new world which is springing up on the ruins of the old and decayed one.

In no way must one be impressed or overawed by the power the League has been able to build up temporarily; it is a political baloon. And do we not know what is the ultimate destiny of a baloon? No nation has ever thrived on the basis of sheer hatred or mere make-believe. Did these factors alter the fate of Hitler's Germany and Mossolini's Italy? No political schemer who has put all his eggs in the British Basket has ever profited by it. What was the end of Hussain of Mecca? And, finally, if an individual's temporary power or popularity alone could save from collapse a corrupt and inherently unworthy order of things, to-day a follower of Rasputin and not a lieutenant of Lenin would have been the ruler of Russia. But man's time-table is slightly different from the divine one.

A meeting of the Nationalist Muslim leaders is going to be held at Delhi on January 31, to discuss, in the words of Mr. G. M. Sayed, "the proposal for merging all nationalist Muslim organisations to save Muslim India from the destructive policy of the Muslim League." This meeting will be followed by a conference where the organisation of nationalist Muslim forces will be given a final shape. We quite appreciate the difficulty that lies in the way of nationalist Muslims. The League enjoys all advantages of the State power in two provinces and its appeal is based on the fanatic religious sentiments which carries weight with the illiterate and credulous people. But truth must ultimately prevail. Difficulty lies on the path of the nationalist Muslims but not despair.

Chowdhury Akbar Khan on League Policy

"The Muslim League is deliberately misleading the ignorant Muslim masses for which it will have to accept responsibility and render account. It knows no sane politics but a disruptive policy. The Leaguers are playing with fire. If there be any conflagration, it will turn out to be a class war; and the League interests and their associates, the princes, will have to pay the penalty of their past gross injustice and their present folly. But in spite of all the treachery and humiliation India will survive with added glory. Long live One India."—thus observes Chowdhury Akbar Khan, President Indian Workers' Association of London in his valuable booklet *And Now the Post-Mortem*. His outstanding points of argument are as follows:

Governments based on theocracy have been a failure. The Muslim League has unfortunately adopted

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a mistaken and discredited policy and Jinnah is the standard-bearer of reaction and unpatriotism. The leader of the Muslim League wants to keep the Pakistan baby in the cradle of British imperialism and bring degradation upon his Motherland. In a conference at Delhi, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and his henchmen took an oath that they would shed the last drop of their blood for the sake of their imaginary Pakistan, and in the event of the failure to achieve their objective they would play the part of Jengiz Khan. The Cabinet Mission has given its verdict, and dismissed Pakistan outright. Could these British creatures, easy-living people, ever take a step against the British Government? The privileged class in the last elections got the votes of the ignorant masses on the *Quran* and on the promises of Paradise. *If the Hindus and the Muslims can live together in the League's group form of Pakistan, what prevents both the communities living together in India as at present?* Only Jinnah's foolhardy plans. He next points out :

> The League Muslims are not true Muslims. They work the passions of the Muslims to a high pitch to gain their selfish ends. Are they devout Muslims? Do they even know Islam? They are a fine example of the rigidity of the general Muslim mind that is stagnant, out-dated and far from progressive. Knowing that the desperately destitute Muslim masses may not turn against them, the crafty British stooges pit them against the Hindus. Was it not Nehru who lost no time in acting against Faridkot and Kashmir to support the cause of the people? What has Jinnah or his League done but to avoid interference in princedoms?

Chowdhury Akbar Khan finally asserts, "Congress is socialist, League is diehard conservative ; Congress is progressive, League is reactionary. Congress appeals to the people, League to Churchill. Congress wants to get rid of the British, League is all pains to keep their British patrons. Congress is for India, League against the country. Is not the League, therefore, quislingly unpatriotic ?"

This new challenge to the League is slowly gaining momentum. It is now widely understood even by large sections of Indian Muslims that the League's much-talked-of direct action plan is being diverted and turned into a weapon for British Imperialism applied to prevent India from attaining independence. Signs are now visible that the negative tactics of the League leaders together with the riots fomented by them has brought about, a revulsion of feeling among a considerable section of the Muslim masses towards the policy of the League. The League has never put forward any constructive programme for the masses. They have even opposed such a programme sponsored by the Congress when it came to conflict with the vested interests among the League leadership. League opposition to the Congress plan of abolition of landlordism in U.P. and Bihar, and its jute deal in Bengal are only a few of a host of such examples. Corruption in administration which grinds down the masses to utter poverty and destitution are bywords in the League-administered provinces of Sind and Bengal. Its political weapon has only been a hymn of communal hatred and hardly anything beyond that.

Writing in the *Bharat Jyoti* S. C. says that the final straw that woke the Muslim common man up to hard reality of the situation was the theory of exchange of population propounded by Mr. Jinnah. Pakistan to the common man meant the achievement of a place for them in the political setup of the country and a share in the Government, but at no time did they visualise that it meant quitting their age-old hearths and homes. The contradiction between the demands of other Muslim States like Egypt which cries out for union with Sudan and the Arab's refusal to agree to the partition of Palestine and the demand for Pakistan, has gradually begun to take effect.

When Jinnah ruled out Population Exchange

Mir Mushtaq Ahmad, writing in the *Hindustan Times*, shows how sometime ago Mr. Jinnah was at great pains to explain that the idea of exchange of population never entered his mind and that it was ruled out in his programme of Pakistan. He writes :

> In the first place a wrong idea and false propaganda appear to be set in motion in order to frighten the Muslim minorities that they would have to migrate *en-bloc* and wholesale. I wish to assure my Muslim brethren that there is no justification for this insidious misrepresentation. Will anyone believe today that these words came from Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League? Those who do not believe may refer to *Aligarh Magazine*, (*Pakistan* Number) where Mr. Jinnah's press statement of 1940 is given.
>
> After reading Mr. Jinnah's latest statement on exchange of population, one is surely entitled to inquire as to who carries on "insidious misrepresentation, false and baseless propaganda"? Again on December 28, 1940, speaking at Allahabad, Mr. Jinnah said: "The Muslim minorities in the Hindu provinces would put up with their fate. I do not ask the Muslims in the Hindu majority provinces to migrate to Pakistan when it is established."
>
> I think Mr. Jinnah and his followers should admit the foresight of those who in 1940 contended that his Pakistan was at best a bargaining or a political stunt, and at worst a dangerous pastime, which was being deliberately encouraged by the British for their ends. I particularly draw the attention of the Muslim intelligentsia and Muslim students to reconsider the whole situation. The destiny of 100 million Muslims depends on you and is within your grasp. You have to be fully conscious of the problem and act with courage and faith.

Abolition of the I. C. S. and I. P. S.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India, arrived at Delhi on January 4 to conduct negotiations with the Government of India about the future of the I.C.S. and I.P.S. For about a fortnight he had been engaged in discussions in New Delhi with the Home, Defence and Finance Ministers of the Government of India on the various aspects of the problem. After the conclusion of these discussions, Mr. Henderson returned to London to report to His Majesty's Government the result of his discussions.

There is yet no authoritative report of these discussions. Several points, however, seem to have emerged from them. The Home Minister is opposed to the payment of compensation in addition to proportionate pension to those officers, who may wish to retire. Sardar Patel is reported to have the support of the Finance Member, who, it is understood, holds the view that proportionate pensions are of so liberal a

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nature that they amount to compensatory pension. The claim of compensation was put forward by the Central I.C.S. Association soon after the Secretary of State made it known that he intended to relinquish the control over Indian services. According to one report, even the Secretary of State is inclined to hold that the claims of compensation are not justifiable. It is believed that a readiness to consider a reduction in the scale of compensation put forward on behalf of the services at the start of the negotiations had been indicated. But so far as is known, the Home Member showed no inclination to reconsider his stand against the principle of compensation.

He is reported to have urged that when constitutional changes were introduced in 1919 and 1935, a number of officers retired on proportionate pensions and more liberal terms were not thought of. The proposed constitutional changes are no more than a continuation of a process initiated and carried out in full knowledge of consequences to service conditions and therefore do not call for a different or more favourable treatment of men who may prefer to retire as did their predecessors in earlier years.

It is urged that the idea of compensation would be all the more unreasonable and unacceptable, because the Interim Government is understood to have agreed to continue the present British and Indian officers on present terms. A compromise, however, between the Indian and British points of view is considered possible along the line of conceding compensation in special individual cases and not as a general principle for uniform application. It seems to have been suggested at the discussions that the Government of India should discard the right to dispense with the services of such officers of the I.C.S. and I.P.S. as may not be required. It is reported that the Government of India would consider with favour the proposal for compensation being paid to such officers as may be compulsorily retired.

It has been reported that the Muslim League is entirely against any change in the present position of the I.C.S. and I.P.S. It appears that they have urged that the Muslim League joined the Interim Government under the existing constitution and that proposals for the abolition of the I.C.S. and I.P.S. imply remodelling of the whole constitution which may not be in the interest of the Muslims. The argument raised by the Muslim League, is untenable, in view of the fact that the present British Government is committed to a policy of early constitutional advance in India. It is reported that the scheme of compensation proposed by the Secretary of State would roughly cost about thirteen crores of rupees involving 1,000 I.C.S. officers of whom 50 per cent are Indian and 600 I.P.S. officers of whom 40 per cent are Indian. It is impossible to make any case for imposing on the Indian taxpayers the burden of thirteen crores of rupees.

Due to the sternness of Sardar Patel this attempt to make a second *Lee loot* has been unsuccessful. Liquidation of the Imperial services in India is an imperative necessity. These must go lock, stock and barrel. It will be more beneficial and less expensive to infuse fresh blood in the services by recruitment through open and competitive examinations than to continue the old diehards many of whom have entered the services through some or other form of nominations and have been accustomed to rule the people instead of serving them. A steady increase in the number of unworthy, inefficient and corrupt men in the services have brought the Imperial services to such a disrepute that they are now beyond repair or even overhaul. The entire structure must be changed.

Indian Students in England

A resolution condemning the "growing incompetence, lethargy and red tape methods of the Educational Department of the India House, London," was passed at the annual meeting of the London Majlis. The resolution is a culmination of the students' dissatisfaction with the arrangements made for their accommodation in London and provincial university cities. This growing dissatisfaction flared up in November last when Indian students who had arrived from Bombay and other cities were ordered to sleep in tents at Croydon during extremely cold weather because of shortage of accommodation. A special deputation of the Majlis which waited upon Pandit Nehru during his London visit in December raised this question of accommodation and also the workings of the Educational Department of the India House.

The resolution stated :

> "Scores of Indian students are experiencing physical torture because of lack of accommodation and the strain of living in tents and camps under severe weather conditions. Queries are not properly answered and officials make students wait for hours before granting them interview.
>
> "There is no arrangement at the India House for giving proper information to students. The little information that is given is often meagre and out of date. When Pandit Nehru was in London he was most sympathetic to our needs. He asked the High Commissioner (Sir Samuel Runganadhan) to look into the matter immediately. More than a month has passed but still chaotic conditions continue. Even our request for a room at the India House as a central meeting place for Indian students has been cold-shouldered.
>
> We resent this step-motherly attitude towards us especially when we see the way other Foreign embassies treat their students.
>
> The Majlis demand that a Commission of non-official Indian educationists should investigate the conditions under which Indian students in Britain are living; this investigation should be held immediately and on the spot.

In conclusion, the resolution demands a thorough overhaul of the Education Department of the India House. Indian students in Britain have to pay high charges. A reference to this complaint about exorbitant prices and charges was made in an interview some months ago by the Educational Adviser of the Government of India who said that the greedy British landladies were greatly handicapping students who were unable to pay high charges for accommodation.

The present High Commissioner of India in London, Sir Samuel Runganadhan, has failed to look after the Indian students who have been placed under his care. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan is likely to go to London as India's first Ambassador for Britain within a short time. Let us hope that the lot of Indian students there will be improved and their grievances removed after his arrival there. Professor Radhakrishnan will not neglect students and certainly will not keep them standing at the door for hours together as the High Commissioner does.

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The Speakers' Conference

The conference of the Speakers and Presidents of the Indian Legislatures, under the presidentship of Mr. Mavlankar, President of the Central Legislative Assembly, concluded its three-day session in New Delhi on January 9, 1947. It is reported that the conference discussed a number of important issues concerning the privileges of legislatures and questions of procedure therein.

A question was raised whether or not the presiding officers of the legislative bodies in India should be bound by the wording of the Government of India Act of 1935, under which these bodies are functioning. The conference is reported to have held the view that the Speakers should not be bound down by the literal meanings of the Act but should create healthy conventions bearing in mind the coming constitutional changes in India.

The conference is reported to have criticised the tendency among certain provincial governments to enact Bills in the form of ordinances in order to avoid the Legislatures. The Speakers were advised to protest whenever a Provincial Ministry, with the help of the Governor, tried to promulgate as ordinances Bills which had not been placed before the House. They were advised even to resign to safeguard the rights of the legislators.

An interesting discussion took place on the question, whether a Speaker should give his own ruling, or whether he should leave it to the House to decide whether a point of order was *ultra vires*.

Another interesting question discussed at the conference was, whether or not at a special session of the legislature, questions and adjournment motions could be entertained. During the recent sessions of the Provincial legislatures convened to elect members of the Constituent Assembly, several Speakers gave the ruling that no other business except election of members of the Constituent Assembly could be transacted at the special session. The consensus of opinion at the conference appeared to be that since there was no provision in the rules for any special session, adjournment motions or questions could be entertained.

A point raised at the conference dealt with the future relationship between the North-West Frontier Province and the tribal areas. The Interim Government has declared a new tribal policy in co-operation with the Provincial Ministry of the Frontier Province. In the circumstances, can a discussion be allowed in the Frontier Assembly without the previous consent of the Governor as required under the rules made by the Provincial Governor'? The question is of particular interest to Assam and the Frontier Province where in respect of certain areas, there is dual control. It may be remembered that during the autumn session of the N.-W. F. P. Legislative Assembly in November, 1946, the Governor refused to give his consent to a resolution which asked the Provincial Government to urge the Government of India to end the dual system of Government prevailing in the N.-W. F. P. It is reported that a lively discussion took place at the conference and guidance for future occasions was secured.

It was also discussed whether the Upper House should have a right to introduce Bills providing the reduction of taxes. A section of the Speakers is reported to have held the view that, since the Upper House represents the vested interests, they would always demand reduction of taxes and, therefore, this right should not be conceded.

The question whether the Speaker should follow the traditions of the House of Commons in view of the fact that in India the legislative body enjoyed an inferior status to the executive was also discussed.

A lively discussion took place on the question whether or not Speakers should take part in political activity. At the Speakers' Conference held in 1936 Mr. Purushottam Das Tandon, Speaker of the U.P. Legislative Assembly, was one of the few Speakers who maintained that Speakers should take part in politics outside the Assembly, while they should remain absolutely impartial in conducting the business of the House. At the conference of this year a majority of the members agreed with Mr. Tandon's view. Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan, Speaker of the Frontier Assembly, pointed out that they could not follow the House of Commons convention which enjoined the Speaker not to take part in politics, because legislative bodies in India did not have the same privileges which the House of Commons enjoyed. Conditions in India were different. She was still struggling for her freedom. In that struggle everyone had to take part.

The conference also discussed the question whether a Speaker could withhold his consent to the moving of an adjournment motion in his own chamber. It was pointed out that a large number of adjournment motions were moved on frivolous grounds and it would be better to withhold consent in the chamber in order to save the time of the House. It was, however, made clear that the consent given in the Chamber was only provisional and a Speaker would not be contradicting himself if he ruled an adjournment motion out of order after listening to the debate which may follow when a member asks leave to move it on the floor of the House. Some of the Speakers were of the opinion that even though adjournment motions were often moved on flimsy grounds, the power to withhold consent should be used very rarely.

The conference unanimously agreed to the proposal of the Speaker of the Frontier Assembly, urging that the Speakers of Central and Provincial legislatures should be empowered to demand the presence in Assembly sessions of elected members detained in jail, but not actually incapacitated under Section 93 of the Government of India Act of 1935. In the Government of India Act of 1935, provision has been made enabling a provincial legislature to define the privileges of members. But so far no step has been taken in that direction. It is, therefore, a matter of satisfaction that the conference decided that the Speakers and Presidents of the different Provincial Legislatures should draft a Privileges Bill defining the privileges of legislatures as well as of the members and forward the same to the President of the Central Legislative Assembly by June 30. The Central Assembly President will then draft a Central Bill embodying the important features of all the provincial drafts. This consolidated Draft Privileges Bill will be considered at a special session of the conference of Speakers and Presidents.

All-India States People's Conference

The Standing Committee of the All-India States People's Conference, which met on December 26 and

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at New Delhi, dealt with the various problems of the Indian States and passed a number of important resolutions.

The following is the resolution on the Constituent Assembly: "The Standing Committee welcomes the formation of the Constituent Assembly and congratulates the nation upon the successful beginnings of its labours in framing a Constitution for an independent India. The Committee regrets that there are thus far no representatives from the States in the Assembly. The people of the States are as much interested as any other in shaping the constitution, and it is, therefore, necessary that they should be represented as early as possible, so that they may participate in all the stages of the Assembly's work and not merely towards the end. The Committee declares afresh that the States should be represented in the Constituent Assembly through the elected representatives of the people of the States. A sub-committee should be appointed in order to represent the viewpoint of the States people in all matters which form the subject of negotiations between the nominees of the Princes and the Negotiating Committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly."

The following are the personnel of the People's Negotiating Committee of the All-India States People's Conference: Messrs. Jai Narayan Vyas, Dwarkanath Kachru, Kamalnarayan Bajaj, Hiralal Shastri, Balwantarai Mehta, Sarangdhar Das and S. Nijalingappa.

The resolution on Objectives states: "The Standing Committee expresses its full agreement and wholehearted approval on behalf of the people of the States on the first resolution of the Constituent Assembly which declares its firm resolve to proclaim India as an independent sovereign Republic. It welcomes in particular the declaration in regard to social, economic and political justice to all the people of India, equality of status and opportunity before the law and fundamental rights and safeguards for the minorities, tribal areas, and depressed backward classes. The Committee endorses the declaration that all powers and authorities in the sovereign and independent India, its constituent parts and organs, is derived from the people."

The resolution on the Political Department states: "The Standing Committee of the A.-I. S.P.C. has observed a marked unanimity of repressive action against the people and a deliberate attempt to oppose and repress the States people's organisations. It has also noted a continuous interference by the Political Department with a view to preventing the enlargement of the freedom of the people there. This course of events leads to the inevitable conclusion that there is a deliberate all-India policy behind it initiated or encouraged by the Political Department. In view of the dynamic pace of events in India and the imminent approach of independence, it would appear that the Political Department, representing British imperial interests in India, is seeking to use the States as well as other reactionary elements in India to check India's progress towards independence and to maintain imperialist footholds in the States. This is evidenced not only by the excessively reactionary policy of the Political Department and the all-India repression that is going on in the States, but also by the attitude that is being taken up in regard to the Constituent Assembly.

"As this Committee has previously stated, the Political Department is now a complete anachronism and is a barrier to all healthy change in the States. It works in secret and follows a policy which is not only opposed to the growth of responsible Government in the States, but also to the general policy of the Interim Government of India. Its personnel is almost entirely foreign and represents the most reactionary tendencies in British policy. The Standing Committee has received reports of various schemes initiated by the Political Department which are injurious to the people of the States and will hamper their future growth. All these activities are taking place without the knowledge of the people concerned. The Committee desires to state again that no arrangements or agreements made in this way by the Political Department can be accepted. The Political Department is supposed to represent the Paramount Power. As such it should deal with questions directly related to Paramountcy only and should not interfere with any other matters which are common to the States and the Government of India. In all such matters the States should deal directly with the Government of India. In regard to representation of the States in the Constituent Assembly or any other matter relating to the constitutional development of the people of the States there should be no interference from the Political Department.

"As it is evident that the Political Department as it is constituted today is completely out of touch with aspirations of the people and even sometimes of the rulers, the time has come when a complete change should be made, even during this interim period, both in its personnel and its relations to the Government of India and States. The chief officers of the Department should be Indians acceptable to the people of the States and the activities of the Department should be carried on in close consultation with the Government of India. The course of recent events in the States has developed a crisis in their affairs and in many States demands are being made on behalf of the people for same form of direct action in order to protect their organisations and interests. The Standing Committee has consistently discouraged any conflict because of its desire to realise its objectives rapidly in co-operation with the Rulers. It is, however, becoming increasingly clear that this co-operation is denied and its place taken by an active hostility to the people. Even where announcements have been made about responsible governments and civil liberties, in actual practice no change has taken place and repression continues.

"The Committee cannot be a passive spectator to these events and policies and must advise the people of the States not to submit to repression of their basic principles. The Committee would still recommend that restraint should be exercised and no premature action taken. All decisions in individual States should be taken after full consideration of the all-India situation which is developing rapidly. It is with a view to this that the States people's organisations should strengthen themselves and keep ready for all emergencies."

The resolution on Hyderabad State says:

"The Committee on hearing the report made by Mr. Dwarkanath Kachru in regard to the recent happennings in Hyderabad State, approved the boycott of the elections to the State legislature by the State Congress and considered the Constitutional reforms of

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the State as wholly reactionary, undemocratic and anti-national and, therefore, in no event to be accepted. The committee congratulated the people of Hyderabad State on having made the boycott effective all over the State. The committee viewed with grave concern the recent disturbances in the rural areas of Nalgonda district involving use of the police and the military and repeated firings and arrests of hundreds of people. The agrarian situation in the rural areas, unjustifiable arrests, harassment, victimization and severe measures of repression indulged in by the State forces deserve condemnation and an impartial inquiry. In particular, the Government's grain procurement policy has caused great distress and the burden has heavily fallen on the poor peasantry. The Jagirdars and Deshmukhs have taken advantage of the situation to suppress the people and themselves escape from the consequences of the grain procurement policy. An immediate change in this policy as well as in the personnel of the officials enforcing it appears to be essential."

The resolution on Kashmir State says :

"The State authorities have deliberately followed a course of action which has been hostile not only to the people of the State but also to the national movement of India and its leaders. In spite of every effort of the State Government to suppress the Kashmir National Congress, the struggle continues. The whole economy of Kashmir State has deteriorated and corruption and nepotism are rampant in the States. The Standing Committee has endorsed the boycott of elections by the National Conference. The action taken by the State authorities to prevent fair and free elections has been condemned. The result of the present elections that are going on can have no value. The committee sympathises with the people of Kashmir in their sufferings under the Government which has forfeited sympathy of those who care for human decency and freedom and at the same time congratulate them for their refusal to submit to methods of terror. The committee has sent its greetings to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, President of the National Conference of the Kashmir State."

The committee has deputed Mr. Kamalnarayan Bajaj to visit Kolhapur and investigate the matters in view of the Praja Parishad's points which were raised for consideration before the committee. In the meantime, the Kolhapur Praja Parishad has been advised not to initiate any direct action plan.

Mr. Hamid Ali and Mr. Sethram Jaju, General Secretaries of the C.I.R. Council of the All-India States People's Conference, have been requested to visit Nagod, Orcha and Sariia States and furnish a report on the recent unrest and repression. It has been stated that in spite of the declaration of fundamental rights made by the Ruler, the Praja Mandal has not been allowed to function and exercise elementary civil liberty.

On hearing the reports of the Gwalior delegates on the constitutional reforms in the State, the Standing Committee has advised the postponement of direct action plan by the State Congress and suggested that they should hereafter act in concert with the President of the A.-I. S.P.C. in matters of immediate constitutional reforms in Gwalior.

The committee also passed resolutions on a number of other States and on Cantonments in Indian States' territory. The resolution on cantonments suggested that they should be included under the jurisdiction of the advisory committee as territorial minorities under Section 20 of the Cabinet Mission Statement of May 16.

The annual session of the States People's Conference and All-India State Legislators' convention will be held in Gwalior in March, 1947.

R. I. N. Mutiny Report

The Report of the R.I.N. Commission, which investigated the causes and origin of the R.I.N. mutinies of February last, has been released by the Government of India. A resolution by the Government of India on the findings of the Commission and an abbreviated version of the Report have been made public. The Report is unanimous. The members have agreed that the basic cause of the mutiny was widespread discontent among the ratings arising mainly from a number of service grievances which had remained unredressed for some time and which were aggravated by the political situation. The Commission emphasised the extremely widespread nature of the disorder and the rapidity with which it spread. Men of all communities took part, irrespective of the part of India from which they came or the political opinions they may have held. In the opinion of the Commission, this could not have been so unless almost all the services had been dissatisfied, in some way or another, with service conditions. Among the first of these service grievances was the incorrect and extremely rosy picture held out by the recruiting authorities to recruits, amounting in some cases to systematic deception. But the primary causes of discontent in the service were a lack of contact between officers and ratings and a feeling of discrimination. There was complete lack of a patient and sympathetic attitude to genuine grievances. This gave rise to a feeling of resentment and helplessness among the ratings. There was also a strong and widespread feeling that racial discrimination existed in the service, the main points being that ratings were denied certain concessions and privileges enjoyed by ratings of the Royal Navy and that the European officers of the R.I.N. regarded them with contempt as inferiors. There can be, no doubt, in the opinion of the Commission, that some of the Indian officers shared this feeling and considered that they had not received due consideration for promotion, that they were not taken into confidence in important matters and that they were regarded as inferiors. Many temporary officers had no real understanding of the men or sympathy with them, and this was particularly the case among the non-Asiatic officers. It may here be mentioned that there were officers of 19 different nationalities, some of whom belonged to nations observing discriminatory laws. Those on loan from the Royal Navy, in particular, and also some of those temporarily in the Indian service felt that they were exiles serving their terms away from home and wished only that they might be allowed to leave in the not too distant future.

The next main grievance related to food, both of which, in the opinion of the Commission, could have been overcome to a considerable extent, had the officers paid more attention to the complaints made to them.

There were a number of other grievances among which pay conditions were one. The Commission thinks that the ratings would have been satisfied, had their pay been the same as that of the Burma and

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Ceylon navies whom they regarded as less 'efficient than themselves.

There was also a feeling of injustice and frustration owing to the lack of promotion to Commissioned and Warrant ranks. In part, this proceeded from the unjustifiable hopes held out to ratings at the time of their recruitment. It was also due to a comparison with the possibilities of promotion in the Army. While these grievances were mounting up, the process of demobilisation began and led not only to a number of complaints as to the manner in which it was carried out but also to a sense of despair and frustration in that many of the men had supposed that they would obtain permanent employment but found that they would not. Government of India, in their resolution, say that the political aspect of the mutiny was indirectly due to the service grievances mentioned above. There were, no doubt, a few men who were politically conscious when they entered the service ; but for the majority, political doctrines began to affect their minds only because they had begun to feel that no attention was paid to their grievances and that this was due to foreign domination. This was the state of feeling when the Commander King incident provided a spark for the hidden ammunition dump.

The Government resolution summarises the lessons of the Mutiny in the R.I.N. to the following two points :

(a) That officers must consider the welfare of their men before their own comfort or safety, and the grievances must not be explained away but redressed.

(b) Too rapid an expansion without proper provision for the training of officers is unwise, and the aim of the service in peace must be to prepare for expansion in war.

Some method must now be devised to represent their grievances to their authorities in an organised fashion and to get them promptly redressed.

The Damodar Valley Project

The Damodar Valley Project has finally met with the approval of the Central Government as well as Bengal and Bihar Governments. The American Technical Mission having experience of the working of the Tennessee Valley Scheme is reported to have unfolded immense potentialities for changing the face of the Western Bengal and Chota Nagpur tract in Bihar. It has been estimated that the Damodar Project would involve an expenditure of Rs. 55 crores. Of this, Bengal will have to pay slightly above Rs. 28 crores and the Central Government nearly Rs. 16 crores and the Bihar Government the rest. It is understood to have been decided at the conference that a statutory body under the name and style of the Damodar Valley Corporation with autonomous powers should be set up. Like the Tennessee Valley Authority in the U.S.A., this Corporation would also be entrusted with full powers to put the entire Damodar Valley Scheme into operation. Legislation necessary in this behalf will, it is understood, be enacted through the Central legislature very shortly. It is further decided, it is learnt, that work in connexion with the Damodar Valley Scheme would not be delayed or hampered at any stage due to prevailing political situation in India.

The Project involving the construction of a series of eight dams and a barrage is designed to serve the purposes simultaneously of irrigation, flood prevention, power development, industrialisation and navigation. This project when in full operation would make electric energy available to the people of Bengal and Bihar at a very cheap cost, it may be, it is said, even at one anna per unit. If the Project is supplemented by the hitherto neglected river resuscitation plan of Sir William Willcox, Malaria can be eradicated and a way opened up for the prosperity of Central and South Bengal.

Now that the main project is almost ready for being put into effect it is necessary to enquire into certain problems in this connexion. To make a proper utilisation of the available electrical energy under the project it is necessary to study the suitability of different localities for starting small-scale and large-scale industries in the Damodar Valley area. The Project requires investment of no less than Rs. 55 crores. Besides, it may be roughly estimated that the Project will further involve an annual recurring expenditure of six or seven crores of rupees for the purpose of meeting charges in respect of interest, depreciation, repairs and wages of the employees. All this points to the necessity of distributing both electrical energy and water in such a way that an annual income of about ten crores of rupees is ensured. It is exceedingly important that a full-fledged load survey is undertaken at the earliest possible moment. Supply of power under a grid system must follow and not precede a thorough load survey of the total area intended to be covered by the project. This will reduce the risk of loss of power in future to a minimum. The project will require for its success a good deal of engineering skill. We recognise, as the Governments of India, Bengal, and Bihar do, the necessity of importing some foreign engineers in view of the lack of expert engineers for carrying out a work of this description. We have nothing to say against the appointment of Col. Evans as the Director of the Project. But it must be realised that an able Indian Engineer should be placed under him as his Deputy right from the start. We have a good number of highly trained civil and electrical engineers and one of them may be selected for this purpose. Training of Indian engineers for the Scheme should not wait. Col. Evans may not stay in India for long ; after doing his job under the contract he is likely to leave India. The appointment of an Indian deputy to Col. Evans will serve a two-fold purpose : first, in the absence of the foreign Director, the Indian Deputy Director may easily step into his place with full knowledge of the technicalities, and secondly, the foreign expert, who may not be fully conversant of all the economic and social circumstances of our country, will be greatly helped by the local knowledge and experience of his Indian deputy.

The consequence of depending solely on foreign engineers can be easily seen in the embankment of only one side of the Damodar at the time of constructing the East Indian Railways. The foreign engineers planning those railways neglected the topography of the place and the natural behaviour of the Damodar. As a consequence, vast areas in West Bengal, especially in Burdwan and Hooghly districts, which were once so fertile, have been reduced to poverty and have become hotbeds of Malaria. We feel that the

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appointment of an Indian, preferably one from Bengal, as Deputy Director of the Project, is an imperative necessity.

India's Mineral Policy

The need for legislation for the control and regulation of mining on the one hand and supervision of mineral exploitation amounting to stoppage of export of some key minerals on the other, unless a compensatory return or barter of minerals and metals in which we are deficient was assured, was stressed by Mr. C. H. Bhabha, Member-in-Charge for Works, Mines and Power, in an address to the Mineral Policy Conference held at New Delhi. Mr. Bhabha said that planned development of India's minerals should be such as to dovetail it into the framework of planned industries. Our policy should be directed to the attainment of self-sufficiency in respect of minerals and metals as far as practicable, and there should be Central control of minerals of strategic and defence importance.

The outstanding feature of our mineral policy today is that it is completely in the hands of foreigners and Indians have no place in its formulation or execution. In the grant of a prospecting license or mining base, Imperial interests are considered first and Indian need is overshadowed. The Geological Survey of India is still a closely guarded British office. A certain measure of unified commercial control, possibly international in scope, may be a logical consequence of the limited number of the large sources of supply, but that unified control ought to be exercised in Indian national and commercial interest. India's minerals are generally exported in the raw state even when they may be worked up here. This should immediately stop. Whatever mineral India will export should go out in the finished state and this trade in minerals ought to be regulated in such a manner that subserves to the maximum extent the ultimate ends of our national policy.

Mr. Bhabha dealt with the question of a revision of mineral taxation, royalty and base laws and said, "The growing interest of the State in mineral development in this country does not imply that the State will or can overnight participate directly in mining or metallurgical occupation. Large sectors of our mineral economy must of necessity be left to private exploitation subject to State control and regulation."

The establishment of a Bureau of Mines has been proposed, which, when it comes into being, would be in a position to render all necessary assistance to those anxious to develop our mineral resources. In Mr. Bhabha's opinion, Government must content itself, for many years to come, with only creating legislative and administrative conditions within whose framework planned development of our mineral resources could take place. Government of India has taken a decision on policy for proper regulation and development of mines and oilfields under Federal control. The formulation of Central legislation necessary for the execution of an all-India mineral policy may prove to be a problem but that has to be done. Central co-ordination and regulation of minerals, for which legislation is suggested, is intended chiefly to cover the following subjects :

Consideration of foreign trade policy in the national interest with a view to regulate tariffs, subsidies, and ensure that the mineral resources of the country are not frittered away by cut-throat competition among producers and traders.

Regulation and control of key minerals in the interest of defence. This particularly includes minerals like uranium and thorium, oil resources and mica.

Establishment of a Bureau of Mines with connected organisations to execute the policy embodied in such legislation.

Organisation of training and research in India and abroad for utilising the mineral resources of the country to the fullest extent, and discouraging the export of raw materials which could be turned into manufactured articles within the country.

The pooling of information and resources and the collection of statistics on an all-India basis.

Co-ordination of working at different producing centres and wise utilisation of the mineral resources for industrial development within the country. This covers the internal trade policy, railway rates, standardisation, etc.

According to a tentative draft made by a former Government, and left over to the Interim Government, legislation of two sorts was suggested to deal with the problem: first, a general law authorising control of certain important scheduled minerals, and, secondly, an *ad hoc* legislation dealing specifically with problems relating to individual minerals, such as coal, mica and petroleum.

It will be of interest to observe, in this connection, that the total value of the annual mineral production in India is approximately over Rs. 40 crores, but it has been estimated that a proper utilisation of the resources would very much enhance this figure. No check has, in the past, been made on the export of such valuable minerals as manganese, ilmenite, or mica. Nearly 30 million tons of high-grade manganese ore have left the country since 1905, according to an official memorandum. The war years witnessed a step-up of production of ferro-manganese in India to an extent of nearly 20,000 tons a year. But conditions, it is stated, permit the possibility of producing ten times this quantity, in which case ferro-manganese may be exported instead of the raw material. Further, the export of manganese ore is in the hands of traders who have no concern for the need to conserve the country's mineral assets. A similar story could be repeated in the case of India's ilmenite, occurring largely in Travancore (annual production in 1938 being estimated at 250,000 tons). It costs only about 10 shillings a ton, we are told, when sold as ore, but when converted into titanium oxide, it costs about £100 a ton! Similarly, in the case of mica, the entire output of Indian mines has been exported without much processing or manufacturing treatment, which, if done, would fetch very much higher prices. Gold, saltpetre, chromite, magnesite, monazite, beryl and zircon are other minerals produced in India wholly or largely for export.

Earliest possible steps should, however, be taken to ensure that raw materials are utilised within the country itself, as far as practicable, by the establishment of manufacturing concerns. The *Commerce* points out that this will mean that there will not be a complete embargo on the export of the minerals but that exports will be limited only to those which cannot be subjected to processing or manufacturing treatment in India.

Although private enterprise in respect of mineral development is envisaged, nationalisation ought to remain the ultimate goal to be attained. The free hand

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given to foreign firms for the exploitation of India's minerals to the detriment of national interest must immediately stop. So long as private enterprise is permitted it must be rigidly controlled in the interest of the nation.

A New Political Statute for Goa

A message from Nova-Goa states that a new political statute will be granted to Goa by the Portuguese Government. This announcement has been made by the Governor-General of Goa at a special meeting of the Governor's Council. This announcement is, however, a vague one and does not indicate what her future status will be or when it will come into force. Goa is at present administered under the Portuguese Colonial Act which treats all Portuguese colonies as one unit. The Governor has a Council to assist which serves a purely advisory body empowered only to discuss proposals put before it by the Governor. The Council consists of 12 members, eight of whom are nominated and four elected.

A Government spokesman told the *Associated Press of India* that the Government had decided nothing about the Statute. A Committee of five members of the Council had been formed to draft the Statute after consulting the wishes of the people. The Committee was free to take the help of outside non-official elements in the drafting of the Statute and could submit any constitution it thought fit for the consideration of the Minister for Colonies in Portugal.

Nationalist circles are inclined to view the announcement as mere propaganda. These circles point out that the complaint of Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit at U.N.O. that the Portuguese were giving a bad deal to Goans was partly responsible for keeping out Portugal from the U.N.O. membership, and state that Portugal, now eager to secure entrance into the U.N.O., is trying to show to the world that the Portuguese Government is being fair to Goa.

A prominent Goan leader said that the conception of Latin imperialism which forms the basis of Portuguese rule does not permit of decentralisation of power. Neither was it likely, he stated, that the people would be associated with the administration of Goa under the present political regime in Portugal.

He added : "The highest compliment the Portuguese believe they can pay to Goans is to consider them as Portuguese and give them the same rights as enjoyed by the Portuguese at home. But these rights could not possibly satisfy nationalist Goans drawing inspiration from their brethren in British India."

A strict news censorship works in Goa today. No local paper can come out unless the Government Censors have gone carefully through it. Morning papers here generally get their editions ready by about 11 p.m. to be sent to the Censors' Office for passing. In very rare instances, news coming in after 11 p.m. finds space in the morning editions.

This leader also pointed out that political autonomy could not be granted without financial autonomy and Goa would not stand on its own legs without the help of British India. Nationalist circles in Goa are not satisfied with the proposal to raise Goa to a province of Portugal. Nothing short of a Portuguese withdrawal from all their possessions leaving them free to merge into the appropriate Indian province will satisfy nationalist opinion in the country.

Egypt and Sudan

The nine-month old Anglo-Egyptian negotiations are in reality a diplomatic and constitutional battle for the possession of the Nile. The battle for the Nile is the battle for a dominant position in the Middle East. While the two countries continue to haggle for position, the differences of the Big Three are being crystallised in this area. The clash has continued throughout 1946. The stakes are high. For the U.S.A., there is oil, more than it has ever dreamt of, for Britain, it is a matter of life and death. Time and again the talks have broken down not on whether Egypt is to be fully sovereign, that has already been decided ; nor on whether British troops are to quit in full, that is a foregone conclusion, but on the Sudan, that artificially created country through which the Nile winds more than half its course. Whoever controls the Nile controls Egypt, one of the world's biggest cotton-growing areas, and the Suez Canal.

The Sudan is a condominium, carved out of the desert by the efforts of Lord Kitchener and ruled over jointly by Egypt and Britain. That is only technically correct, for, the latter wields the dominant influence over this country while the former is only in nominal charge. The territory is just over a million square miles in area with a population of five and a half million.

The Egyptian case for the inclusion of Sudan with Egypt is as follows : The condominium has not worked satisfactorily. The Sudan is really a British colony used and exploited as such. It lies on the main air route between England and South Africa. It is likely to be an extremely valuable base for future military operations, in view of the changing Imperial strategy of the British Empire. As such, it constitutes not only a threat to Egyptian sovereignty but its close proximity is likely to involve Egypt in all the international complications to which Britain may be subject for years to come. In reply to the separatist argument that the Sudanese who are of Negro origin are of a totally different stock from the Egyptians who are a mixture of many Southern Mediterranean races including the Syrians and the Moors, the Egyptians claim that these two races could live under one suzerainty were it not for British interest and British propaganda which seek to turn the Sudanese against the Egyptians. They want complete control over the entire length of the Nile because there is always the danger that if its source and the first length falls under hostile and alien hands, the flow of Egypt's life-blood may be choked thus killing the entire nation.

The British case follows the traditional pattern. On March 26, 1946, Mr. Bevin, speaking in the House of Commons, said :

> His Majesty's Government look forward to the day when the Sudanese would be able finally to decide their political future for themselves, but would not influence their eventual decision in any way, having no object in the Sudan other than the true welfare of the Sudanese, a principle likewise proclaimed by the Egyptian Government in the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. The welfare of the Sudanese cannot be secured unless a stable and disinterested Government is maintained in the Sudan.

In all this wrangle, the question most frequently asked is, what about the Sudanese ? How do they feel about their future ? So far there are no signs that

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Sudan has a public opinion of its own. There is Sir Suleman El Mahdi, a British puppet, who in the last few months has been trying to rouse the Sudanese against union with Egypt. There is the British Governor-General, whose work under cover for his own country has precipitated the demand for his recall by his other master, Egypt. The Sudanese are being sedulously tutored about self-determination and are being helped in every possible way to evolve a demand for their own separate State. A Jinnah in El Mahdi has already been found to play this British game.

The implications of this struggle are not fully understood by the outside world. Egypt aims at the hegemony of the Middle East bloc. In this ambition, it is assisted by the Arab League and thwarted by the oil-producing interests of Anglo-America. Without the Sudan, the background of the Nile, Egypt cannot become a sovereign power. In its present subservient state, it cannot exercise any influence in the sphere where it seeks to predominate. Great Britain, on the other hand, once undisputed Mistress of the Middle East, is fighting a desperate rear-guard action against the rising nationalism of the Arabs, the inflexible determination of Zionism in Palestine, against encroachment of commercial interests from the United States and the insidious propaganda war of the Soviet Union. Embattled and besieged on all sides, it is attempting to hang on to what it has, pending a general improvement of the situation.

The clash between these interests in a small but highly inflammable segment of the world is directly responsible for the deterioration of the international situation in 1946. Seen against this background, the Anglo-Egyptian Negotiations achieve an added stature.

It is difficult to foretell what will be the outcome of the Sudan dispute. In Egypt, the King and his Chief Minister are waging a triangular contest against the Wafd and the Egyptian people. The former are for soft pedalling the issue for the time being, the latter, particularly the Wafd, demand that Sudan be ceded to the Egyptian Crown as part of the final treaty between Egypt and Great Britain. A small but clamorous section is for referring the dispute to UNO.

At this distance it is not possible to give any possible solutions. Since the Nile is the chief bone of contention, it would seem that the internationalisation of all such waterways would remove a great barrier to world peace.

Splitting South India into Linguistic Groups

The Andhras have been agitating for a separate province for a long time and the Congress has approved it in principle. In an article to the *Bharat Jyoti*, Mr. S. G. Das presents a case for splitting up the Madras province as it is constituted today into four provinces in order to ensure homogeniety and prosperity for the units. The present administrative provinces of India have been evolved as accidents of history. They have little cultural, linguistic or geographical homogeneity. This phenomenon is very prominent in the Madras presidency.

The people of Madras are mostly of Dravidian stock. The languages used by the province—Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Canarese—are all of the Dravidian group. Except for this common Dravidian background, however, the four linguistic groups, and more markedly the Tamils and Andhras, have zealously preserved their individuality, with the result that in spite of having been under the same provincial administration for well-nigh three generations, there has been no healthy fusion of the three groups in British-administered Madras.

The existence of these linguistic groups has already been recognised by the Indian National Congress in its own constitution, wherein the Presidency is divided into the four unilingual units of Tamilnad, Andhra, Kerala and Karnatak, the last named also including the Hubli and Dharwar districts of Bombay province.

Tamilnad comprises of 11 Tamil-speaking districts —Madras, Chingleput, South Arcot, North Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Ramnad, Madura, Tirunelveli, Salem and Coimbatore. These districts have a predominantly Hindu population, the whole comprising of 20·4 million people. The Tamils, whose civilisation was at its height in Roman times, have their own literary, cultural and linguistic heritage, handed down from the distant past, and enriched by the golden era of the Cholas, the Pandyas and the Pallwas. These dynasties have left imperishable monuments in the various fields of fine arts, and Tamilnad can rightly be called a land of temples, those glorious architectural achievements of these great Kings.

The Tamil language is perhaps the only one of the Dravidian group which has not been influenced by Sanskrit, the mother of all Aryan languages. It has a great literary heritage, some of the living works dating back to the second millennium B.C. This distinct individuality of the language has proved a deterrent to the people learning the North Indian tongues of the Sanskrit group, and the reciprocal inability of the North Indian to pick up Tamil, or for that matter, any of the Dravidian languages and has created a barrier of mutual ignorance between Madras and other parts of India. This barrier was shattered to some extent by the advent of World War II.

The land throughout Tamilnad is fertile and the people are agriculturists. As a result, industrialisation has not made much progress.

The Andhradesa comprises the five coastal districts of the Northern Sircars—Vizagapattam, Godavari, Kistna, Guntur, Nellore and the four dry districts of Anantapur, Bellary, Cuddappah and Karnool. Andhradesa has a population of 26·3 million which is also predominantly Hindu.

Telugu, the language of this area, belongs to the Dravidian group, but contrary to Tamil it has been greatly influenced by Sanskrit ; it even has an alphabet which is phonetically akin to the mother language.

The Northern Sircars are very fertile, but the four ceded districts suffer endemic famine. Unless an irrigational project is carried out for these areas, they will remain irksome burdens on their eastern neighbours, should a separate Andhra province be formed.

The Kanarese-speaking people of Madras are nine million in number and they have been grouped into one administrative unit—the Mysore State. This homogeneity has given a great impetus to these people and therefore Mysore finds itself in the enviable position of being far ahead of many British Indian provinces in many respects.

Kerala, the Malayalam-speaking part of the presidency, comprises the States of Travancore and

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Cochin and the British-administered districts of North and South Malabar. This territory is isolated from Tamilnad by the Western Ghauts and access is only possible through the Palghat Gap. Out of nine million Malayalee-speaking people, seven million live in the States of Travancore and Cochin.

No Government can administer a territory as large as Madras Presidency, with all its divergent groups, peoples and languages, efficiently. The present administration has a harmony, merely of negation. In the dark days of the Justice Party Rule, the unity was preserved by calling the anti-Brahmin Front. The whole of South India is very backward economically and industrially and as such, any ameliorative step which may tend to benefit one or other of the parts of the Presidency will be immediately suspect. The cultural and linguistic differences of these parts tend to augment mutual suspicions as there is absolutely no free flow of thought from one part to another.

As a solution, it has, therefore, been suggested to split Madras, including the States, into linguistic units along the lines indicated above. The provinces will be assured the maximum possible autonomy. This will harness the energy of all the people in each unit towards the development of their own areas, the cumulative effect of which will mean improvement for the total area.

Church and State in the U. S. S. R.

On January 23, 1918, the Soviet Government issued a decree on the "separation of the Church from the State and the School from the Church." This decree meant that all religious denominations in the Soviet Union enjoyed equal rights but existed as private communities receiving neither material nor political support from the State. Thus this decree of the Soviet Union ensured freedom of conscience to the citizens of the U.S.S.R. and abolished the system of a State Church, under which the Orthodox Church received State support while all other religious cults were either barely tolerated. Soviet citizens now have the right to exercise any form of religious worship, or if they choose, not to profess any religion. Article 13 of the Soviet Constitution of 1918 provided :

> To ensure for workers' genuine liberty of conscience, the Church is separated from the State and the School from the Church ; and freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is assured to every citizen.

In Article 124 of the Constitution of 1936, this freedom of conscience clause remains virtually the same, *viz* :

> In order to ensure to citizens' freedom of conscience, the Church in the U.S.S.R. is separated from the State, and the School from the Church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens.

G. Karpov, Chairman of the Council of Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church, says that no distinction of believers and non-believers is made in any of the Soviet institutions or enterprises, State or collective farms, or in the armed forces. No worker or employee, on taking up new employment, need give any information about his or her religious beliefs. Publishers produce both religious and anti-religious literature, the paper being provided for either purpose by the Government. In our country, under a constitution made in Britain, information about one's profession of a particular faith, together, preferably, with a statement about his position on the social ladder must first of all be provided in support of his claim either for a public office or for a trade license. Success is assured if one can prove one's adherence to a particular favoured faith or his social backwardness.

The Soviet Constitution of 1936 has granted the vote to the clergy and has recognised their right to be elected on an equal basis with all other citizens. This is guaranteed to them under Article 125. Soviet law excludes any restrictions, either direct or indirect on citizens' right to practise their religions, and prohibits any insult to the religious feeling of believers. The Soviet Constitution has eliminated all national or religious strife amongst the numerous peoples of the U.S.S.R. The British-made Indian constitution has only aggravated them in India.

Indian Unity

In an article to the *Indian Social Reformer*, a historical background for Indian unity has been provided by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, one of the most eminent scholars in Indian history. He says:

> If I were required to name the period when Indian civilisation attained its apogee, I would point to the five or six centuries that followed the establishment of the Gupta empire, with a considerable extension of the period by some centuries for South India. For you will see in that age the most advanced races of men lived not in Europe or America but in Asia; and among the Asiatic nations we in India held the foremost place in all the arts of civilised life.
>
> India then meant not only the extensive peninsula now so called, but its vast hinterland in Central Asia, happily styled Serindia today, as also the sister peninsula of Indo-China and the neighbouring archipelago; in fact India extended wherever her ancient classical language was studied, her gods worshipped, and her ceremonies followed, her way of life, her arts, and her literature accepted. Then was the Indian ocean properly so called, for India's ships and India's mariners roamed at large over all the ports and emporia from Africa to China. And the Chinese who then shared with Indians the front rank in the civilized world turned to India with admiration, and followed her steps diligently in all the higher reaches of religion and philosophy; scores of their pious pilgrims and eager scholars braved the unknown dangers of deserts, mountains, and seas in order to worship at the shrines of the holy land of India and drink deep at her fountains of learning. And they often took back with them not only sacred relics and scriptural texts, but preachers and pandits who could expound the law of Dharma in far-off lands and translate its texts into the language of the country.

This intercourse between India and China, maintained for many generations although with occasional breaks, holds an important place in the intellectual commerce of humanity. Obscure pandits and sramanas helped to bring together whatever were best and the most universal in the two great civilisations. They overcame the barriers of geography, race and language and united the two great peoples in an intimate communion of thought and soul. After a short break, this communion is again going to be established. The establishment of the Cheena Bhawan at Santiniketan and the deputation of Dr. P. C. Bagchi to hold the post of

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a visiting professor at the Peking University is only one step forward in the way of gathering the lost threads once again.

Prof. Sastri has shewn how from time immemorial the idea of Indian unity had been cherished in legend and song and how it continued throughout the entire Hindu period of Indian history. He has, however, taken pains to shew that the essence of India's common nationhood was cultural and not political. Dr. Bhandarkar's researches on foreign elements in Indian society has proved how foreigners came here on political adventure but were gradually absorbed in the Indian society and in time came to form an integral part of the Indian nation.

The empire of the ancestors of Sri Rama, the Ikshvakus of Ayodhya, is said to have extended over the whole world, by which was meant the world of Jambudvipa, India as it was then known. According to one account, Prithu Vainya was the first monarch of the world, and the earth came to be called Prithvi after him. Bharata, the son of Dushyanta and Sakuntala, was among the first emperors of all India, and after him the land bore the name of Bharatavarsha. The Aitareya Brahmana contains a list of the anointed emperors of all India in early times of whom history, as known to us, has little to tell. The clearest and the most decisive statement on the unity of India occurs in the *Arthasastra*, the first great treatise on Indian polity from the pen of the thinker and statesman who was, at least in part, the architect of the political unity of India as it was realised in the Mauryan empire. Kautilya laid it down distinctly that the land which extends north to south from the Himalayas to the sea, and measures a thousand yojanas across, is the field of the Chakravartin (Chakravarti-kshetram). Kautilya's ideal was fully realised under Asoka whose empire was even vaster and greater than that which Britain is relinquishing in India today. But politics was by no means the main pre-occupation of our ancestors as it is with us and with other nations today and even in the long periods when India comprised a number of states, the conception of her unity *vis-a-vis* the rest of the world did not flag or falter for a single moment.

Indian unity, the essence of her nationality, was cultural, not political. The unity of India is to be found in the ample range of her holy places of pilgrimage, in the names of the rivers and mountains of the country which are as music to the ear of an Indian, in the firm hold on the popular mind of her noble epics and ballads whose characters and situations are lovingly localised in every part of India, and even in Indo-China. It found its expression not in parliament or empire, but in the comprehensive social ideal of Dharma to which all her children naturally conformed without exception. Asoka's noble utterances in his edicts furnish the most outstanding evidence that this was no pious sentiment or remote ideal, but the lamp of daily life for officials as for citizens.

From the earliest times the history of India has been a more or less continuous story of accommodation and adjustment between different culture groups. The group which spoke the language which developed into classical Sanskrit in later times, the 'Indo-Aryans' as they have been called, exhibited qualities of leadership which secured for them the first place in society wherever they went; and so in course of time the whole of India was 'Aryanised' and the 'Indo-Aryan' himself became much more Indian in his outlook. The resulting Indian culture was a blend in which Aryan and pre-Aryan elements were mixed in different proportions and with varying results in the various parts of the country. It was a great task, that of civilizing large sections of the human race, undertaken and executed with great skill, patience and humanity. And the work was continued outside India also. Mohenjodaro and Harappa, indeed, render it probable that parts of India at least knew a higher material culture than that at the command of the Aryans when they appeared in India; but of the actual conditions that prevailed in these parts when the Aryans came we have as yet no definite knowledge, and the general picture of the Aryanization of India still remains in its outlines what it was before the discovery of the Indus valley culture. However that may be, the most significant factor in the whole situation is the understanding shown and the experience gained in accommodating many local differences in one general scheme and evolving a complex culture-system which was remarkable alike for the unity of the general framework accepted all over and for the flexibility which found room for innumerable variations. This characteristic, Indian culture has retained through the ages, particularly in its social and religious organisation. The Persians and Greeks, Sakas and Huns were all accepted as they came in, and more or less rapidly Indianised and absorbed into the social structure.

The advent of Islam threatened to break up the unity of India for a time as it threatens to do again in our own day. Muslim rulers like Alauddin Khalji, Mahammad Tughlak and Aurangzeb tried to bring Indian unity by establishing their sway over the whole country but the attempts being unnatural, they were only short-lived. These attempts being based on force and designed to achieve only political unity were not a natural process and failed. They provoked very strong reactions and the Mahrattas, Rajputs and Sikhs took up the challenge. Akbar had tried to promote national solidarity by cultural eclecticism, political policy and administrative unity, but the gross artificiality of his *Din-i-Ilahi* frustrated all his sincere efforts. The greatest obstacle of the Muslim rulers in their way of achieving Indian unity was that they always thought in terms of religious conversion. They never concealed their hatred for Hindu religion and Hindu civilisation and tried to *replace* Hinduism by Islam. This idea still persists in the minds of the Muslim League leaders and is really the root cause that stands in the way of the achievement of a real Hindu-Muslim unity. The same mentality is seen today in Noakhali. We attach the greatest importance to the fact that Gandhiji has been obliged to suspend singing Ramnam in the public because the Muslims have demonstrated their displeasure for it. The Hindus in their own majority areas have never said that the Muezzin's *azan* hurts their religious feeling. The fundamental basis of Indian unity and nationhood is religious toleration. This intolerance and hatred for other religions may be held as the basic cause that has struck at the root of Indian unity. The British Imperialists were quick to seize upon this fact. Separate electorates were their creation.

The Frontispiece

Ramkiri is one of the thirty-six *Ragnis*. Its *form* described in the Hindu musical treatises is as follows:— Wearing blue garments and adorning her body with glittering ornaments, fair-complexioned, sweet-voiced Ramkiri stands gracefully before her lover.

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INDUSTRIAL PROTECTION IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

By A. S. GILL, M.A.

The World War II has changed the entire complexion of India's industrial problems. The popular allegation against the Government's fiscal policy in the pre-war period was that it was halting, limited and sporadic; and that industrial development was slow and restricted. This policy of 'discriminate protection' in the pre-war period was followed during the war by one that was indiscriminate and haphazard. The industrial development was rapid, but lacked solid foundation and had in it the seeds of decay. Now that the war is over and the conditions are reverting to the normal, the rising Indian industries are faced with a grave prospect of foreign competition and the need of reorientation of India's fiscal policy is imperative.

The main problem today is not to accelerate the pace of industrial progress but to conserve the gains made during the war. Unless strong and timely protective measures are taken we shall find these war-gains slipping through our fingers. At this stage India cannot afford to miss the bus.

Partial Mobilisation

Under the war stimulus many Indian industries made some progress both in the pace and range of production. But they are yet far from having reached a stage where they could dispense with protection altogether and hold their own in the world market. Mobilisation of the Indian resources has not been total, but only partial. This war was a great opportunity to build a stable and diversified industrial edifice. But the Government, constituted as it was, failed miserably to avail itself of the chance of a generation. National resources were mobilised only to the extent that was necessitated by the war needs. A truly national government could have done much more in this direction. A comparison with the American conditions will show it.

All wartime industrial progress in India pales into insignificance before the figures of industrial expansion in U.S.A. Whereas industrial progress in India has been mainly confined to two or three industries, in U.S.A. it has been all-round, not even excluding the consumers' goods industries. And whilst the largest expansion in India has been in Iron and Steel, and Sugar Industries of the order of 100 and about 80 per cent respectively, the corresponding figures in U.S.A. are in the neighbourhood of 500 and 400.

Australia is another example. In 1932, she did not produce a single ounce of steel. And according to Sir Bertram Stevens, Minister of Supply of Australia, in 1941 she produced 1·5 million tons of steel—more than India's production per year; and her aircraft factories were producing the most up-to-date fighter and bomber planes at the rate of 1000 a year.

Foreign Competition

So on the one hand there is the ill-developed position of the Indian industries and on the other the grave prospect of the resurgence of foreign competition threatens their very existence. Some of our industries will be just wiped out as soon as the channels of international trade are opened and foreign imports come flooding in.

It would be complacent and unrealistic to imagine that foreign competition will take some time to appear after the war. Britain's position depends on her exports. She must increase her exports to about 75 per cent of 1938 figures if she is to regain her pre-war prosperity. She will definitely give priority to her export industries and not get herself involved completely with the problems of internal reconstruction. One of the effects that the Anglo-American Loan Agreement will have on India is that within the next year Indian market will be flooded with the British made consumers' goods. The "switch off" from war production to peace production will be immediate. U.S.A., too, will undergo a speedy change of adaptation to peace time production.

From the foregoing lines it should be clear that Indian industries need an ample measure of protection to enable them to keep their head above water when the blizzard of foreign competition appears.

Nature of Industrial Problems

Certain types of consumers' goods industries like cloth and sugar do not require immediate assistance due to their strong demand in the continental and other war-stricken countries. Foreign competition in these industries will definitely take some time to rise to the pre-war pitch. Some other industries like cement and other building materials do not need immediate State help. The developed position of the industry and pent-up demand of the country for these materials can be safely relied upon. But then there are some war-born industries that have sprung up under the cover provided by the war and are yet in their infant state, *e.g.*, glass, aluminium, heavy chemicals and medical drugs. The fear of resurgence of foreign competition in these industries is the greatest and they need immediate attention.

Moreover, in the case of those industries that have developed during the war, the plants of production are old, inefficient and out-of-date. They are overworked and at places even improvised. The cost of production is necessarily high. Their immediate renovation is the need of the hour. These are the war-worn industries and must be restored to health.

Such being the state of Indian industries, as soon as they are exposed to the full blast of foreign competition they will find themselves in the doldrums.

One of the most important groups that have suffered painful neglect at the hands of the Government has been that of the capital goods industries both light and heavy, and which will be the corner-stone of any wide and stable industrial structure. Heavy chemical industries, as the important basic industries, stand as a class by themselves claiming the immediate attention of the Government.

Such then is the nature of industrial problems in the post-war period. This is, however, just a sketchy analysis. What must precede the formulation of a suitable tariff policy is a comprehensive survey of the industrial situation. Such an examination will give us a clearer perception of the industrial problems of the country than any guess-work which will be just an exercise in vague speculation.

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The Interim National Government should immediately proceed with the appointment of an Industrial Commission, with comprehensive terms of reference, to study the entire industrial set-up of the country. Unlike the Industrial Commission (1916) it should not be debarred from considering the question of tariff policy. The findings of such a Commission will greatly assist in the formation of a correct tariff policy in the post-war period.

The study of the question of industrial protection in the post-war period can be divided into two parts : (*i*) Transition period, (*ii*) the long run.

The period of transition is very important so far as any weak or half-hearted policy in this period may prove fatal to the entire industrial progress achieved during the war. This transition period will also coincide with the period of preparation for the post-war economic reconstruction ; so the danger of no definite and vigorous policy being pursued in this period is great. In that case this bubble of wartime prosperity will burst leaving India once again far behind on the road of industrial progress. Up to the last, weapons from the economic armoury must be brought forward to combat the adverse influences. Mere makeshift arrangements will not do.

At the same time the tariff policy pursued in this period must be in accordance with the industrial future envisaged for the country and such as can be easily dove-tailed with the final scheme of things adumbrated when post-war economic reconstruction comes under way.

During the last budget session of the Central Assembly, the wartime tariff arrangements were given a further lease of one year. It will expire in April, 1947. In the meanwhile an "emergency legislation" to levy import duties should be passed to enable the government to act promptly to protect the Indian industries from the blizzard of foreign competition, whenever and in whatever form it appears.

In the long run, however, in the words of J. M. Keynes, all is "doomed to oblivion and death." Tariff policy will naturally be based upon the findings of the Industrial Commission and the plans of post-war economic reconstruction. About a few broad principles, however, we can be certain. All the defects that were discovered in the working of the policy of discriminate protection must be removed.

The conditions of the triple formula were found unduly stringent in practice. While addressing a meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce in 1940, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar promised to get this triple conditions formula revised. The present National Government should substantiate this promise with increased rapidity. The terms of the formula should be relaxed so as to embrace a wider sphere.

The Tariff Board, henceforth, should not be a merely *ad hoc* body, but a permanent one with a permanent secretariat. This will ensure continuity of policy and consistency of decisions. The functions of the Tariff Board should not be limited to only a few solitary surveys in this or that industry and recommending measures of protection. They should be developed so as to include in addition to its ordinary functions others like keeping a record of the positions of the various industries, recommending commercial treaties and bilateral trade agreements, studying tariff systems of other countries, keeping a watch over the combination of the manufacturers detrimental to it, would be possible, the domestic consumer, examining the cases of dumping of foreign goods in the Indian market, and studying conditions as regards prices and imports, etc.

Also, it should be made obligatory on the government to announce its decision on the Board's recommendations within a limited period and a convention should be established that the Government will generally implement the Board's recommendations.

Methods of industrial protection have hitherto been mostly confined to levying of import duties only. In future other neo-protectionist devices like bilateral trade apreements, import quotas and subsidised dumping should also be resorted to. The tariff policy evolved in the post-war period should not be only protective but also developmental and substantive in effect.

Constitution and the functions of the Tariff Board should be clearly laid down on the statute. Most of the defects of the triple formula will, however, automatically remedy themselves with the change in the spirit with which the new government will approach the subject.

In their announcement of their industrial policy in April 1945, the Government of India did recognize the urgency of providing protection to industries. In any planned development tariff protection is one of the essential if not the sole instrument of policy. Consequently a Tariff Board was appointed to recommend protective measures for some of the war-born industries like heavy chemicals and medical drugs. Before the close of the last budget session, the Commerce Member secured the sanction of the Assembly to issue orders promptly on the recommendations of the Board. The first batch of recommendations was sent to the Government as early as May last. Another group of industries has since then been investigated into and recommendations made. But the Government have not so far moved in this direction. The new government should act promptly and save the Indian industries from utter extinction.

The present situation, however, demands the reopening of the wider problem of industrial protection in general. The appointment of an Industrial Commission is a step that the new government should take immediately.

Political Uncertainty

One important factor lends an element of uncertainty and gloom to the future prospect of our industries. Political factors have always a considerable bearing on economic questions. It is on India's future political status that the tackling of certain vexed problems like 'Imperial Preference' rests. The dominant note of Indian political world at present, is one of uncertainty and suspense. It is doubtful if we can have a planned industrial development and evolve a sound fiscal policy with the present political and constitutional uncertainty. Much depends on the doings of the architects of India's political destiny.

India and I. T. O.

Last, but not the least, a word about autonomy in fiscal matters. In the offing we have an International Trade Conference before which suggestions and proposals will be brought forward for removing trade barriers and toning down tariffs. One wonders if it will be feasible for India to stick out for high protection in a world clamouring for less restricted trade. But India's representatives to con-

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vince other countries represented in the Conference that there is no basic conflict between economic development of India and the requirements of a smoothly functioning international economic order. Should the decisions arrived at the International Trade Organisation run counter to the aims of our fiscal policy, India should not hesitate to sever all relations with the organisation and adopt an independent fiscal policy. She should not sacrifice her economic goal in the name of international economic co-operation and liberalism.

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TWO SYSTEMS OF THOUGHT

By Prof. BRAJA SUNDAR RAY, M.A.

In the history of the world two systems of thought seem to have influenced men's beliefs and activities. Before the time of Abraham, the people of Assyria and Babylonia, Egypt, Greece and Rome were all believers in many gods and goddesses and they worshipped them by making offerings of food, animals and human sacrifices. The Greeks also were not free from the superstition of human sacrifice, as Iphygenia, the daughter of king Agamemnon, was offered as a sacrifice at Aulis, where the Greek ships were assembled before they started against Troy. Abraham himself also was about to offer his own son, Isaac, as a sacrifice or Korbani at the command of God. From the time of Moses, however, about 1500 B.C., the Jewish people became absolutely monotheistic, and though they offered burnt offerings, these offerings were bulls, rams, etc. But the various races inhabiting Judea, Palestine and other parts of Asia Minor worshipped Baal, Moloch and several other gods to whom human sacrifices were made. Hebrew people may be supposed to have attained an ethical development under the influence of Mosaic Laws far beyond the reach of these polytheistic people of south-west Asia.

Among the Greeks, the Egyptians and the Babylonians, no doubt, the people of the cultured classes were in possession of monotheistic ideas and ideals of moral elevation. But the Greek gods as well as these Asiatic gods were not perfectly moral beings, and the masses were at a lower level of theism and ethics. They have to acknowledge their debts to Moses and the other Hebrew prophets for the correct ideas about God and their dealings and behaviour with each other. Hebrew theism and Hebrew ethics formed the basis, through Christianity, of the higher European religion and morality after the fall of the Roman Empire.

The decline of the Hellenic and Roman civilisations of ancient time was the result of the loss of faith of the two ancient races in their gods and in their ethical systems. Neither their religion, nor their morals could resist the downward stream of their political decline since the 3rd century B.C. and the 5th century A.D., respectively.* They had no clear idea about future life or of sins and expiation. Christianity supplied both these wants and strengthened the degenerating humanity in south-eastern Europe. I cannot at all appreciate Matthew Arnold's condemnation of Hebraism and his belauding of Hellenism and talking of culture as a thing apart from pure religious belief and higher ethical ideals. Plato and Aristotle may have been great philosophers, but what was the condition of the masses? Even in the time of the best Stoics at Rome, the masses were sunk in immorality and vices. It was Christian teachings that gradually purified the social atmosphere and strengthened the people. A nation of believers in God and future life they became and many there were who could sacrifice their own lives for the good of others, *e.g.*, the Christian martyrs ; Rome, the seat of Christian Popes, became the centre of all higher ideals in religion and conduct. The authority of the Popes was acceptable in Europe as a matter of course. The claim of the Hebrew system of thought is undeniable in the making of medieval as well as modern Europe. Medieval Europe was also more unified and more peaceful than the warring nations of the modern times in Europe. The spirit unites, but the body separates.

But it has a great defect and this defect is troubling the world since the settlement of the Jews in the Land of Promise under the guidance of Moses, Joshua and other leaders. They were intolerant of the gods of the other races and they claimed a superiority over others as "the chosen race of men." But the Greeks or Romans were not fanatics of this type, though they also were arrogant and looked down on others. This arrogant attitude of mind characterises the disciples of Christ even today, and the Greeks as well as the Romans had their own racial arrogance that has been augmented and deepened being combined with Christian arrogance now-a-days. The Jews were not, we have seen, at all tolerant towards the gods and religions of other peoples, though these races were nothing behind them in powers or in arts of life. Polytheists have everywhere been free from fanaticism. The Jewish conception of God being anthropomorphic, *i.e.*, they looked upon their God Jehovah as an all-powerful human being, a King over the universe, and as such jealous of a rival, they developed a fanatical attitude of mind and felt no hesitation in destroying others. They believed their Jehovah to be a transcendent personality freed from the limitations of other gods and as such must command the allegiance of all mankind. Some of the later writers of the psalms and other books seem to have attained a liberal attitude and called Jehovah the lord of all, equally anxious for all men. They saw, no doubt, the immanence of God's power in the forces of nature and recognised His mercy and benediction in the history of other races as in their own ; yet they did not see the *lila* or immanence of God in every human life and in every soul of man. They were devoted to their leaders and intermediaries, such as, Moses or the prophets, but did not realise God in their own souls and activities just as the [illegible]

* *The Hindus, however, never yielded to the ethical or spiritual superiority of the conquerors and invaders of India.*

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and the Romans, themselves Aryans, had better philosophical grasp of God's immanence and had correcter ideas of the ethical freedom of men. The Stoics taught a morality which is considered by some critics as superior to the spirit of reward and punishment in the future life by which Jesus tried to enthuse his followers, in the "Sermon on the Mount." The Semitic people do not seem to have enjoyed intellectual freedom like the Greeks or the Romans. The Semites were ruled by Prophets, Judges and Kings and had very little idea of republican freedom. The divine right of Kings as well as the divine right of the Popes and Bishops are merely the medieval versions of the Jewish attitude to their kings and prophets as infallible and unopposable people. On account of their loyalty to leaders and self-surrender in ethical and spiritual matters, they were intellectually also less free than other races. Those Jewish philosophers and scientists who have shed glory on their race have been influenced by the intellectual awakening of modern Europe, *viz.*, the Renaissance movement of the sixteenth century. It was the influence of the Greek culture mainly that stirred the spirit of free thinking among Europeans in the sixteenth century. This intellectual freedom has made Europe great. The Jews being in possession of a correct theism and ethics, attain a greatness in the atmosphere of political freedom in Europe, and outgrow the old inherited fanatical attitude. Thus we have got Spinoza, Einstein and other great thinkers. Yet we must say that Jehads and Crusades are the effects of Jewish hostility to other religions.

Both Islam and Christianity have been characterised by a dogmatism and intolerance like that of the Jews and Jewish theology. Both these religions are reformed versions of the Jewish theism, demanding absolute surrender to the prophets and intermediaries and persecute people who assert freedom. Islam crushed the Mutazils and Sufis as these sects believed in immanence of God in every human soul and did not absolutely surrender to the first founders. They practically denied an intermediary.

The Aryan system of thought since the earliest time has been tolerant of the freedom of the individual Sadhak and devotee. It is not so thoroughly anthromorphic and a believer in the personification of God. It believes in an impersonal spirit at times. In its moral code "Shall" has no place as in the Mosaic Ten Commandments. In the moral code of the Hindus perfect freedom is given, using *Bidhiling*, which gives freedom to the individual to do something or not. Neither does the Hindu system of thought insist on the duality of matter and spirit and thus attains a unity among things, spiritualising everything that is. It is, therefore, tolerant of all existences through which God may manifest Himself. It does not claim to be monopolist of all truths, and so it is anxious to learn new truths from whatever quarter it may come. It is tolerant and catholic and sees the same truth underlying all particulars.

The Hindu is never enthusiastic about preaching his theism or imposing it on others, as he believes that all men, if anxious about truth, will be shewn the way by God himself. Hindu intellectualists are never cocksure about things unseen, as they are in a way intuitionists and want to realise truth in their personal experience. They, therefore, undertake long pedantries, pilgrimages, perform very many kinds of rites and and endeavours. They take the help of intermediaries and Gurus, if they think it to be helpful, but they do not insist on it. They personify God, no doubt, but that also in very many ways.

By applying his reasoning to the personification, a Hindu is not afraid to go to the extreme limit and sink his own personality in the divine personality of God. From the remotest past efforts have been made here to grasp the nature of the individual soul as related to the soul of the universe. Even now thousands of men are diving into the sea of this enquiry to fish for themselves. What is the soul and what is not soul, is a great problem for the Hindu devotee. Superficial readers of the Hindu theistic literature and superficial observers coming from foreign lands can know nothing of these deep-divers. In India, therefore, there have been innumerable scriptures, teachers, incarnations, and dispensations. All religious adepts are welcome here. All preachers are given a hearing; all prophets are honoured and appreciated. The Vedantic system of thought is the widest and deepest. It encourages all to proceed on their own way according to certain discipline for self-purification and attaches importance to desirelessness and detachment from the world. It considers this life as short and transitory and attaches the greatest importance to the unknown future. It is more other-worldly than this-worldly. Hence, the Hindus are not successful in the struggle for existence.

Another important point is that the Aryans have been theists but not insistently monotheistic, as they are believers in immanence or *Bibhuti* and hence not necessarily monolatrous, but polytheistic, and like to worship God in the truths or manifestations of Nature. The formula to "worship God in truth and spirit," they explain as finding and seeing God's *Lila* in the *Rita* or truth of the creation and also in the soul of the devotee. Nay, all Aryan peoples have been idolatrous, though the idolatry of the Greeks, Romans, Babylonians, etc., and that of the Hindus are not the same thing. The Greeks and other races believed in different Gods as different and even jealous personalities; some of them being worse in morals than men. But Hindu Gods are mostly allegorical and are explained as the different aspects of the Reality.[1]

They are merely symbols of the Infinite Truth, just as the universe is regarded as a symbol of the universal spirit. Carlyle represents the universe as the garment of God and as a disguise hiding the Reality. We have to rend this veil to visualise Him.

There is a harmonisation between the Aryan theism and the highest philosophy as well as latest discoveries of science. Sankara fearlessly of all contradictions and demurers says that God manifests himself through every soul. Ram Mohun Roy also says:

> "He, who manifests himself in your soul, *i.e.*, as your Ego, pervades the universe."[2]

The late Dr. J. Jeans, who is a believer among the greatest scientists, says: "Matter is tending to the mind." and again in his *Mysterious Universe*, says: "The Universe begins to look like a great thought than like a great machine. Mind no longer appears as an accidental intruder into the realm of matter; we ought rather to hail it as the creator and governor of the

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१. एकं सद्विप्राः बहुधा वदन्ति ।

२. तोमाते जे आत्मारूपे प्रकाश सेई व्यक्त चराचरे ।

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realm of matter—not of course our individual minds, but the mind in which the atoms out of which our individual minds have grown exist as thoughts." Our Rishis said : "Everything existing is Brahman,"[3] and "Only one is the truth and there is no second."[4]

Hence the difference between the Semitic thought system and the Aryan ultimately is this : The Aryan system attaches importance to immanence and the Semitic to transcendence. The Aryan system is tolerant and not dogmatic, rational and not fanatical. The Semitic system is intolerant and believes in an anthropomorphic God, as it cannot eliminate the difference between matter and spirit, and evil and good. It does not see the unity underlying differences and fails to synthetise that is necessary for peace.

Lastly, we may name the two systems as Semitic and Aryan. The former is prophetic, authoritarian, obligatory and fanatical. It is *Bhaktibadi*. The latter is characterised by individual freedom, self-reliance, originality and rationality. It is *Jnanbadi*. In the Mosaic commandments, the former finds expression, and the latter predominates in the Sermon on the Mount, and in the Upanishad as well as the Gita. The imperative auxiliary "Shall" is used in the commandments. Hence free-will finds very little recognition in the moral code of the Semites. It must be remembered that the Arabs are a branch of the Semitic race. In the Aryan codes of ethics free-will has been substituted in the place of destiny and as such it is rational, utilitarian, tolerant and catholic. The *Bidhiling Bibhakti*, as noted above, is largely used in Hindu ethical codes, and the moral freedom of man is in it an essential point. It is not dogmatic ; neither is intolerant. The systems will be found to have been supplementary to each other and yet some people are more intolerant, while others are more tolerant, and more in favour of individual freedom. Man's progress at certain stages requires commandments and imperative discipline, but his final development is entirely dependent on self-reliance and freedom. Man's higher progress must be the outcome of his rationality. His genius cannot attain its perfection except in the atmosphere of freedom and rationality. Man's imagination must not be shackled by dogmas and articles of faith.

३. सर्व्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म

४. एकमेवाद्वितीं

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CABINET MISSION AND AFTER

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I

The Statement of His Majesty's Government of December 6, 1946, giving their interpretation of the much debated "grouping clause" of the White Paper of May 16 last has created a stir not only in the provinces affected by it but throughout the country and even abroad, inasmuch as it has created new problems and raised new issues, as has been rightly pointed out by Pandit Nehru and others, instead of solving a problem as it was ostensibly meant to do. The Statement has to be read along with the speeches of Mr. Attlee, Sir Stafford Cripps and Lord Pethick Lawrence in course of the debate in Parliament on the Statement. I propose to examine some of the implications of the Statement and its probable repercussion on the course of Indian politics.

It is necessary to begin by giving in brief outline the main features of the White Paper of May 16, 1946. The feature which is of the first and foremost importance is this that the document is based on a recognition of India's right to freedom. Although the British Cabinet would like India to remain within the British Commonwealth of nations, yet India is given perfect freedom in the matter. The second important feature of the paper is the unequivocal rejection of the Muslim League proposal of partition of India in any shape or form and the acceptance of the principle of the innate unity of India. At the same time the authors of the document take note of "the genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu majority rule." The plan of the constitutional structure which they envisage in the White Paper is based on an attempted compromise between these two opposing elements. They did not accept the Congress scheme for the solution of this difficult problem under which the Provinces were to be accorded full autonomy, the Centre was to have powers in a minimum number of subjects for the whole of the Union but the provinces at their option could concede to the Centre authority in some matters originally allocated to themselves.

Thirdly, as regards States it was provided that in the new set-up, paramountcy could neither be retained by the Crown nor transferred to the new Government of an independent India. With the transfer of power all authority would vest in the Princes, and the adjustment with the new Government would be effected by negotiation and agreement.

Fourthly, the main outlines of the constitutional structure to be set up, as settled by the Cabinet Mission on the basis of the largest measure of agreement among the different parties and by way of compromise are set forth in Paragraph 15 of the document. It is made clear that the Constituent Assembly is to fill in the details themselves within the framework of these basic principles which must be accepted by all parties entering the Constituent Assembly as the nucleus and 'an essential part' of the constitution to be framed by them. A heterogeneous body of men with opposing viewpoints cannot be brought together in pursuit of a common venture without some working basis of agreement. According to the Mission, this is supplied by them in these principles, as the parties

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themselves failed to arrive at such a common basis through the negotiations conducted under their aegis. This was necessitated just to bring them together and to give them a start, after which they would have to settle their differences by conference and compromise and eventually to write a constitution by joint endeavour. Their freedom in the matter of writing the constitution would be restricted by the understanding that they all accept these principles, but even this is no real restriction inasmuch as even these may be modified by agreement among themselves. In that sense the Assembly is an 'autonomous,' 'self-governing' and even 'sovereign' body. This is clear from the language of Paragraph 16 of the document which runs as follows :

> "It is not our object to lay out the details of constitution on the above lines, but *to set in motion the machinery* whereby a constitution can be settled *by Indians for Indians.* (Italics ours).
>
> "It has been necessary, however, for us to make this recommendation as to the broad basis of the future constitution because it became clear to us in the course of our negotiations that not until that had been done was there any hope of getting the two major communities to join in the setting up of the constitution-making machinery."

The provisions set forth in Paragraph 15, therefore, constitute the most vital part of the document as they set the contours of the constitution to be drafted by the Assembly. These provisions are :

(1) There should be a Union of India embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects : Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications, and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects. This provision is based on a recognition of the essential unity of India and a concession to the nationalist demand.

(2) The Union is to have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from both British Indian and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting. The creation of a weak Centre with extremely limited powers as well as the safeguard provided against major communal issues being decided by a simple majority vote is a concession to the League to disarm their fear of the Hindu majority at the Centre.

(3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces. This is also a concession to the Muslim League.

(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

These two provisions purport to place the Provinces and the States in the same position in relation to the Union—the latter having enumerated powers and the residuary powers vesting in the units *i.e.*, the Provinces and States, with this difference that the States freed from the shackles of the Paramount power and endowed with plenary powers are to cede to the Union voluntarily the powers allocated to the Union.

(5) Provinces should be free to form Groups with Executives and Legislatures and each Group could determine the provincial subjects to be taken in common. This is a very important provision of which we have to say something later. Here we should only point out that this together with the Provision No. 3 and also the next one firmly entrenches the principle of full provincial autonomy as a corner-stone of the constitution to be made.

(6) The constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of ten years and at ten-yearly intervals thereafter.

This last provision is designed as much to ensure provincial autonomy consisting in their freedom to review their position afresh at the interval of every ten years in the light of the working of the constitutional plan during the period, as to keep the door open for such provinces as reluctantly entered the Union to exercise their right to secede after this period if even at the end of this period they are not persuaded to stay in—a right on which the Muslim League were so very insistent. The Congress, on the other hand, held, in the light of the experiece in U.S.A., that secessionists would be won over to the cause of the Union if they worked together for a time in the Union in a spirit of co-operation and comradeship and at the same time they would not forcibly keep in the Union any parts which would still continue to be unwilling partners. This provision is intended to meet both these points of view.

The document then sets forth the procedure for the composition of and *modus operandi* of the constitution-making body. The authors of the document admit that the best method of composition of the constituent assembly would be to constitute on the basis of universal adult franchise, but as that would involve quite unacceptable delay they adopt the next best and more practical method, *viz.*, to elect it through the newly elected provincial legislative assemblies as electoral colleges. Seats have been assigned to the provinces on the basis of and in proportion to population roughly in the ratio of one seat to a million. The quota of seats of each province again has been distributed among three communities—General, Muslim and Sikhs—in proportion to their respective population strength in the province, the representatives of each community being elected separately by the representatives of that community in the provincial assembly. Thus the obnoxious principle of separate electorates has been sought to be kept alive in the constituent assembly also and the canker of communalism with all its dangerous consequences has been sought to be injected in the new constitution at its very inception in spite of the bitter experience of its working for the last half century. We regard this as the most obnoxious and mischievous feature of the whole plan as also the other provision to split up the country for the purpose of constitution-making for the provinces artificially into Sections on the basis of Hindu majority and Muslim majority with a view to perpetuating communalism in Indian politics and to stem the tide of nationalism. This is again an attempt to appease the Muslim League at any cost and the members of the Mission make no secret of their intention in the matter. Sir Stafford Cripps in a statement, dated December 6, made in course of the India debate in Parliament offers a philosophical justification of the arrangement by putting forward the so-called "balance

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theory" which is another name for the imperialistic policy of 'counterpoise' consistently followed throughout the period of British rule in India. He observed :

"There were two principles, both democratically sound, but which were very hard to match together in a single process.

"The first was the right of the majority to determine its own future without any veto or prohibition from any minority. The second was the right of minorities to enjoy freedom and a full voice in the determination of their own future without suppression by the majority."

The creation of the Sections is nothing but an attempt at striking a balance between these two principles. The country has been in effect, though not in theory, divided into three distinct communal zones, one with a preponderant Hindu majority and two areas with a Moslem majority though not so overwhelming, the idea being to set off Hindu domination in the one by Muslim domination in the other two and to use the mutual jealousy and distrust, for the perpetuation of the hold of a third party. The problem would not have been acute if the two Moslem majority sections were composed of regions, all with a clear Moslem majority; but as it is, the Section B, the largest province, *viz.*, the Punjab has only a slight Moslem majority in the total, having certain districts with a clear non-Muslim majority and inhabited by a compact, virile, politically self-conscious community, *viz.*, the Sikhs, too proud of their political past to merge their existence in a poitical unit in which they would have no voice, while in the Section C, the Province of Assam as a whole has a preponderating non-Muslim majority and having a clear non-Muslim majority in all districts except one and the Province of Bengal though she has a slight Muslim majority as a whole has a number of districts including Calcutta with clear non-Muslim majorities. The creation of these two provinces into a Muslim zone with a view to satisfying the Muslim League demand for Pakistan cannot but introduce new complications as is already evident. The attempt at solving one problem has started new problems without also solving it, as intended.

The procedure to be followed at different stages in the process of constitution-making for the Provinces and States and Groups of Provinces, if decided upon, and the Union, is then set forth in detail. Special provision is made for the protection of the interests of the minorities through an Advisory Committee representative of such interests.

The next section of the State paper is devoted to the interim arrangements. It recommends the immediate setting up of an Interim Government having the support of the major political parties as much to facilitate and speed up smoothly the process of constitution-making as to cope with the danger of imminent famine and the manifold problems of post-war reconstruction and development facing the country, which can best be tackled by a Government enjoying popular support. Such a Government was assured of the fullest measure of support by the British Government in the performance of its functions and in effecting a rapid and smooth transition. When the process of constitution-making is completed, transfer of power by the British Government will have to be effected by a Treaty with the Constituent Assembly.

(To be continued)

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TASKS BEFORE UNESCO*

Peace Through Science, Education, Culture

By SIR SARVAPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN

We have listened to an important, interesting and comprehensive report by the Executive Secretary. It is inspired by a noble, and if I may say so, a prophetic vision of one world united not merely politically and economically but in mind and spirit. We in India believe that if peace is to be achieved, it should be achieved not negatively by the imposition of disciplinary measures or the use of sanctions, but by the fostering of goodwill and understanding among the peoples of the world. The political organs of the UNO are engaged in the negative task of preventing acts of aggression. We are assigned the positive function of building peace in the minds of men through science, education and culture. The Executive Secretary's report gives us the blue-prints for the development of what one may call a world brain, a world mind, or a world culture, which alone can be the basis of a world authority or a world government.

UNO—Hope of World

During the progress of the war we called upon millions to suffer and lay down their lives in order that the inheritance of civilisation may be preserved, that a Commonwealth of free nations be built. Millions died and more millions bore suffering of an inconceivable character that humanity may live in peace. They have bequeathed to us a legacy, and we are the trustees for them. How are we carrying on the trust? The world is scared, terribly scared. We are afraid of ourselves, we are afraid of the atom bomb, we are afraid of we know not what. When we look at the way in which the embittered politicians talk to each other, talk at each other, we sometimes feel that we are in 1939, and not 1946. The play goes on, only the actors change.

The one ray of light in all this darkness, the one feature of hope in this world of gloom is the UNO, the great idea born of this blood-stained earth. We must see to it that the new-born baby is not strangled by the cynicism of politicians. We regret to find that our organization is not yet universal in its present membership. I listened with pleasure to the statement made by the Secretary that as soon as the Peace Treaties are concluded, the defeated nations will be welcomed into the UNESCO. The Secretary referred to the conflicting ideologies between East and West, between Communism and individualism which are competing for the mastery of the world today. I do not know whether the conflict is really an irreconcilable conflict of rival faiths. The two countries mentioned by him, the United States and Soviet Russia, are both

* *Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan's address at the First Session of the UNESCO General Conference at Paris.*

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signatories to the Charter of the United Nations believe in Charter lays down that all the signatories believe in the fundamental rights of human beings, in the equality of race and nations, large and small. Only both the United States and Soviet Russia have to travel a long distance before they can approximate to the ideals which they have supported. Fundamental rights of human beings include equality of educational, economic and political opportunities. These great privileges which till now were limited to certain classes require to be extended to the whole community. Such a democratic extension will mean regulation by State and economic planning. Again, racial dogmas were beaten on the battlefield, but they are still undefeated in our hearts. If we turn to Soviet Russia, she has worked for economic justice and racial equality in a very effective manner. All that is necessary to bring the two groups nearer each other is a more loyal discharge of the obligations and ideas which the UNO Charter imposes on the signatory nations. The Western democracies will have to work for economic justice and abolition of race inequalities, and Soviet Russia will have to place greater emphasis on the dignity and freedom of the human spirit than she has been accustomed to do. Economic justice makes freedom possible, but does not create freedom. I do hope that the conflict will be resolved and the nations will get nearer each other.

Rehabilitation of Man

The UNESCO stands not merely for a new set of adjustments but for a new way of life, a new outlook, a new philosophy which will inspire humanity. We in our country believe that such a philosophy must be devoted to spiritual values. The example of Axis powers is a warning to us. Germany and Japan were great in intellectual achievements, scientific development, industrial efficiency and military strength, but they failed in the last war. They failed because they were lacking in wisdom and understanding.

On the last day of August 1946, when the prisoners of Nuremberg were called upon to state any pleas before judgment was pronounced, one of them Franck said :

> "Adolf Hitler, the chief accused, is not here to give the German people his final summing up. It is not technical shortages or hitches that lost us the war. God pronounced his judgment on Hitler and on us who, our hearts away from God, served Hitler."

When a nation ostentatiously turns away from God and concentrates on worldly success and prosperity it meets with its doom. What is essential today is not so much the rehabilitation of schools and libraries, or shops and factories as the rehabilitation of man, we must re-create man if we are to re-create a new world community. Now-a-days we find many who do not believe in God, who do not believe in metaphysics, but if anyone should say to us we are untruthful or unloving we will feel offended. Truth and love are the teachings of every religion. Truth asks us to respect the individual who is the bearer and carrier of values. and love asks us to respect humanity. The individual and humanity are the two poles of the world and other groupings are only intermediate stages.

The present perilous condition of the world is due to its positivist attitude of life, to its aversion of metaphysics, to its flight from spiritual values. To improve the world we have to return to an idealist view, to philosophic thought, to spiritual values.

UNESCO and the East

We have listened to the budget figures. If the programme is accepted we may have to spend about 7½ million dollars. Compared with the magnitude of the work this sum is not excessive : at any rate not for the wealthy countries, but for poor nations as ourselves we wish to make sure that the different proposals are all essential for the work of the UNESCO. We shall be glad to participate in the great work and pay our share if we are satisfied that it will further the work of the nations.

I must say that we should not repeat the mistake of assuming that the world consists only of Western Europe and North America. In making appointments to the Secretariat staff we should realize that there are large parts of the world with immense manpower, and abundant natural resources. India and China, for example : they have their great traditions also, and these countries must be encouraged to take a larger part in the authorities of the organizations of UNESCO than has been done hitherto. Salaries to the staff must be based on the needs and should not encourage careerists to take to them. Loyalty to the ideals of the UNESCO, personal fitness, technical efficiency and geographical distribution must be taken into account.

Regarding the relief and rehabilitation programme, I hope areas devastated by allied bombing, areas in the East which have been affected by the war will also be kept in view.

The Secretary in his report referred to countries which are educationally backward on account of the accidents of history. Our country is one such. In India 16 per cent of men and 4 per cent of women are literate. We are, therefore, immensely interested in the anti-illiteracy campaign of the UNESCO. Again, even in normal conditions, millions of Indians live at starvation level, and many more have perhaps enough to eat, but not enough to keep away disease. We shall, therefore, welcome the establishment of an international institute for nutrition in India.

Need for New Values

My greatest concern, however, is that we, the intellectuals, should not betray our vocation. We must have not only humility but also integrity. We have been responsible for giving a false twist to young minds, for poisoning the very springs of krowledge. We take hold of docile, impressionable youth and twist it out of shape and make people innocent of any warlike intentions into men prepared for dealing death and destruction. We blast the charities of the human heart and strip the spirit of its ardour. The great intellectual the typical intellectual for the Western world is Socrates. He controlled his life by the principle of self-determination. When he came to a clash with the society of which he was a member, he, to use the words of our great Leader, "civilly disobeyed" the mandates of the State. How many of us are prepared to resist the encroachment of the State on our intellectual integrity ? How many of us are prepared to incur political martyrdom and refuse to carry out the behests of the State when they are inimical to our inward integrity ?

We are a priesthood of the spirit. No false words should escape our lips, no wrong thought should enter the mind. I am concerned that we in this body should stand above politics and for universal values. A German thinker said :

> "Not round the inventors of new noises, but round the inventors of new values does the world revolve. Inaudibly it revolveth."

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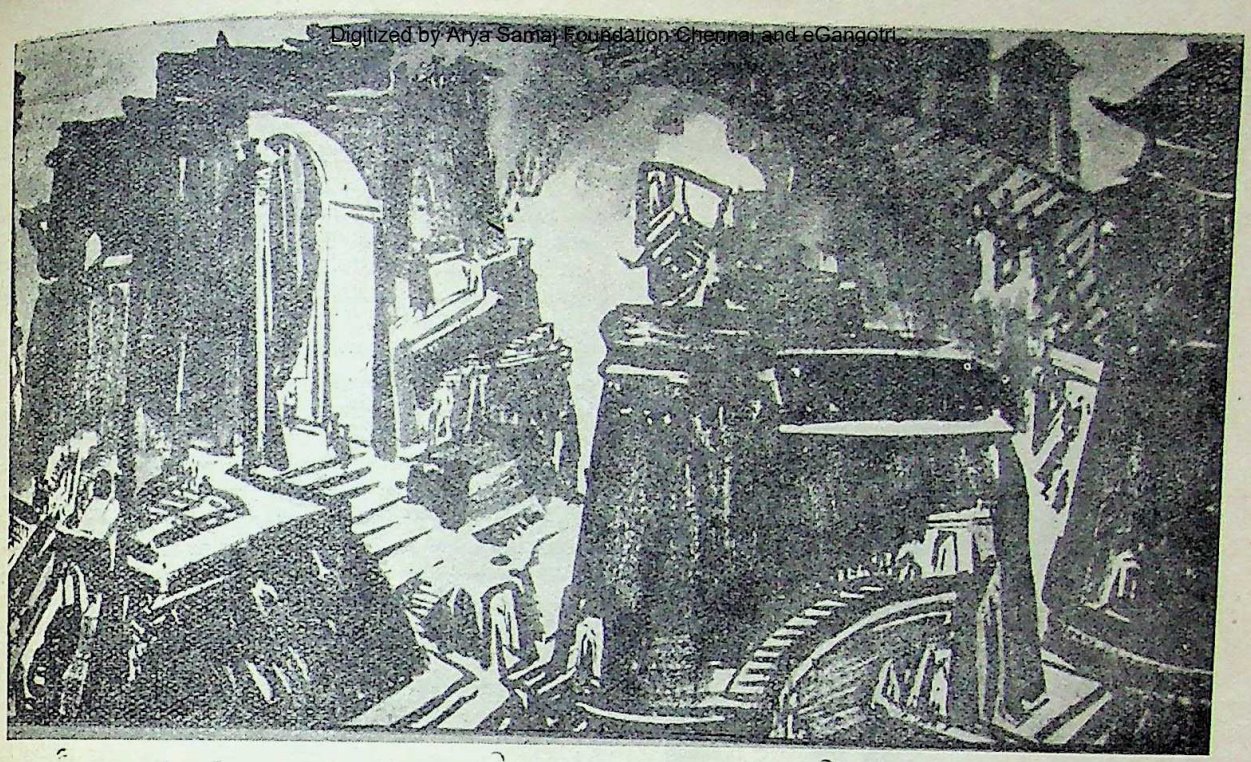
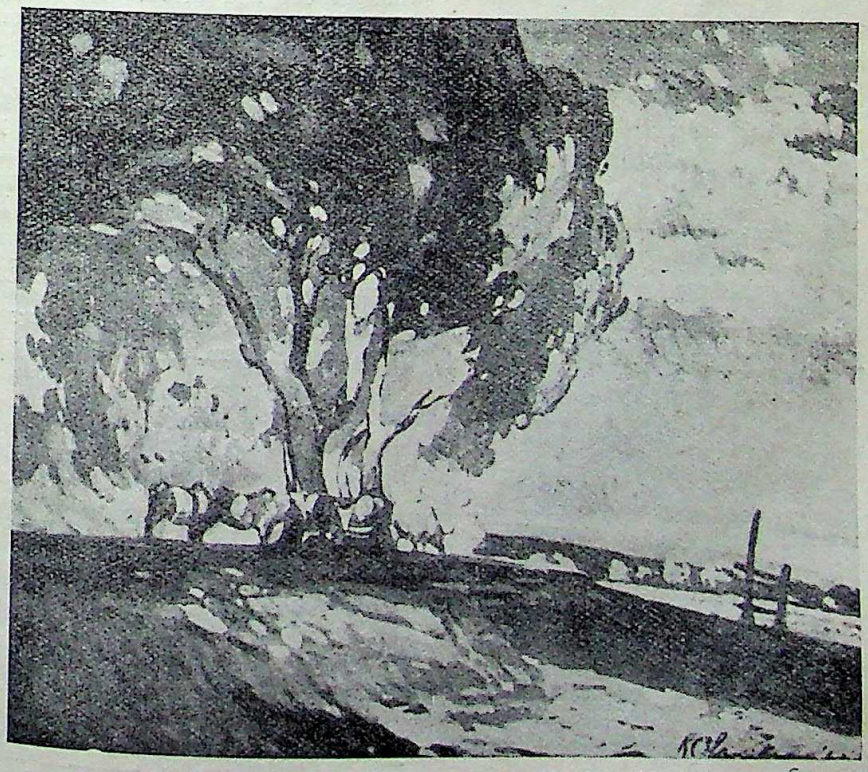


Black and White by S. Dhanapal

SOUTH-INDIAN SOCIETY OF PAINTERS' ANNUAL EXHIBITION

By AN ARTIST

"With the dawn of political independence confronting India, if history means anything, it should be accompanied by a desire on the part of the people of this country for self-expression in every possible form. It



December Morning
By K. C. S. Panicker

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may well mean that we have before us a renaissance in the sphere of Art." Thus observed His Excellency Sir Archibald Nye, Governor of Madras, declaring open the first Annual Exhibition of the South Indian Society of Painters at the Madras Museum.

Man and Woman
By S. K. Mukherjee

Mr. D. P. Roy Chowdhury, Vice-President of the Society, welcoming His Excellency, explained the circumstances under which the Society came into existence, and the inspiration it owed to its founder President, Col. D. M. Reid. Dr. Aiyappan, Joint Secretary, proposed a vote of thanks.

Well over three hundred exhibits are displayed, of which Roy Chowdhury's paintings and sculptures form an important section. Artists and connoisseurs of our country are familiar with the works of Roy Chowdhury. His versatility and mastery over different mediums and almost uncanny draftsmanship are too well-known to be mentioned again.

The average standard of the Western water-colour section is really high, with a tendency on the part of the artists to paint landscapes. The paintings by K. C. S. Panicker in this section are outstanding. He is a gifted composer and his handling of water-colour is very pure and satisfying. *Green Pond* by this artist is a small landscape which has been delicately handled and is remarkable for its fine finish.

The Pool by A. Ramanuja Rao is a good example of broad treatment and pleasing tonal quality.

Old Pump-shed by Rumale is a fine piece of water-colour, very novel in execution.

Winding Road by Gopal Ghosh, in spite of its broad and powerful brush-strokes, appears to be more an experiment than a serious work by an experienced artist.

Portrait Sketch by Betty Hesterlow is surprisingly powerful and unusual for one who is still only a student in an art-school.

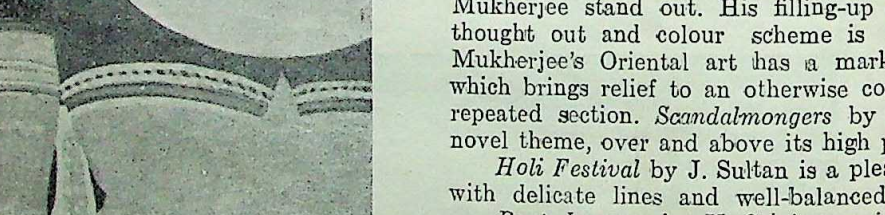
Ruins by S. Dhanapal shows free yet definite and purposeful handling of the brush.

In the Oriental section, the works of Sushil Kumar Mukherjee stand out. His filling-up of space is well thought out and colour scheme is delightful. S. K. Mukherjee's Oriental art has a marked individuality which brings relief to an otherwise common and much repeated section. *Scandalmongers* by this artist has a novel theme, over and above its high pictorial qualities.

Holi Festival by J. Sultan is a pleasing composition with delicate lines and well-balanced spaces.

Boat Journey by K. Srinivasan is another picture which deserves special mention. It has been worked out in a subdued tonal key which adds charm to it.

The standard oil-colour section is very poor and so also the commercial section. Otherwise the general standard of the exhibition is very high and leaves no room for criticism.



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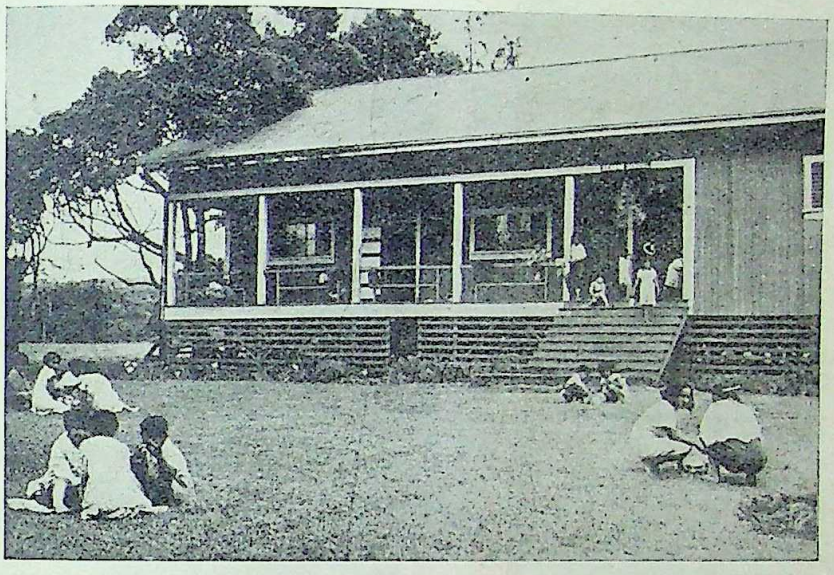
HAWAII MAY BECOME 49TH U. S. STATE

THE Territory of Hawaii, in the North Pacific Ocean some 1,500 miles west of North America, with a population of some 500,000, provides an outstanding example of economic and cultural development of the kind that is possible under the Government of the United States. In the relatively brief 47-year period since the islands were annexed to the United States at the request of their own people they have come to the point where they are ready for statehood.

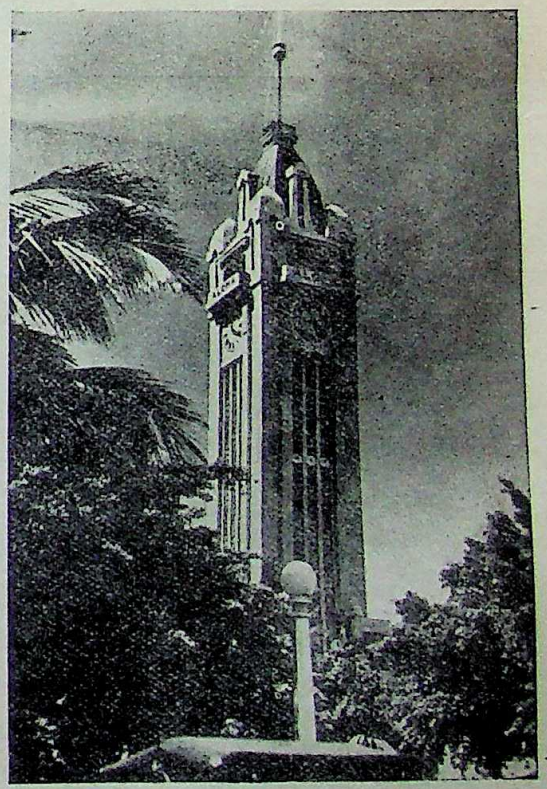


A typical rural school, on the Island of Mauai, at Keanae, Hawaii

Affirming the readiness of Hawaii to become one of the sisterhood of states that go to make up the United States, the people of Hawaii voted two-to-one in 1940 to ask Congress for admission to the Union. Moreover, in recognition of this vote, the Department of Interior which, through its Division of Territories and Island Possessions, has general supervision over territories of the United States, is advocating that Hawaii be given the status of a state. President Truman urged statehood in a message to Congress, January 21, 1946, and bills are now pending in Congress which would grant the island territory this status.

Admission to statehood, when granted, will mean certain advantages for the territory which are not now available. When Hawaii becomes a state—like California or Virginia—there can be no discrimination against its exports as compared with those from the states of the mainland. It will be represented in Congress by Senators and Representatives, who will have the same voice in the affairs of the United States as the Representatives from mainland states.

In politics, the people of Hawaii are well advanced, having had long experience in the exercise of free speech, free assembly and a free press as provided in the United States Constitution for all of its citizens. Hawaiians elect their own local officials by secret ballot, just as do the citizens of the various states. The Governor of Hawaii, however, is appointed by the President of the United States, but he must be a resident of the territory. As a territory, Hawaii is represented in the United States Congress by a delegate. Hawaii has a government which functions, with few exceptions, just as does that of any of the 48 states. The legislative power of the territory is vested in a legislature similar to those of the states. It consists of 15 senators and 30



The famous Aloha Tower, Honolulu, Hawaii

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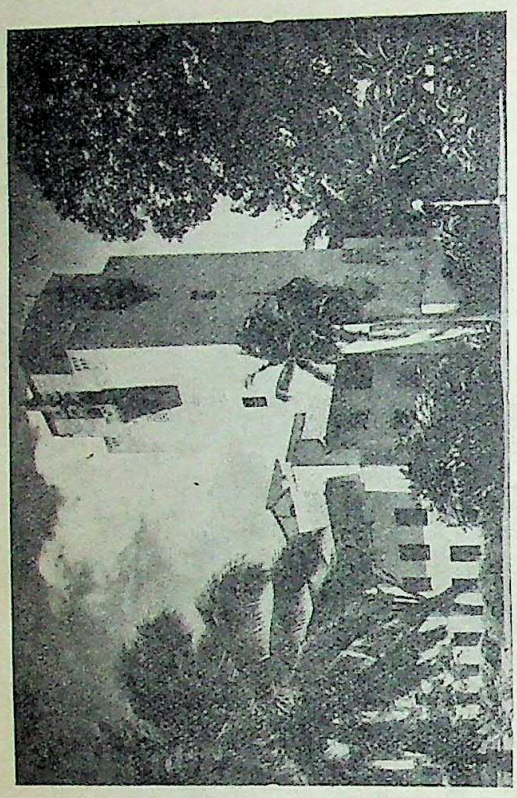
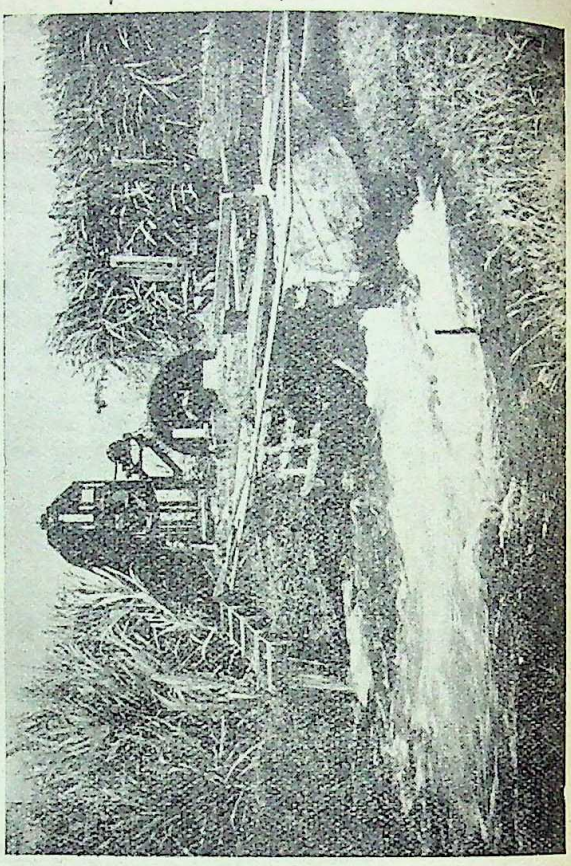
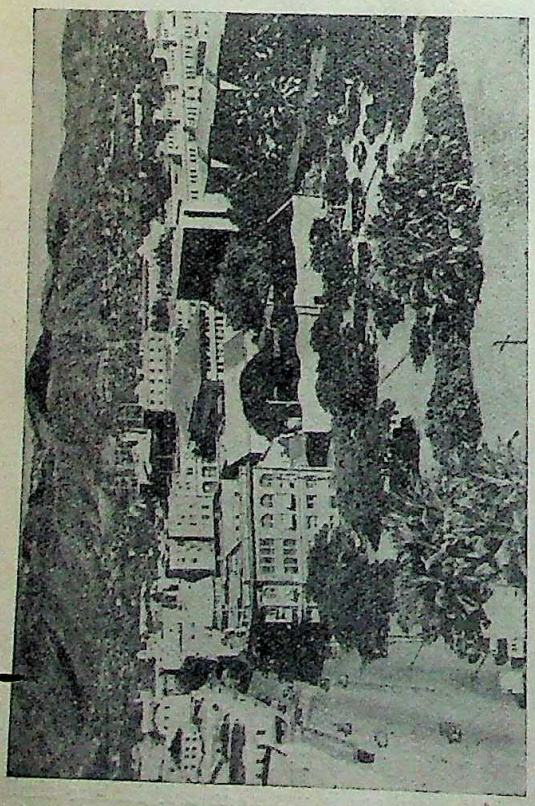


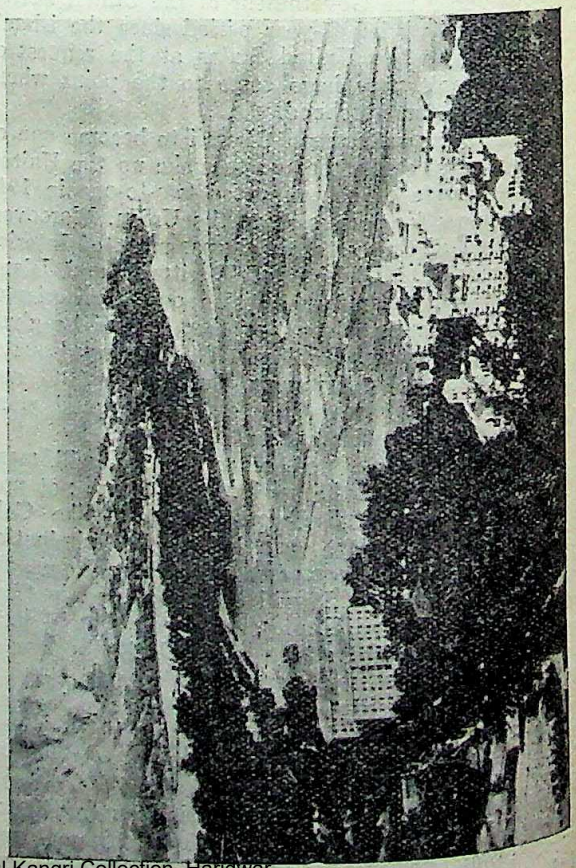
Honolulu's New City Hall is one of the twenty fine new public buildings in this most modern city



Sugar is the main crop on Hawaii—the territory's main source



A portion of the down-town section of Honolulu's business district



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representatives, all elected by the people themselves, using the same kind of secret balloting as that employed by the states.

Many schools now flourish throughout the islands, where elementary education is free just as it is on the mainland. The language taught in the public schools is English, but Japanese, Chinese, and Korean private schools are maintained and in these children of those ancestries are taught their racial language after attending classes in the public schools.

In 1944, there were in Hawaii 167 elementary schools, 30 intermediate, and 25 high schools, with a total enrollment of 81,250 pupils and a staff of 3,091 teachers. In addition there is a normal training school, a reformatory for boys and one for girls, a territorial trade school, a school for the deaf and blind, a school for the feeble-minded, and the University of Hawaii.

The University was founded in 1909, and just prior to the war had a staff of 123. Student enrollment for credit during the 1944-45 school year was 3,500.

Hawaii and the mainland traditionally maintain close economic ties. The territory has imported from the mainland most of its consumer goods and exported to it most of the products of its two major industries, sugar manufacturing and pineapple raising.

Social connections maintained between Hawaiians and friends and relatives on the mainland also are close. This is due in part to business interests, and partly to the fact that Hawaii is known to many thousands of mainland residents who go there for vacations.—*USIS.*

On a Hawaiian sugar plantation a caterpillar hauling two sleds in this cane-harvesting operation

Young pineapple plants being transplanted on one of the largest pineapple plantations of the Island of Hawaii

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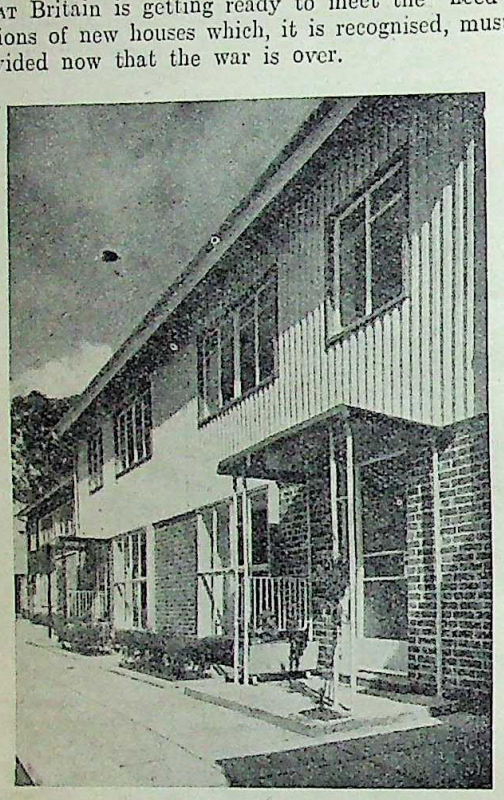
BRITAIN PLANS HER POST-WAR HOMES

New Types of Experimental Houses

By GILBERT McALLISTER, M.A.,
Chairman, London Planning Group

GREAT Britain is getting ready to meet the need for millions of new houses which, it is recognised, must be provided now that the war is over.



The front of one of the experimental houses at Northolt

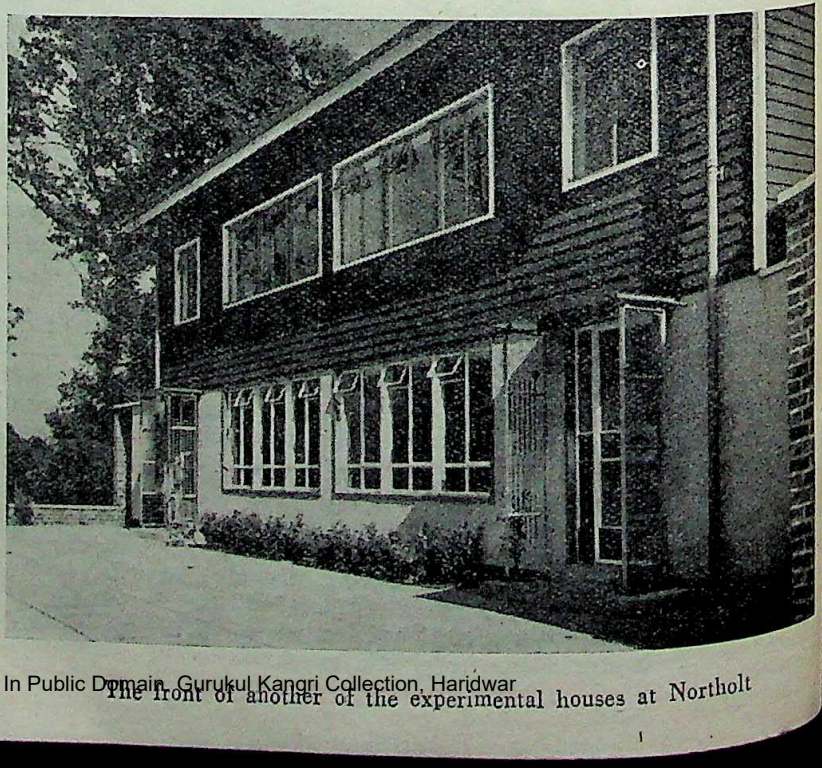
Between the two wars Britain built four million new homes; one out of every three British families got a brand-new house to live in. That was a spectacular achievement by any test, but it is the more remarkable when it is remembered that every one of these houses represented a revolution in living conditions, as compared with those that existed in 1914. The achievement might have been greater still had it not been for the fact that in the first few years after the 1914-18 war, many of the plans prepared had to be scrapped because of shortage of building materials.

It was not until 1923 that rebuilding really got into its stride. After the second European war, the Government is determined that there will be no such time lag. Consequently a great deal of research work has been done by the Ministry of Works, the Ministry of Health, and the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, as well as by many firms and industries otherwise engaged in vital war production.

For weeks, members of local authorities from every part of Great Britain, architects, housewives, builders, as well as quite a large number of the overseas population now resident in London, have been streaming out to Northolt, a London suburb in Middlesex, to inspect thirteen houses which have been built to demonstrate the results of all this work.

The first important point about the houses is that most of them demonstrate the effect of one of the most vital recommendations made by a Ministry of Health Committee under the chairmanship of Lord Dudley; that new houses in the post-war years should have a minimum floor area of 900 square feet. This is an advance of 50 square feet on the standard suggested by the Sir John Tudor-Walters Committee in 1917. Fifty square feet! It is not a great difference arithmetically, but it makes a vast difference psychologically. The 850 square feet house always felt slightly cramped. The additional 50 square feet gives a feeling of spaciousness, of elbow room, of room to breathe, that is quite astonishing. "Space for living," has been the slogan of British housing and planning experts for the last five years. Space in the home and space about the home is the fundamental condition for healthy and happy family life. The Northolt experimental houses show a notable advance towards this ideal.

The second point is their equipment. The kitchens and bathrooms of these houses raise the level of British domestic equipment beyond that enjoyed even by the middle-income group in Britain before the war. The kitchen equipment, pleasantly designed, and constructed



The front of another of the experimental houses at Northolt

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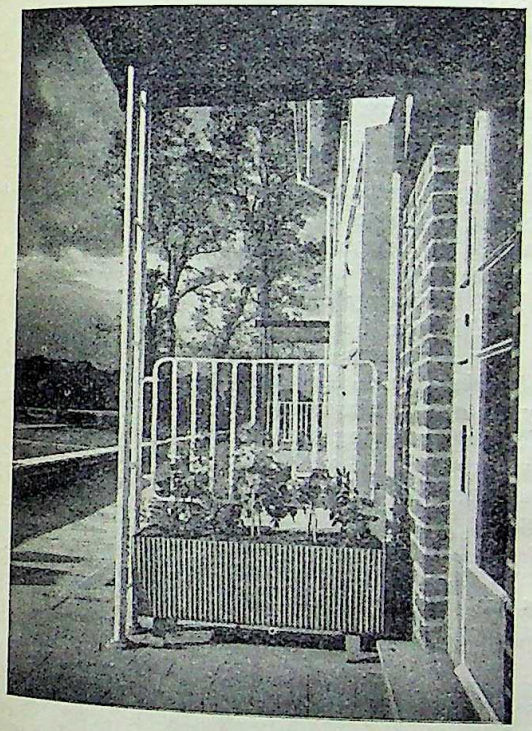
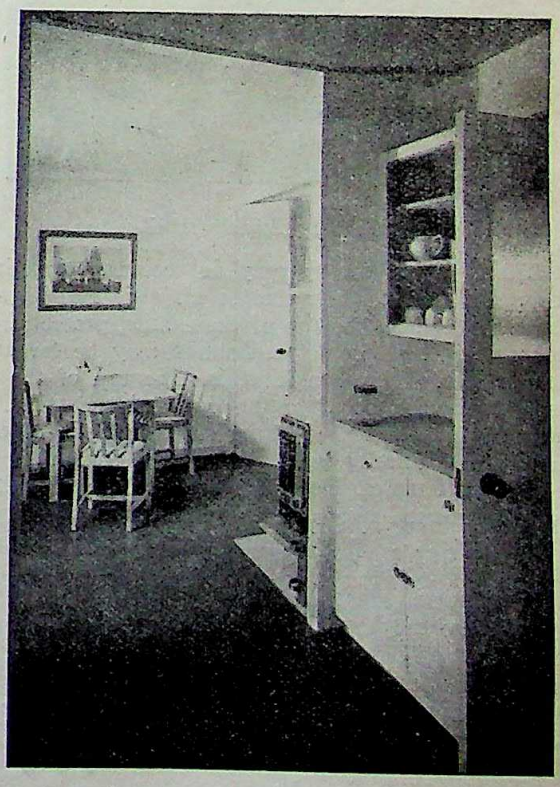
with an eye to the "flow" of work, includes an electric cooker, a refrigerator, a wash copper, a sink with instantaneous hot water (usually supplied by a gas water-heater). Drying racks are set into the wall above the sink.

The houses were erected primarily to demonstrate alternative types of materials, and, although almost half of them are of traditional brick construction, all of them incorporate as far as possible factory-built or pre-fabricated parts. Among others, there are flatted houses, with four houses to a block, each having the minimum of nine hundred square feet floor space. It is impossible as yet to determine the difference in costs of construction, but it has been established that to build an 850-square-feet house with traditional materials took 2,100 man-hours, while the building of a 900-square-feet flat took only 900 man-hours. This is a factor which will undoubtedly count heavily in deciding upon the details of Britain's post-war housing programme—the houses will be needed as quickly as they can be erected, and the demands on building labour will be enormous.



The porch of one of Northolt experimental houses

The kitchen seen from the dining-space in the dining-kitchen



The dining-space seen from the kitchen in the dining-kitchen

All the houses were designed under the supervision of a panel of architects which included Mr. L. H. Keay—the Director of Housing for the City of Liverpool, who was responsible for some of the largest and best housing schemes erected in Britain between the wars—Mr. C. H. James, and Mr. Cecil Howitt. In addition, there were built on the same site four houses designed by Mr. Frederick Gibberd for the British Iron and Steel Federation. For these houses Mr. Donovan H. Lee acted as consulting engineer.

The houses, built in traditional materials, follow a familiar and traditional British pattern. They are in good taste and of sound construction. They would fit harmoniously into the British landscape and would be equally suited to the normal urban pattern or the village street. But it is not in any sense a disparage-

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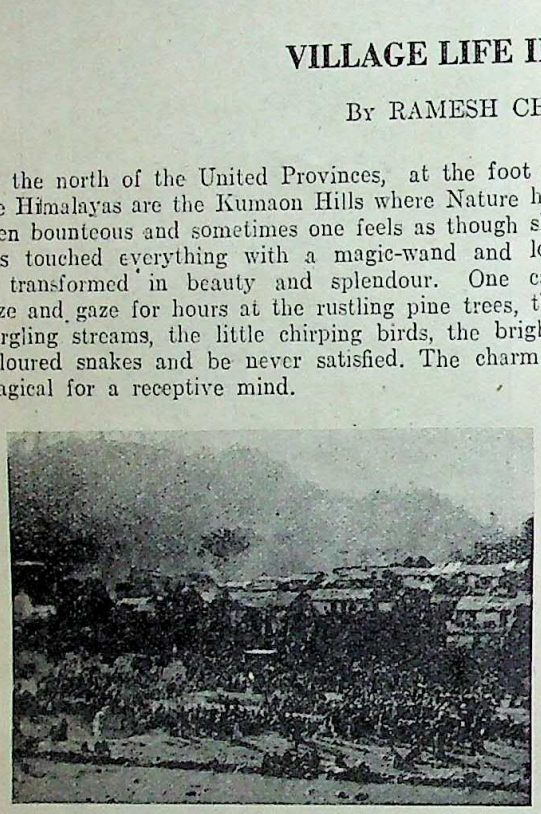
ment of the traditional house to say that the steel-framed houses designed by Mr. Gibberd, with an external wall of brick to the first floor level, and having a steel sheet on fibre-board above, are conspicuous as houses which are alive, vital and colourful. Indeed, working within the limits of the standards laid down by the Government, Mr. Gibberd has achieved an essay in house design, both externally and internally, which will exercise an influence on low-income house-building not only in Great Britain but throughout the world for many years to come. The people of Britain can look forward to acquiring houses that will be spacious and convenient, and at the same time aesthetically pleasing.

——:O:——

VILLAGE LIFE IN KUMAON HILLS

By RAMESH CHANDRA JOSHI, M.A.

In the north of the United Provinces, at the foot of the Himalayas are the Kumaon Hills where Nature has been bounteous and sometimes one feels as though she has touched everything with a magic-wand and left it transformed in beauty and splendour. One can gaze and gaze for hours at the rustling pine trees, the gurgling streams, the little chirping birds, the bright-coloured snakes and be never satisfied. The charm is magical for a receptive mind.



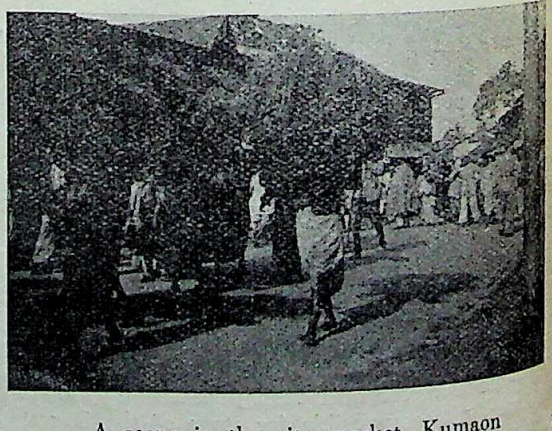
Annual Fair at Bageshwar, Kumaon

The hills are mostly grey in colour, sometimes even black. Behind them are the majestic Himalayas—stainless, white. At the top of these hills, generally one finds a temple although the habitat may be far away from it. There is reason for this. The top of the hill has a fascination both for the eye and the mind. It commands a beautiful sight and is the abode of calm and peace. Naturally, such places were chosen for the erection of temples. Even the tops of the Himalayas have been named after different Goddesses only because of their charm. It is significant that Everest which is not so grand to look at has not been given any name by the Hindus.

On these grey and black hills are dotted here and there tiny white houses with sloping roofs. They are in groups of ten to twenty and are separated by a distance of a few furlongs or a few miles. These are the villages where the simple hill-folks lead a simple life. Away from the din and humdrum of city life, they get here the Miltonic calm.

Below and above these houses are the fields that appear like a series of steps from a distance. Nature's green carpet is spread over them when the crops are standing. Even when there is no crop or when they are covered with snow, they have a beauty of their own. The earth is hard and the yield from it is very little. Only enough is produced to satisfy the daily needs of the people. The hard labour that they have to put in in order to eke out a living has made them strong and sturdy. In this respect there is little difference here between the two sexes in contrast to conditions prevailing in other parts of India. Men and women work together inside the house and also in the fields. Hence women in the Kumaon villages have a very good physique and hence in many parts of the hills women are possessors of exceptional beauty though they may have nothing but rags to adorn their body.

Had they only agriculture to depend upon, their life would have been very hard indeed. But besides this they have some other industries like weaving and bee-keeping which supplement their incomes considerably. In recent times the Government has come to their help by giving them some assistance in the form of proper training and education in the utilization of these resources. However this help has been only lukewarm so far. These villagers have ample enthusiasm for anything new which they think will bring them prosperity. Perhaps it is because of the cool climate and pleasant surroundings. That is why they can make great headway, given a little help and push from out-



A scene in the city market, Kumaon

side. This is amply borne out by the fact that a modern idea will not be scorned at by them. They will always try to get the best out of anything new offered to them. In the field of Education it is a matter of pride that in every home one will find literate people and the more education a man has, the more respect does he have from his fellowmen. The poorest mother will send her children to school. They have been found selling even their jewels to deposit the school fees

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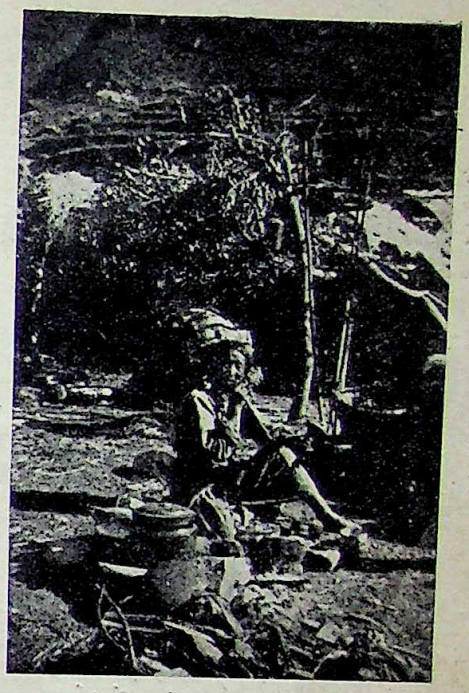
their children. Their enthusiasm for education does not end with the primary education in the village or the college education in the town. Many, who can afford, join the universities and every year a considerable number of students from Kumaon division graduate with distinction. If many of them remain idle, the fault lies in the system of education imparted and not in them.

Another praiseworthy feature of the life of these villages is that the people are immune from so many social evils that eat like a canker into the vitals of society and that are prevalent in almost all parts of India. The dowry system, for example, is absolutely non-existent. One may give or exchange whatever gifts one pleases, but there is no compulsion. Moreover, the bridegroom's party is never a burden to the bride's family. The marriage party arrives in the evening and the next morning it will, without fail, go back. Then there is the feeling of comradeship and friendliness. Any social gathering will have in it both the rich and the poor. This is partly due to the fact that there is no zemindari system in these hills and hence no social evil infiltrating into the ranks of the people.

The climate and natural beauty of Kumaon Hills is praised by all who make a tour of the place. Most visitors, however, satisfy themselves after a short visit to Almora or Naini Tal. They never go to the villages and see the real beauty. Pandit Nehru who is endowed with a poetic mind, makes it a point to visit every year Khali village, fifteen miles from Almora. The pleasant, calm atmosphere of these villages has a sober effect on the mind. The people too are the children of Nature with a smile of simplicity and innocence on their faces.

To keep themselves lively these villagers have their own folk-dances and folk-songs. Folk-dance is prevalent in all the cold countries of the world. Perhaps the original idea was to keep up warm by jumping and going round in circles. This frivolity is indulged in during winter when they have little work to do. Sometimes the Lamas come with spices from Tibet and camp on the outskirts of the villages. They are always received as friends.



A Lama enjoying his pipe of peace

The villagers though simple and kind-hearted are a brave people. Jim Cobett in his book *Man-eaters of Kumaon Hills* tells awe-inspiring tales about his hunt of the fearful tigers of Kumaon Hills. The people though knowing that a certain area was the haunt of a man-eater would go with a brave heart for their work. These man-eaters sometimes take a heavy toll of life. Jim Cobett did a great service by killing many of them. But, then, this only brings to light the pitiable condition of the people who have no arms to defend themselves—even against the beasts!

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THE ROMANCE OF SINDH'S OLDEST TOWN, SEHWAN

By D. B. VOHRA

Sindh occupies a comparatively insignificant position in the India of today, but once upon a time it was the hub of a great civilization. This civilization, however, passed into oblivion and the history of Sindh during the succeeding centuries is one big interrogation mark till we come to comparatively recent times.

Many of the towns mentioned in the old histories of Sindh are now untraceable or utterly reduced to ruins, for example, Alor Brahmanabad and Mansurah. But Sehwan, though dating from very ancient times, is still a flourishing little town. It has somehow escaped the fate which seems to have overtaken almost every capital that grew up in the "unhappy valley of Sindh."

The history of Sehwan has been plausibly traced back to the time of Alexander's invasion. Being located on an eminence almost entirely surrounded by the waters of the Indus and commanding the Laki pass, its strategic importance was recognised from the beginning. When Alexander invaded India, Sehwan (then called Sindimana) was ruled by a King of the hill tribes called Sambos. This Sambos is reported to have surrendered to the conquering armies of Alexander. Alexander is supposed to have built a mighty fort in Sehwan and the huge mound of earth with brick-work peeping through it here and there, which today overlooks Sehwan is believed to be a relic of this fort. But there is no historical validity for this belief. The local name of the ruin is Kaffir Killa, *i.e.*, the Infields' Fort, indicating that it dates from the Hindu period and was captured by the Muslims. An examination of the brick-work in various strata has revealed that the fort was rebuilt at different times, with the lower structure intact. Thus the bricks in the lowest strata are of the style which dates about 2,000 years back while the upper layers have tiles of the type that are still made in Sindh. So there is no doubt that the fort dates from very ancient times, though it is not possible to attribute

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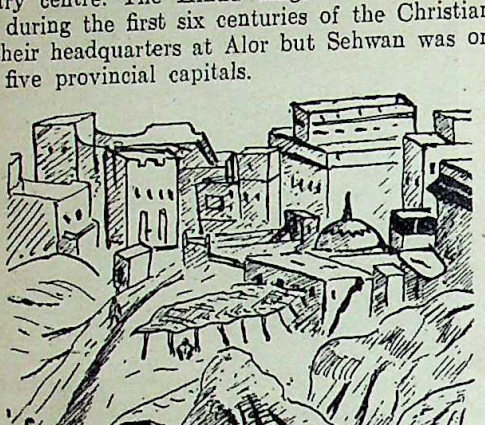
its construction to Alexander with any degree of assurance. On account of its position, Sehwan has always ranked as an important administrative and military centre. The Hindu kings of Sindh who held away during the first six centuries of the Christian era had their headquarters at Alor but Sehwan was one of their five provincial capitals.



A view of the town of Sehwan from the ruins of Kaffir Killa

It appears that when the Arab General Mohammed Kasim landed at Debal in order to punish the Hindu government for its alleged ill-treatment of some Iraqi merchants, Buddhism was a popular religion in Sindh. Kasim took Debal and advancing up the Indus won over the Governor of Nerankot (now Hyderabad). He then directed his attention to Sehwan, but though the fort was wellnigh impregnable and the son of the reigning king Dahar himself was Governor, the Buddhist population refused to fight and Sehwan passed into the hands of Kasim.

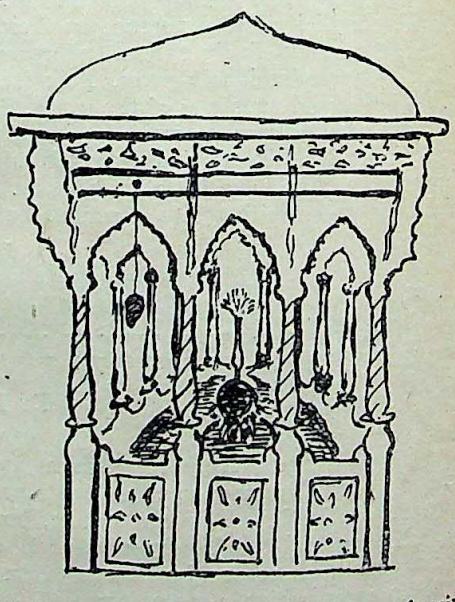
In all the subsequent dynastic struggles in Sindh, Sehwan continued to figure prominently. It was held successively by the Sumrahs, the Sammas, the Arghans and the Tarkhans. It is recorded that when Emperor Humayun after his defeat at the hands of Sher Shah was obliged to flee to Sindh, he attempted to take Sehwan from the Arghan Governor then in command but found the fort too strong for him.

As the years passed, the political importance of Sehwan diminished and we do not find it mentioned very often in the annals of the Moghuls or of the Kalhoras and Talpurs who succeeded. However, what Sehwan lost politically it gained in another direction.

The great saint of Sindh, Sheikh Usman Merwandi, popularly known as Kalandar Lal Shahbaz died in 1235 A.D. and his remains were enshrined at Sehwan by the Emperor Feroze Tuglak. Since then, Sehwan has attracted from all parts of Sindh thousands of pilgrims annually and though many rulers have since come and gone, the flow of pilgrims has continued without interruption. The Sindhi has a special weakness for saints and will travel many miles and suffer innumerable hardships to pay homage to the memory of a well-known saint. The importance of Sehwan is, therefore, assured even should its commercial and administrative significance disappear.

The Kalandar had selected Sehwan for his meditations, and died here at the great age of 112 years. The spot where he was wont to pray lies a mile or so outside the town, amidst a shady grove of trees, and is deemed a holy place. The tomb of the Kalandar was built by Sultan Feroze Tughluq when he visited Sindh and heard of the spiritual achievements of Lal Shahbaz. The bare tomb was adorned subsequently by other rulers. The beautiful facade of multi-coloured glazed tiles was constructed several centuries later by Ghulam Shah Kalhora, the founder of Hyderabad. Mir Karam Ali of the Talpur dynasty paid his meed of tribute by having the doors and canopy of the shrine overlaid with silver plate.

Suspended from the silver balustrade that encloses the tomb is a big stone weighing over one maund which the Kalandar is reputed to have worn as an amulet. This stone is especially venerated and the superstitious believe that if it is washed with water and the washings drunk by a woman undergoing labour, her labour pains are much relieved.



The Shrine of Lal Shahbaz, Sehwan showing the famous amulet suspended from the silver balustrade

Every year a fair is held at Sehwan in memory of the Kalandar. Hundreds of thousands of devotees flock to the shrine on this occasion and it is curious that these devotees are Hindus as well as Muslims, though this is by no means the only case of its kind in Sindh. The Hindu section of the pilgrims refer to the shrine as Raja Bhartree-ka-Mandra and believe that it contains the remains of the Raja Bhartree. It is possible that the site marks the place where the Raja was cremated

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many centuries before the time of Lal Shahbaz, but there is little doubt that the shrine itself, as it now stands, is that of Lal Shahbaz.

The story of Raja Bhartree's life makes interesting reading. Legend says that he was the very pious ruler of Ujjain and loved his wife dearly. One day a great ascetic presented him with *amar phal* or the ambrosial fruit as a reward for years of devotion at the shrine of Mahadeo. Bhartree passed the gift on to his beloved wife but the Rani was carrying on a secret love affair with an elephant-driver and she gave the precious fruit to her paramour. The elephant-driver in turn made a present of it to a common prostitute and this woman whose god was Mammon took it to the King in the hope of reaping a rich reward of money. Bitter disillusionment staring him in the face, Bhartree asked his wife for the *amar phal*. Her reply was evasive and Bhartree's suspicions were confirmed. He confronted her with the fruit and her shame was so great that she committed suicide. Bhartree then married Rani Pingla, but though she loved him devotedly he could never feel sure of her love for his experience with his previous wife had shaken his faith in woman. One day he went for a hunt and his *shikari* was bitten by a snake. When the *shikari's* wife learnt of this, she immolated herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. Deeply impressed by this token of love Bhartree spoke about it to Rani Pingla. The Rani, however, commented that true love would, in such circumstances, not have required a pyre. Bhartree thought this was mere talk and decided to test his wife's love. When he next went to hunt he dipped his clothes in the blood of a deer he had slain and sent them home through a confidential messenger who was to report that he had been killed in combat with a tiger. When Rani Pingla got the news she prostrated herself before the sun and her spirit left her body. Thus did she vindicate the truth of what she had said. Overcome with grief and remorse Raja Bhartree abandoned his kingdom and moved to Sehwan where he passed the remainder of his days in prayer and meditation. This is the Raja Bhartree to whom the Hindu pilgrims pay their homage.

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PORT-PLANNING IN INDIA

By Prof. V. L. S. PRAKASA RAO and Prof. P. C. CHAKRAVARTI

Port-planning has become an important topic of the day, after an expiry of about 200 years of exploitation. In spite of her favourable geographic position, long coast-line, varied potential resources and of secured position in world's trade and commerce, India did not possess any ship up to the recent times. A few ports were active in India from the beginning of the British rule and those were busy to load raw materials from home and unload finished goods from foreign countries. Chinese Buddhist texts and the itineraries of travellers, bespeak of several ports of India, which estimated not only the geographic but also economic condition of the country.

Ports are the 'doors of ingress from and egress to' the different parts of the earth. "The basic function of a port is to facilitate the transfer of freight and passengers between the water-carriers and the hinterland." This function is transcendent in character. The inherent capacity, the character and quantum of trade, the nature of commercial and transport organisation, the amount of tonnage entered and cleared and the size of vessels determine the status of any port. Ports may again be enunciated as the connecting link between water and overland transport. But ports having facilities for the development of ship-building industry are limited in India.

Indian Trade and Shipping

The past glory and the present insignificance of Indian trade and shipping are too well-known. She handles only 2 per cent of her foreign trade and 25 per cent of her coastal trade. Her tonnage is lowest: only 0·24 per cent of the total world tonnage is owned by her, whereas 24 per cent is owned by U. K., 17 per cent by U.S.A., 8 per cent by Japan, 6½ per cent by Germany and so on. Annual shipping earnings on account of Indian trade and passengers services are 57 crores of rupees out of which, the share of Indian companies does not exceed 7 crores.* The history of Indian trade and Indian shipping is not different from that of the Indian handicraft and handloom industries. Between 1778 and 1854, 56 vessels were launched from Indian dock-yards, the tonnage for 26 ships was between 500 and 1000 and, of 30 ships between 1,000 and 2,300. Indian shipbuilding in ancient times earned world-wide reputation. One experienced British shipbuilder Mr. Jones Hillman said, "An Indian built teak ship, after she has performed six voyages, is equal to one of ours, after one has performed three." Now India can boast of one shipbuilding centre, started against all odds; but it is in its embryonic stage: this is Vizagapatam on the east coast of India, an apology for Glasgow or Philadelphia. Persistent national demands were of no avail because of the discouraging attitude of the Government of India till the outbreak of the World War II which, however, made them become more liberal towards India's demand for a mercantile fleet. To recall the golden lines of Mahatma Gandhi, "Indian shipping had to perish so that British shipping might flourish."

Well-equipped and Ideal Ports

That well-equipped and ideal coastal commercial doors are absolutely essential for a country like India, needs no mention but the nature and number of ports are determined by the coast-line character of a country, which is bounded within rigid geographical limits. There is a host of first class ports on the Pacific coast of North America or a host of those on the Atlantic coast of the Western Europe. Scattered along the 1600 mile-coast of Africa, there are 88 first class harbours. This is due to the submergent nature of coastlines. In

* The inland navigation companies are mostly foreign concerns. Only 63 Indian steamers are in service.

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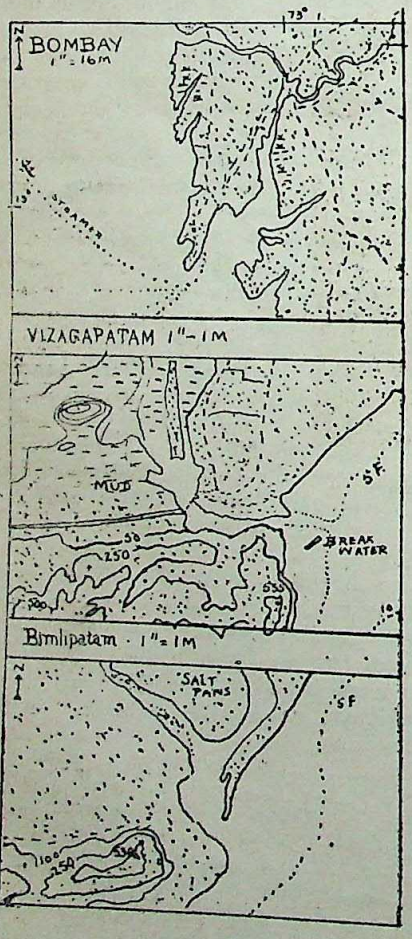
contrast, there are 7 worth mentioning ports along the 4,000 mile-coast line of India, which are mere apologies for Rio de Janeiro or Durban. Of the ports lying along the West and the East coasts of India, those on the west coast have deep sea. This is due to physiographic history and the topographic features of the west coast. The degree of sedimentation, the frequency and intensity of tectonic changes (submergence followed by elevation, denudation chronology and final uplift after the collapse of the upper portion of the anticline of the Rann of Cutch) and the general flow and velocity of currents along the coast played an important part in determining the location and behaviour of ports of the west coast. The paucity of at least such ports on the east coast of India is due to (1) the emergent nature of the coast line, (2) the shallow continental shelf portruded from the general land mass, (3) the delta-building efforts of the rivers, (4) the longitudinal long-shore sand-drift and (5) absence of rich hinterland.

Port Activity in Ancient Times

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there were no proper inland communications; this resulted



in an isolation between ports and their hinterlands. The country was infested with gangs of murderers, the system of sayer or landcustoms was most oppressive and zamindari exactions were illegal, rising up to 200 and 250 per cent: in spite of all these difficulties, Indian ports functioned actively. In those days the productivity of hinterland, in spite of the absence of proper communications, influenced port activity more than intrinsic value and commercial location of a port, whereas today, the case is quite opposite. Hinterland of a port may be created, as in the case of Vizagapatam. From Tavernier's account (1631-1668) we learn that Masulipatam, at present one of the defective ports of the east coast of India, was the only port provided with the best anchorage in the whole of Bay of Bengal. From this port, vessels regularly sailed for Pegu, Siam, Arakan, Cochin-China, etc. The seven major ports of today (Bombay, Madras, Karachi, Calcutta, Cochin, Vizagapatam and Chittagong) were mere fishing villages as late as the first half of the nineteenth century.

The Ports of India

Along the Konkan-Malabar and Coromandel coasts, there are altogether 200 ports, of which the respective minor ports were 75 and 100. Classification into major and minor ports has so long been done in an arbitrary way and this requires revision. In future, the classification of Indian ports should be on the basis of geographical conditions which include defective road-steads (Bimlipatam), effective road-steads (Coconada), natural harbours (Cochin), effective ports (Madras, Bombay, Karachi, Calcutta) and ports or harbours without productive hinterlands. (Vizagapatam). Such a classification offers a sound basis for port-planning schemes. The seven major ports of India are not without defects. The scope for further expansion of ports is limited in case of Madras or Bombay. Again, the west coast ports and even Madras are only seasonal ports. Where the season is long (8 to 9 months in the year) the physical feature in the form of shallowness of harbour entrance channel is not favourable. A ship of 80 feet draft is the maximum accommodating capacity of Bombay or Karachi port. Peak annual trade capacity of the west coast ports is 10 million tons; that of Madras is 2 million tons and that of Vizagapatam is 9.00 000 tons.

Karachi

Situated in Lat. 24 deg.—47 ft. North, Long. 68 deg.—58 ft. East, Karachi is the nearest port in India to Europe. It is provided with a splendid natural harbour having an extensive hinterland. Its importance is increased with the opening of the Suez Canal. In the year 1933, the value of foreign trade was about Rs. 61 crores. The principal exports are wheat, cotton, barley, rice, oilseeds, wool, hides and skins, etc., and the principal imports are cotton and woollen piece-goods, sugar, machinery, iron and steel, mineral oils, etc.

Bombay

Situated on the Bombay island in Lat. 18 deg.—55 ft. North, Long. 72 deg.—54 ft. East, Bombay is the main gate-way and entrepot for the overseas trade of Western and Central India. The natural deep sea water harbour, long arteries of transport and rich hinterland with navigable rivers have increased the volume of trade. It is the second city of the Indian Empire. In 1933, its foreign trade was about Rs. 150 crores. The chief exports are cotton, coal, hides, grain, manganese ore, etc., and the chief imports are cotton manufactures, hardware, metals, machinery, kerosene oil, sugar, timber, etc.

Calcutta

It is the largest city in India; situated in Lat. 22 deg.—33 ft. North, Long. 38 deg.—21 ft. East,

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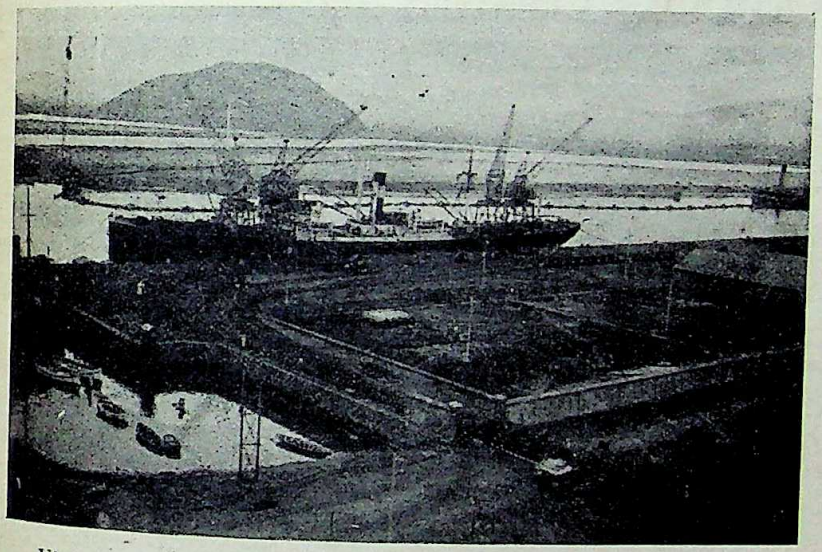
the port stands on the river Hooghly about 80 miles from the sea. The navigable approaches to the port are being constantly dredged ; yet they require improvements. The fact that systematic river training is needed, has not escaped the attention of the authorities. A ship canal scheme known as Kidderpore-Diamond Harbour Ship Canal is under consideration. Calcutta owes its commercial prosperity to its well-connected and rich hinterland. In 1938, the foreign trade through this port amounted to Rs. 140 crores. The chief exports are jute, tea, lac, iron, oilseeds and cotton goods and the principal imports are cotton goods, metals and machinery, salt, petroleum, etc.

Madras

Having a sheltered artificial harbour like Capetown, the port is situated on the east coast of India in Lat. 13 deg. — 6 ft. North and Long. 80 deg. — 18 ft. East, two arms projecting from the shore, with an entrance on the north-east corner, from the harbour.



Vizagapatam Harbour is going to be developed as a sheltered deep sea port, capable of accommodating ships at least up to 650 feet in length with drafts up to 30 feet

Courtesy: Ratnam & Co., Vizag.

An outer sheltering arm protects the entrance. Administrative factors played a more important part in moulding the destiny of the port. The principal exports are ground-nuts, hides and skins, raw cotton, ores, manures, tobacco, etc., and the principal imports are sugar, building materials, rice, manures, timber, motor cars, coal, railway plant, cotton twist and yarn, piece-goods, tanning substances, glassware, paper, etc.

Vizagapatam

(Lat. 17·42 deg. North, Long. 83·2 deg. East). The port is situated on the Northern Circars coast about midway between Madras and Calcutta. Once, the proposal to close the port was actually on the anvil but was dropped out with the inception of shipbuilding industry in 1940-41. Now, it is considered to be one of the major ports of India and has become a port of call of all ocean-going and coastal traffic steamers. The ownership of the port is oscillating between the B. N. Railway Co. and the Government. In no country in the world is a port with great potentialities like Vizagapatam, kept in cold storage. Manganese ore, timber and rice, oilseeds, cotton, etc., are the chief exports, the principal imports being petroleum, jute, machinery, grains, piece-goods, etc.

Table I

Share of Ports in the foreign trade of India :

	Import	*Export*	*Total*
Bombay	42·16	29·49	75·65
Karachi	12·96	14·22	27·18
Calcutta	32·12	58·45	90·57
Madras	11·18	9·7	20·88
Vizagapatam	0·7	0·4	0·47

Table II

Value of the total trade of the four premier ports of India. Average of three years ending 1935 :

	Import	*Export*	*Total*
	£	£	£
Bombay	55,891,558	83,938,772	139,830,330
Calcutta	25,868,731	42,263,048	68,131,779
Karachi	18,464,186	15,663,388	34,127,574
Madras	12,868,731	8,564,345	21,245,075

Ports' Life-histories

The life-history of Indian ports is really interesting. Their development is in tune with *laissez faire* theories and imperialistic programmes ; political and strategic factors outweighed geographical factors. Some ports practically ceased to function (Coringa, Injeram, Narasapur of Godavari Delta), some are receding into background due to natural or economic causes (Kalingapatnam, Baruva, etc.—East coast of India), some are thriving because of vested interests in spite of unfavourable natural factors (Masulipatam, east coast of India) and some have almost reached their upper limit of expansion (Madras, Bombay, etc.). The function of some of the ports is becoming more and more diverse. Vizagapatam Harbour may be poor, but a rich hinterland and vested interests can turn it into an effective port like Madras or Los Angeles. A good natural harbour need not necessarily be an important port : the natural harbour of Guautanamo Bay in Cuba and Pago-Pago in Samoa are not active sea ports because of the absence of hinterlands. The same is the case with Burutisland in Scotland.

Conclusion

Great ports of the world are developed to altruistic ends. In addition to developing new ports like Sika (Gulf of Cutch) or Bhatkal (outlet for Mysore State) as recommended by the Ports Committee (1946) or say, Dumrah on the Orissa coast, there may be also a necessity to close some ports, where, of course, the conditions justify. Bimlipatam (east coast of India) is a case in point ; it is a minor defective roadstead. That a port's location, function and status are controlled by geographical factors like physiography, climate, coastal erosion, character and nearness to hinterland, transport facilities and character and value of trade, is axiomatic. Port development necessitates the planning of the environment of the port. Character of the environment

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may be favourable for the development of new industries : all these create hard problems for the town-planner. The port-planner should be conversant with the volume, value and character of trade of different ports and the nature of competition existing between them. He should completely analyse the economic-geographical conditions of both the internal and external hinterlands of the port. Port-planning and resources planning should go together. Industrial pattern of the hinterland should first be decided. Transport alignment should help port activity ; where it is hindering, immediate modification is necessary. Thus, the linear transport pattern at Cocanada should be modified into a fan pattern.

The Port-planner, the Industrial planner and the Town-planner should work in close collaboration : any hasty step by the Port-planner is nothing but an irreparable national loss.

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INDIAN RAILWAYS A CENTURY AGO

BY A. C. DE

I

THE earliest idea of constructing railways in India originated about the year 1831-32. On that year it was suggested before the Parliamentary Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company that canals and railroads should be introduced in India to improve communication.

Indian political atmosphere then was under great tension. The great Moghuls had long before lost their mighty authority, the glories of the ambitious Marhattas were dwindling, and the warlike Khalsas were striving for domination. The British Power was busy in extending its territorial possessions and consolidation of authority was not a practical realisation as yet. It was Lord William Bentinck who for the first time gave his attention to this direction. But it was Lord Dalhousie's unusual leadership which was responsible for the many acts of public benefit in addition to territorial conquests. India of those days was disintegrated in every way as a result of the stress and strain of nearly a century. Trade and commerce was very much restricted. Means of communication were scanty and very unsatisfactory. Describing the state of the country then, Sir William Andrew has said, "Probably there never was a country with a people so rich and intelligent in which roads were so few and travel so difficult."

The Northern India was more fortunate than the Southern part in this respect. The former had immense plains which could be traversed easily in dry seasons. There were navigable rivers as well as some canals in the regions along the Ganges and the Indus. The southern part of the country had, however, the natural disadvantage of a mountainous territory. Moreover, there was dearth of communication by water except seaborne coastal traffic. In the Madras Presidency almost complete absence of roads was observed by the Public Works Commissioners appointed by the Madras Government in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Along the roads merchandise used to be carried by animals, such as bullocks and buffaloes. The animals often gave way through exhaustion before they could reach their destination. The merchandise, thus carried, could not be properly protected from the sun and the rain, and were often turned unfit for human consumption. Even if the merchandise could reach the destination, the prices would become very high. The cotton of Nagpore and Amraoti was brought for sale to Mirzapore by oxen. The cost of carrying was about £17 10s or about 240 rupees per ton.

The result of want of communication was abundantly visible. The country was split into small and isolated regions. Each region distinguished itself from the other in more ways than one. "The closeness of the bond now made possible by roads and railways between distant provinces was unknown to the people." Social and religious customs were different at different places, though people belonged to the same society and religion. Methods of trading and business varied from place to place. Weights and standards of measuring land and commodities were not the same. Even accents and pronunciations differed widely in different parts of the country though people spoke the same language and were under the same climatic influence. The differences were so deep-rooted that even in these days after the lapse of nearly a century since railways were first introduced in India, they are noticeable to a marked degree in various parts of the same province.

Adverse economic effects were wide. Prices of commodities varied from place to place. Crops grew in plenty and in excess of the requirement in one place while acute shortage prevailed in a neighbouring one. Lord Dalhousie remarked about the state of affairs thus :

"Great tracts are teeming with produce they cannot dispose of. Others are scantily bearing what they would carry in abundance if only it could be conveyed whither it is needed. England is calling aloud for cotton which India does already produce in some degree and would produce sufficient in quality and plentiful in quantity if only there were provided the fitting means of conveyance for it from

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distant plains to the several ports adopted for its shipment."

Lord Dalhousie stressed the importance of developing communication. He bestowed attention upon both road and railway development and created the Public Works Department. Road development, however, followed its natural growth. In 1880, India had 20,000 miles of metalled road, which ultimately developed to 59,000 miles in 1927.

II

In 1825, steam locomotive railway was opened for the first time in England between Darlington and Stockton. There was a rapid increase in railway construction and development between 1825 and 1845 followed by the "railway mania of 1845-46."

The earliest ideas of having railroads in India originated with Englishmen connected with trading and administration in this country. As has already been said the first suggestion for railway construction was made before the Parliamentary Select Committee of 1831-32. Considering the cost of construction, the returns, the difficulties in carrying out the projects and the place where such means of communication would be most helpful it was decided that canals and railroads be introduced in Madras Presidency.

In 1836, a line 70 miles long from Madras to Wallajahanagore was surveyed. In the same year Captain A. P. Cotton, Civil Engineer of Madras, prepared a scheme for a line 862 miles long between Madras and Bombay which would also pass through Wallajahanagore, Arcot, Bangalore, Bellary and Poona.

It may, however, be noted that although the first projects of railway construction were prepared for adoption in Madras, no railroad was built in that Presidency until about 1856.

These schemes were prepared for steam locomotive railways. In 1831, suggestion was also made for a horse-drawn railway line. It was proposed that the railway line would run along the river Cauvery from Cauverypatam to Caroor in the province of Coimbatore through the towns of Combaconum and Trichinopoly each having a population of 200,000 at a cost of Rs. 8,000 per mile. It was considered that "cloths, cotton and saltpeter of Coimbatore and the grains of Trichinopoly and Tanjore might be conveyed to the coast and salt would be taken from the coast to the interior." A considerable traffic in passenger and various other commodities was also expected.

III

In 1841, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Macdonald Stephenson conceived the idea of a railway line between Calcutta and Delhi *via* Mirzapore. In course of time this idea matured and the East Indian Railway Company's line was laid. In September 1842, Mr. C. V. Vignoles, F.R.S., in his *Report on a Proposed Railway in India* to the East India Company pleaded for the introduction of railway in India.

In 1843, Sir Macdonald came to Calcutta and through his persuasion, the Government of Bengal undertook initial investigations. The survey for a line 450 miles long from Calcutta to Mirzapore was made. It was estimated that the cost of construction would be Rs. 100,000 per mile. In July 1844, Sir Macdonald Stephenson officially proposed the construction of his contemplated line to the Government of Bengal, which promised to give him support. In December 1844, he formally proposed the construction of the East Indian Railway before the Home Authorities. Early in 1845, the East Indian Railway Company was provisionally formed with Sir George Larpent as the Chairman, Mr. Bazett D. Colvin as Deputy Chairman and Sir Macdonald Stephenson as the Managing Director. In July 1845, the Company was fully organised.

Besides the efforts of Sir Macdonald Stephenson, other enterprises for railway construction were also made at that time. In 1844, some enterprising men in Bombay thought of a railway line in that Presidency and for this purpose provisionally formed the Bombay Great Eastern Railway Committee. In November 1844, Messrs White Borret & Company placed their application on behalf of the Great Indian Railway Company. It was proposed that a trunk line be constructed across the Deccan which will have branches to the North and the South.

The projectors of the Bombay Great Eastern Railway Company proposed to construct a railway line in the direction of the Thull and Bhor Ghats so as to cross the Western Ghat mountains. The Governor of Bombay showed his sympathy towards this project and ordered preliminary examinations by the Military Engineers. The Consulting Engineer to the Government of Bombay, however, did not think it practicable to build up a line across the Western Ghat Mountains. Mr. G. B. Clark, the Engineer for the Great Eastern Railway, also revised his ideas later. This happened in 1847.

Possibly in 1845, the Grand Indian Peninsular Railway Association was formed which applied for assistance from the Bombay Government in May 1845. The aforesaid Great Eastern Railway Company withdrew from the field.

The President of the General Department of the Government of Bombay, the Hon'ble Sir George Arthur, in a Minute to the Government of India recorded his opinion. He remarked that the Railway Company deserves the sympathy and support of the Government. He further remarked that the Government would be relieved of the responsibility of maintaining the internal communication of the country when railway lines would be constructed. The general public would derive great benefits even if the Government supported the contemplation by extending financial assistance to the Company.

In October 1846, the London Committee of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company sent out to India Mr. Chapman, as Manager, to carry out investigations on the spot. Mr. Chapman with the help of Mr. Clark, the Civil Engineer, intended to examine the possibility of a railway line from Bombay towards Amraoti and Nagpore. He wanted the assistance of a member of the Corps of Engineers as he thought that local knowledge was very necessary to do his work satisfactorily. He could not, however, undertake the examination as no one from the corps of Engineers was available.

IV

The originators of the ideas of constructing railroads in India were confident about the success of their contemplation. But the English capitalists were not. It was also felt that practically no capital would be

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available in India. The promoters of railway companies, therefore, considered that investors could only be allured to outlay capital if Government guarantee of a minimum return could be offered. It was decided that the minimum guaranteed return of 4 per cent should be paid and any profit in excess of 10 per cent would be reserved and spent on future constructions. Sir Macdonald Stephenson invited the attention of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to this matter and offered his remarks that the arrangement of offering a guaranteed minimum dividend was the only way to attract investors.

The Government of Bengal was always ready to support any well-thought-out plan for railway construction. In April 1845, Mr. Halliday, the then Secretary to the Government, pleaded with the Government of India that connecting the Imperial Capital and the North-West Frontier Province by a railway line would result in political and commercial advantages. He also suggested that a committee of railway engineers should be formed to offer opinion on the proposed railway line from Calcutta to Delhi.

On the 7th May 1845, the Court of Directors of the East India Company forwarded a Despatch to the Government of India and agreed with the views that railway lines should be constructed in India. But they expressed doubts about the success of the proposal and drew the attention of the Government of India to the undernoted peculiarities of the country :

1. Periodical rains and inundations,
2. Continued action of violent winds and influence of a vertical sun,
3. The ravages of insects and vermin upon timber and earthwork,
4. The destructive effects of the spontaneous vegetation of underwood upon earth and brickwork,
5. The unenclosed and unprotected nature of the country through which railroads would pass, and
6. The difficulty and expense of securing competent and trustworthy engineers and workmen to carry out the construction and maintenance of railroads in India.

The Court also apprehended that very few returns would be obtained from passenger traffic. The people of India were poor and thinly scattered over large parts of the country. It was expected that the only source of income was goods traffic.

Both apprehensions of the Court proved wrong even within a short period after the railways commenced operation. The density of population of those parts of the country through which railroads passed was very high, and indeed, one of the highest in the world. Considerable traffic in passenger was also obtained. In the words of Mr. Horace Bell, "A large proportion of all classes were both able and willing to travel, whether on business or pleasure or from religious motives."

The Court requested the Government of India to offer their remarks about the conditions on which sanction could be granted for the construction of railroads in India. The Court also brought to the notice of the Government for the latter's consideration the following points :

1. Trunk lines would be constructed on conditions so that Government will have the power to control the affairs of the company. If necessary, the Government will have power to purchase the concern.
2. All details regarding railway construction must be approved beforehand by the Government. The constitution and terms of agreement will also be subject to Government sanction.
3. The Government will have powers to examine the books of the Company.
4. The rate of profit will be fixed to a limited proportion. If recessary, the State reserved the power to reduce the same.
5. The Government will offer assistance in carrying out surveys and in the purchase of necessary land and other operations required for the construction of the line.
6. The guarantee of return by the Government was not considered satisfactory for it was apprehended that unwise speculation might be indulged by financiers.

The Court was, however, in favour of offering some kind of State assistance.

In July 1845, Sir Macdonald Stephenson arrived in Bengal with three competent assistants. He undertook the survey of his contemplated railway line from Calcutta to Delhi *via* Mirzapore. The survey was complete in April 1846. He estimated that if land was granted free by the Government, the proposed line would not cost more than £15,000 per mile.

Shortly after sending the Despatch dated the 7th May, 1845, the Court of Directors decided to send out to India Mr. Simms, a very experienced engineer, to consider the construction of an experimental railway line. Mr. Simms arrived in India in September the same year, and made his first observation on the 12th September.

On the 30th December, 1845, Mr. Simms submitted his report to the Government of India on the proposed railway line from Madras to Wallajahanagore. He discussed the six points raised by the Court in their despatch of the 7th May and remarked that the difficulties were not insuperable. The construction of the proposed railroad from Madras to Wallajahanagore was both desirable and practicable. Mr. Simms also considered it "desirable that every line, however short, should have a reference to a general system of railways of which it will ultimately become a part." He advised that all railways should be constructed in one permanent and uniform manner. Although single line construction might be permitted in the beginning all bridges and masonry walls should be built in such a manner as to accommodate a double line in future.

It was also calculated that a 5 per cent return upon the capital outlay of £600,000 for the proposed line would result, the traffic charge having been based at 2*d.* per ton per mile on the goods and 3 farthings per mile for passengers.

On the 6th February, 1846, Mr. Simms drew up his memorandum. He suggested that specifications, plans and other details of construction for any line should

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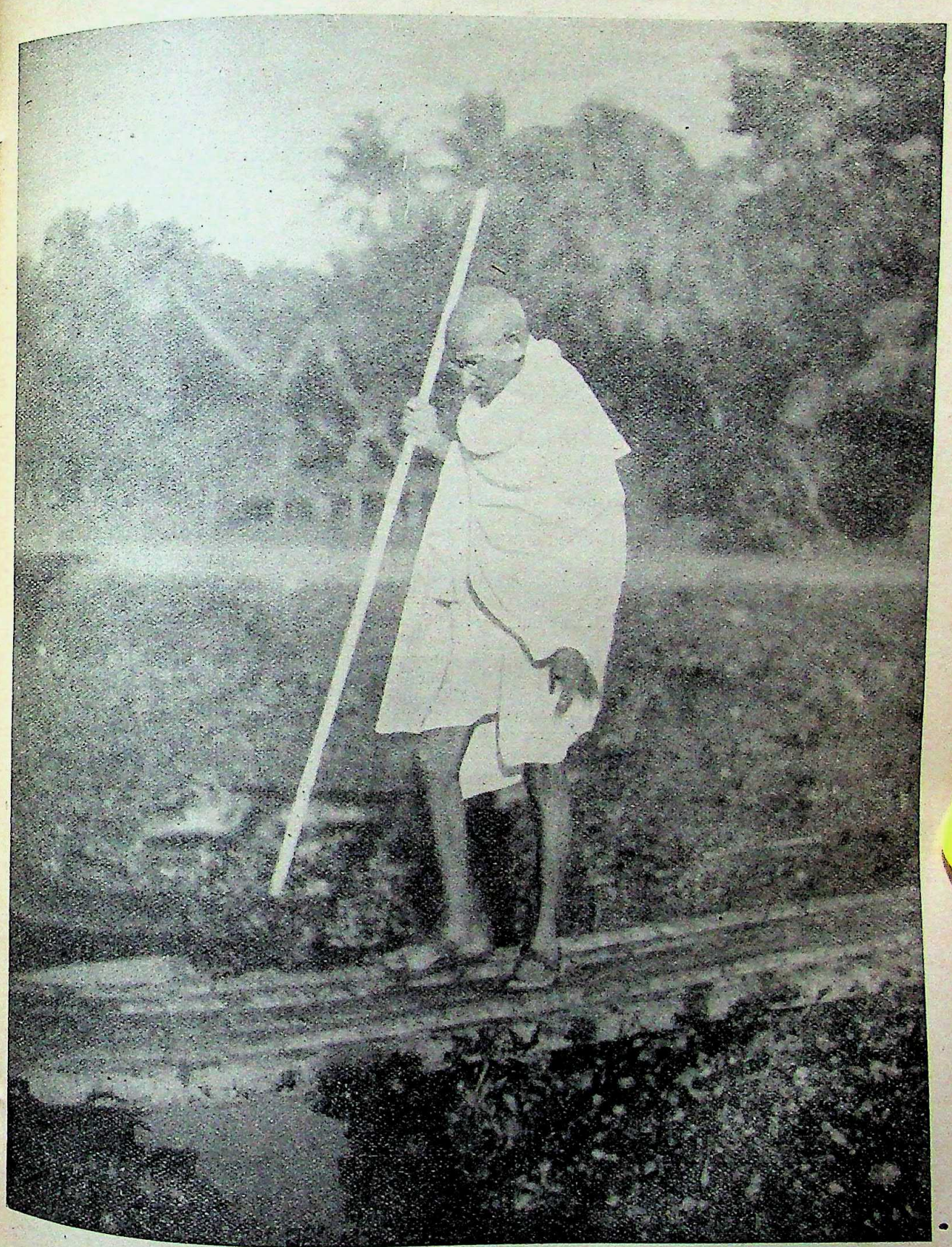

Mahatma Gandhi crossing a bamboo-bridge in his lone tour through the villages of Noakhali

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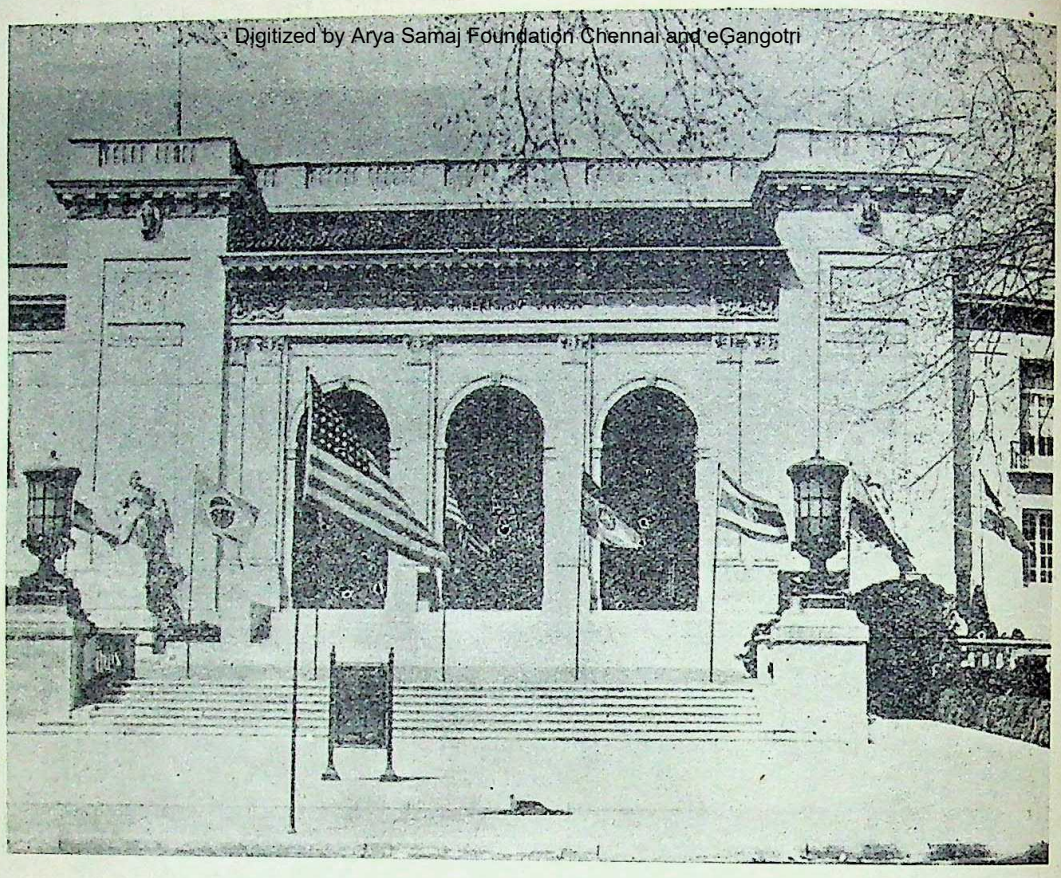
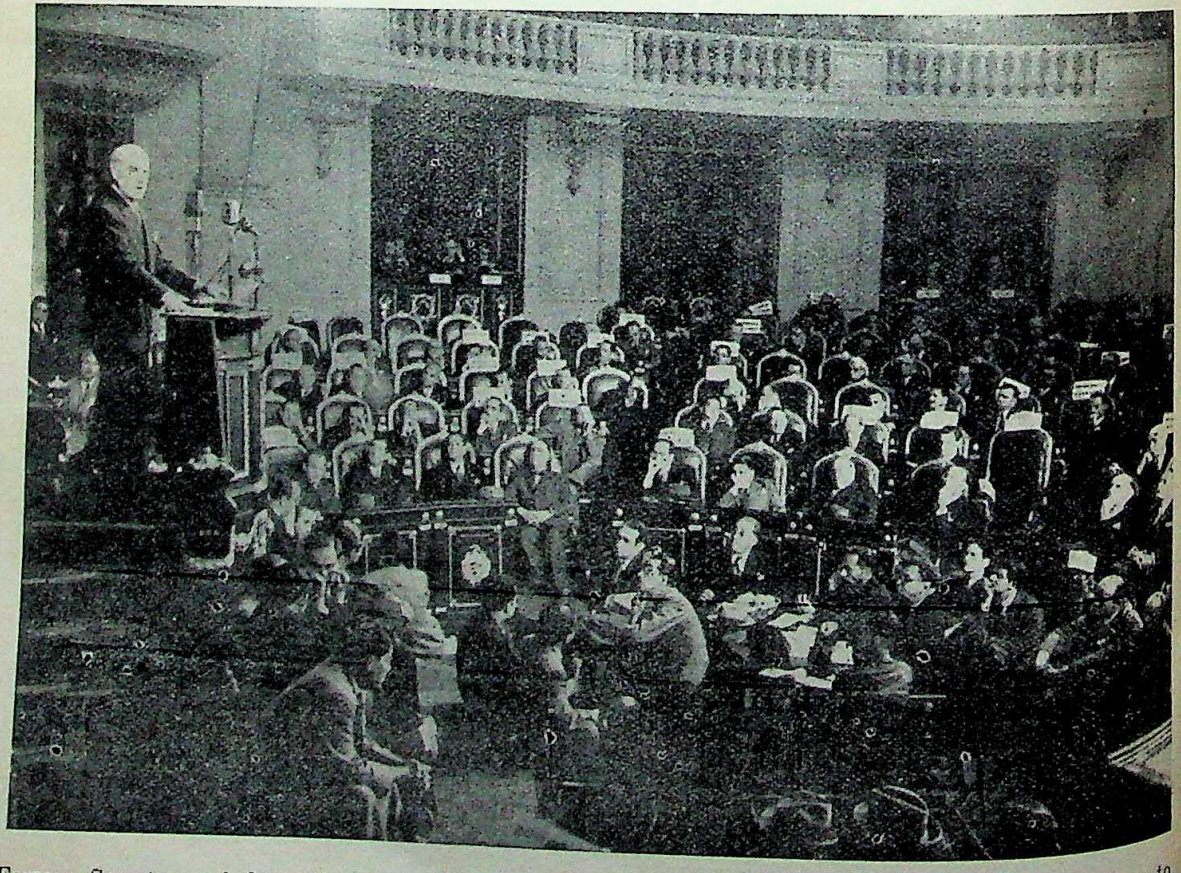


The Pan-American Union Building in Washington, capital of the United States



Former Secretary of State for the United States, Edward R. Stettinius Jr., addressing the delegates to the Inter-American Conference held in Mexico City in 1945

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have prior sanction by the Government and no deviation could be made to them without further sanction. All railways were to be constructed in accordance with a common specification, a common system of working would have to be followed and the stocks should be built of a common uniform design.

V

Mr. Simms and his two assistants submitted their report, dated the 13th March, 1846, upon the "Practicability of Introducing Railways in India" and "upon an eligible line to connect Calcutta and Mirzapore and the North-Western Provinces." The Committee observed in their report that "railroads are not inapplicable to the peculiarities and circumstances of India, but, on the contrary, are not only a great desideratum, but with proper attention can be constructed and maintained as perfectly as in any part of Europe. The great extent of its vast plains, which may in some directions be traversed for hundreds of miles without encountering serious undulations, the small outlay required for Parliamentary or Legislative purposes, the low value of land, cheapness of labour, and the general facilities for procuring building materials, may all be quoted as reasons why the introduction of a system of railroads is applicable to India."

The six questions raised by the Court in their Despatch of the 7th May, 1845, were discussed and answered in the following way :

1. Periodical rains and inundations. No serious mischief to the works was expected from these causes. Since bunds and roads, both metalled and unmetalled, could be maintained, it was possible also to maintain railroads.
2. Continued action of violent winds and influence of a vertical sun. Suitable arrangements in the construction of the works would overcome any difficulty owing to these causes. Extra attention will have to be devoted against effects of friction resulting from the heat of the wind.
3. Ravages of insects and vermin upon timber and earthwork. Teak, and ironwood of Arracan, would be used as destructive effects of insects upon them are practically negligible. Damaging action of rats, etc., could be prevented by constant vigilance.
4. Destructive effects of spontaneous vegetation of underwood. These can be easily rooted out by the workers.
5. The unprotected and unenclosed nature of the country. Suitable fencing by Berandu or Mysore thorn or saul, where available, will be enough to overcome this difficulty.
6. Difficulty in securing competent engineers and labourers. A few native or East Indian youngmen were to be sent up to England for training, who would on their return train up men in India.

The Committee could not express any opinion on the question of return from goods and passenger traffic for want of statistical information.

The Court had directed the Committee "to suggest some feasible line of moderate length as an experiment for railroad communication in India." The Committee suggested for this purpose a line from Allahabad to Cawnpore or from Calcutta to Barrackpore. The Committee thought that British capital would be available for this purpose.

The Committee examined suitable route for the proposed line from Calcutta to Mirzapore and thence to Delhi. They considered that a double line would be necessary though not presently.

The Committee concluded their report with a suggestion from the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces that a railway line should be constructed between Agra and Bombay.

The Government of India considered Mr. Simms' Report and the Report by the Committee of Engineers and forwarded their recommendations to the Court of Directors in a letter, dated the 9th May, 1846. Mr. Simms' suggestion that Government should give land free to the railway company was approved. The guarantee of a dividend was considered unwise. The Government would have the right to become owners of the railways on settled terms at the end of a certain period. It was considered desirable that Government should have control over the plan and other details of construction, but it was doubted that these could not be decided then. The Government also reserved the power of regulating the profit of railway companies.

Lord Hardinge, then Governor-General, himself sent another Minute to the Court of Directors, dated the 28th July, 1846. He considered that it was very proper that Government should give land free of cost to the railway companies, but remarked that this support was not sufficient when compared with the advantages "which the State would derive from a rapid and daily communication from Calcutta to Delhi." Lord Hardinge further observed, "In a military point of view, I should estimate the value of moving troops and stores with great rapidity would be equal to the services of four regiments of infantry" and considered that "on military consideration alone, the grant of one million sterling or an annual contribution of five lacs of rupees may be contributed to the great line from Calcutta to Delhi, and a pecuniary saving be effected by diminution of military establishments, arising out of the facility with which troops would be moved from one point to another."

Thus exactly a century ago it was definitely accepted that railway communication was a necessity in India. The ruling power gave all the backing that the contemplation deserved. It was after the lapse of a period of fifteen years from the first suggestion that the construction of railroad was agreed to as a definite need of the country. The first railway line was, however, built about three years later.

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NOTES ON PARTITION OF BENGAL

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By An F.R.S-S. & F.R.Econ.S. (Lond.)

According to C. R. formula, the partition was envisaged district wise. In the present scheme, West Bengal has been taken to consist of the Burdwan and the Presidency Divisions *plus* the two Hindu majority districts in Northern Bengal, *viz.*, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling.

In our scheme we have added the three Muhammadan majority districts of Nadia, Jessore and Murshidabad to West Bengal; and the Hindu majority district of Chittagong Hill Tracts to Eastern Bengal. We have tried to follow three principles: principles of contiguity proportionate area, equal number of hostages.

The Hindus are 45 per cent of the population of Bengal; so they are entitled to 45 per cent of the Bengal Presidency's area of 77,442 sq. miles, or 34,849 sq. miles. Our West Bengal contains a little less.

The number of Muslims in West Bengal in our scheme is 74 lakhs—they are hostages to Hindus; in East Bengal the number of Hindu hostages is 101 lakhs. In any other scheme (considered districtwise) the disparity between the number of Muslim hostages in West Bengal and the Hindu hostages in East Bengal would be greater.

One can have easy access to Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri through present Bihar. If the Bengalee-speaking tracts of the Santhal Parganas and Purnea and other areas are added to West Bengal, it will form a continuous stretch of territory; not so Chittagong Hill Tracts.

A. Area

Division	*Area*
Burdwan	14,135 sq. miles
Presidency	16,402 sq. miles
Western Bengal	30,537 sq. miles
Plus Jalpaiguri District and Darjeeling District	3,050 sq. miles 1,192 sq. miles
New Western Bengal	34,779 sq. miles
New Eastern Bengal	42,663 sq. miles

It may be noted here that the area of some other existing provinces is smaller than or almost equal to each of these new provinces. For instance, N.-W.F.P. has an area of 14,263 sq. miles, Orissa 32,198 sq. miles, Sind 48,136 sq. miles and Assam 64,951 sq. miles.

B. Population

Division	*Muslims*	*Non-Muslims* (Mostly Hindus)
Burdwan	14,29,500	88,57,869
Presidency	57,11,354	71,05,533
Western Bengal	71,40,854	159,63,402
Plus Jalpaiguri District	2,51,460	8,38,053
and Darjeeling District	9,125	3,67,244
New Western Bengal	74,01,439	1,71,68,699
Total	2,45,70,138	
Rajshahi Division	75,28,117	45,12,348
Less Jalpaiguri	2,51,460	8,38,053
Less Darjeeling	9,125	3,67,244
New Rajshahi Division	72,67,532	33,07,051
Dacca Division	1,19,44,172	47,39,542
Chittagong Division	63,92,291	20,85,599
New Eastern Bengal	2,56,03,995	1,01,32,192
Total	3,57,36,187	

There will be 74 lakhs of Muslims in Western Bengal and 101 lakhs of Hindus in Eastern Bengal. The proportion of minorities in New Western Bengal will be 30·1 per cent; the corresponding figure for New Eastern Bengal will be 28·3 per cent.

Minorities

The Muslims will be in a minority of 30·1 per cent in West Bengal; and the Hindus a minority of 28·3 per cent in East Bengal. So, the *two* minorities are practically equal. Any weightage or any disability given in West Bengal, will automatically be claimed in or imposed upon in East Bengal on usual grounds.

C. Population: Position of Scheduled Castes

	No. of Scheduled Castes
(1) Census Figures, 1941 :	
Burdwan	18,35,038
Presidency	18,94,897
Western Bengal	37,29,935
Plus Jalpaiguri District and Darjeeling District	28,922 3,25,504
New Western Bengal	40,84,361
New Eastern Bengal	32,94,609

Thus out of every 1,000 scheduled caste Hindus 553 will be in New Western Bengal and 447 in New Eastern Bengal.

(2) Reform Office Figures: But it should be remembered that in the 1941 Census, many Hindus did not return castes. Therefore, the above figures may be a little unrepresentative. We, therefore, also give below the figures about the distribution of scheduled castes as shown in Appendix I, pp. 268-9 of the *Report of the Reforms Office, Bengal,* 1932-37 :

Burdwan Division	28·2 per cent
Presidency Division	22·1 per cent
Jalpaiguri and Siliguri	12·8 per cent
New Western Bengal	63·1 per cent
New Eastern Bengal	36·9 per cent

If this be true, then out of every 1,000 scheduled caste Hindus, 631 will be in New Western Bengal and 369 in New Eastern Bengal.

D. Food Resources

Will the new provinces be self-sufficient, at least tolerably so, in food supply? According to the Flood Commission's figures (see Vol. II. p. 106), the production of paddy in thousand maunds is as follows :

Burdwan Division	89,739
Presidency Division	89,793
Darjeeling District	965
Jalpaiguri District	16,058
West Bengal	196,575

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	482,032
Total Bengal	285,457
Therefore of *East Bengal*	

Consumption per head of population as in 1941 :

West Bengal	8·02 mds.
East Bengal	8·00 mds.

E. Mineral Resources and Forest Resources

Coal : Coalfields are all concentrated in Western Bengal.

Forest : "In the Eastern zone, *i.e.*, Bengal, the Forest Department has divided the forests into two circles, the Northern and Southern circles. The forests comprised in the Northern circle fall entirely within the Non-Muslim portion of Bengal and of those in the Southern circle roughly two-thirds fall within the Muslim and one-third within the non-Muslim portion of Bengal."—(Rajendra Prasad : *India Divided*).

F. Industry

Professor Coupland has described the position as follows : "Bengal, as it is now, with 20 p.c. of the population of British India, possesses (on the basis of the average number of workers employed in factories) 33 p.c. of its industry. In Eastern Bengal without Calcutta, the percentage of British Indian industry falls to 2·7."

Jute mills, Iron and Steel works, the most important Government and Local Fund factories, such as Ordnance factories, Railway workshops, Docking and Printing presses, are all concentrated in Western Bengal. Of the nearly 30 cotton textile mills, about 27 are in Western Bengal with about 1,12,000 spindles and over 2,600 looms in 1945. Since then there has been expansion.

G. Developmental Projects

The possible developmental projects have more scope in Western Bengal than in Eastern Bengal. All the big irrigation-*cum*-development projects, such as the Damodar and the Mor schemes, must be, by their very nature, confined to Western Bengal.

H. Revenue and Finance

1. *Land Revenue*—

It should be remembered that at present the revenue paid by the landlords is available to the State. But if the rent-receiving interests are abolished, then it would be wrong to calculate in terms of the present land revenue only. Instead, we should calculate in terms of the raiyati assets, *i.e.*, what the raiyats used to pay to the landlords and will now pay to the State. We show both the positions :

(*a*) Existing Land Revenue :

	Rs.
Burdwan Division	87,09,665
Presidency Division	63,15,341
Western Bengal	1,50,25,006
Plus Jalpaiguri District and Darjeeling District	15,15,501
	3,93,008
New Western Bengal	1,69,33,515
Rajshahi Division (*Less* Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling District)	61,14,643
Dacca Division	55,56,485
Chittagong Division	39,23,933
New Eastern Bengal	1,55,95,061

These figures taken from the Land Revenue Administration Report, 1939-40, reveal that as at present, new Western Bengal will be paying nearly 13 lakhs more.

But what about the future ? The Land Revenue Commission calculated the total assets by adding up the actual figures of rent paid by all classes of tenants, as given in the Settlement Reports. On that basis the position appears to be as follows :

(*b*) The future land revenue position :

The Land Revenue Commission calculated the raiyati assets in the following way : "The actual figures of rent paid by all classes of tenants are now available from the Settlement Reports of all districts. On this basis we have found that the assets of the Province amount to 11·32 crores." (Vide *Report*, Vol. I, p. 56, para 122). The details of these assets have been given in the *Report*, Vol. II, p. 111. There we get the following figures :

Division	*Raiyati Assets* (cash rent plus valuation of Produce rent) Rs.
Presidency Division	2,61,47,000
Burdwan Division	2,58,79,000
Plus Jalpaiguri District	11,79,000
and Darjeeling District	4,16,000
New Western Bengal	5,36,21,000
New Eastern Bengal	5,95,83,000

Reduced to a per capita basis (*i.e.*, dividing the assets by the population figure), we obtain the following figures :

New Western Bengal	Rs. 2·18 rent per capita
New Eastern Bengal	„ 1·70 rent per capita

2. *Jute Export Duty* : Of the Jute Export Duty, over 95 p.c. is collected in Western Bengal.

3. *Income Tax* : From the number of assessees, it appears that over 85 p.c. is realised in Western Bengal.

4. *Other Taxes* : Figures for other taxes, such as Agricultural Income Tax, Sales Tax, etc., are not easily available, though according to certain rough calculations it seems probable that West Bengal pays 79 per cent of these other taxes and East Bengal 21 per cent.

5. *Central Taxes which will probably come to the Provinces in future* : Up till now, we have analysed only the existing provincial sources of revenue. But it should be remembered that in the future constitution, the powers of the Central Government to raise finances will be confined only to three subjects, *viz.*, defence, communications and external affairs. Taxes which do not relate to these subjects are likely to be transferred from the Centre to the provinces. What will be the position then ?

Of the Central heads of revenue, the following do not relate to the future Central subjects : Customs, Excise, Corporation and Income Taxes, Salt, Opium, Currency and Mint. It is not easy to get district or division-wise figures of these tax-receipts, but the following approximations may not be quite inaccurate :

(*a*) Customs : From the *Finance and Revenue Accounts*, it appears that there are no land customs receipts in Bengal and all the customs receipts are from sea customs. From Table No. 253 in the Statistical Abstract, 1938-39 it appears that of the two ports of

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Calcutta and Chittagong, the latter clears about 6 to 7 per cent of the total volume of sea-borne trade, foreign and coasting. The rest passes through Calcutta. On that basis, the new Western Bengal will get about 93 p.c. of custom receipts and new Eastern Bengal about 7 p.c. The total net custom receipts from Bengal in the year 1939-40 (including the share of net proceeds of Export duties assigned to the Province which that year amounted to Rs. 2,55,61,946) came up to Rs. 18,44,74,645. If the two new provinces get respectively 93 per cent and 7 per cent, then new Western Bengal will get Rs. 17·17 crores and New Eastern Bengal will get Rs. 1·27 crores.

(*b*) *Central Excise* : It is difficult to have a correct apportionment of the Central Excise receipts between West Bengal and East Bengal and the amount involved is also not much (In 1939-40, net receipts from excise duties amounted to Rs. 1·09 crores in Bengal). There are, however, three most important items in these Central Excise Duties, *viz.*, Excise Duty on Motor Spirit (which in 1939-40 amounted to Rs. 62,651), Excise Duty on Sugar (which in 1939-40 amounted to Rs. 28·70 lakhs), and Excise Duty on matches (which in 1939-40 amounted to Rs. 78·49 lakhs). It is obvious that the first two duties cannot be realised where there are no roads and no sugar production. The mileage of roads is greater in Western Bengal than in Eastern Bengal. From the Sugar Industry Annual, 1945-46 prepared by Mr. M. P. Gandhi, we find that of the 9 existing sugar mills in Bengal, the mills in Western Bengal have a daily cane-crushing capacity of 2725-3025 tons and those in Eastern Bengal have a daily cane-crushing capacity of 2850 tons. The position is almost equal. It is very difficult to apportion the receipts from the match duty.

(*c*) *Corporation Tax and Income Tax* : The industrial concerns are concentrated in Western Bengal, so also big business houses. The corporation tax paid by Western Bengal, therefore, is heavier than that paid by Eastern Bengal. So also is the position of Income Tax, as appears from the list of assessees.

(*d*) *Salt* : The main item under this head is the duty on Imported Salt, so far as Bengal is concerned. In the year 1939-40, out of a total receipts by the Central Government from Bengal on account of salt revenue of Rs. 2·45 crores, the receipts from the duty on imported salt amounted to Rs. 2·44 crores. This again leads to the relative importance of ports, where the proportion of Western Bengal to Eastern Bengal is 93 : 7.

I. Educational Facilities

These statistics, though somewhat out of date, give a correct over-all idea in 1936-37 :

(*a*) *First Grade Colleges*

	Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Total
Calcutta	3	3	5	11
Presidency Div.	1	3	Nil	4
Burdwan Div.	1	3	2	6
West Bengal	5	9	7	21
Dacca Div.	Nil	3	Nil	3
Rajshahi Div.	1	1	Nil	2
Chittagong Div.	1	2	Nil	3
East Bengal	2	6	Nil	8

(*b*) *Second Grade Colleges*

	Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Total
Calcutta	1	2	4	7
Presidency Div.	..	1	..	1
Burdwan Div.	..	..	3	3
West Bengal	1	3	7	11
Dacca Div.	3	3	1	7
Rajshahi Div.	..	1	..	1
Chittagong Div.	1	..	..	1
East Bengal	4	4	1	9

Boys' Secondary Schools in Bengal, 1936-37 (Vide *9th Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal*, p. 57).

(*a*) *High English Schools*

	Govt.	Municipal or D.B.	Aided	Unaided	Total
Calcutta	5	Nil	41	44	90
Presidency Div.	7	2	113	122	244
Burdwan Div.	6	1	104	123	234
West Bengal	18	3	258	289	568
Dacca Div.	10	Nil	126	201	337
Rajshahi Div.	8	Nil	76	38	122
Chittagong Div.	5	1	80	67	153
East Bengal	23	1	282	306	612

(*b*) *Middle English Schools*

	Govt.	Municipal or D.B.	Aided	Unaided	Total
Calcutta	3	Nil	8	Nil	11
Presidency Div.	Nil	1	324	45	370
Burdwan Div.	Nil	8	334	59	401
West Bengal	3	9	666	104	782
Dacca Div.	Nil	9	257	138	404
Rajshahi Div.	Nil	20	293	57	370
Chittagong Div.	1	2	220	78	301
East Bengal	1	31	770	273	1075

(*c*) *Middle Vernacular Schools*

	Govt.	Municipal or D.B.	Aided	Unaided	Total
Calcutta	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Presidency Div.	Nil	2	6	Nil	8
Burdwan Div.	Nil	Nil	8	Nil	8
West Bengal	Nil	2	14	Nil	16
Dacca Div.	Nil	Nil	10	4	14
Rajshahi Div.	Nil	5	5	Nil	10
Chittagong Div.	Nil	Nil	2	Nil	2
East Bengal	Nil	5	17	4	26

As District figures are not available, we have to by Divisions. These figures are, therefore, not strictly comparable to the other tables ; nevertheless they will be helpful for forming a general picture :

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Primary Schools, 1936-37 (Vide *9th Quinquennial Review*, p. 41).

Boys' Schools	
Calcutta	509
Presidency Division	8270
Burdwan Division	8918
West Bengal	17,697
Dacca Division	12416
Rajshahi Division	8395
Chittagong Division	5,598
East Bengal	26,409
Girls' Schools	
Calcutta	Nil
Presidency Division	2420
Burdwan Division	1927
West Bengal	4347
Dacca Division	6795
Rajshahi Division	2708
Chittagong Division	3443
East Bengal	12,946

J. MEDICAL

Number of Hospitals and Dispensaries

West Bengal (including Calcutta)	709
East Bengal	716

Number of indoor and outdoor patients treated in 1941

West Bengal	44,84,330
East Bengal	32,80,391

Incidence of disease (patients) per lakh of population

West Bengal	18,200
East Bengal	9,200

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ENGLISH FOREIGN POLICY SINCE THE WAR

BY G. L. SCHANZLIN

FOR a while it looked as if a far less powerful British Empire had emerged from the whirlpool of the war, but evidence is piling up on all hands that the British themselves do not seem conscious of great losses in power of prestige in all their dominions. What Elliott Roosevelt in his book relates as to his father's earnest desire to clip the claws of the imperial lion makes good reading, but it does not indicate much more than a mild attempt on the part of the elder Roosevelt to make the British cousin more "salon-fachig." It is of interest that the Roosevelts now are eager to show the world and the nation how genuinely global the peace aims of the war president were, and how globally messianic his intentions.

In the great duel now impending, the duel between the Communistic section of the world with the anti-Communistic section, there are three protagonists of party the second, the Roman Catholic Church, the British Empire and the United States of America. Probably in that order. The geographic position of the homeland of the United States will not disqualify her to take an important part in the coming struggle, but her interests after all, even now, are not as world-embracing as those of the Vatican, or those of the Foreign Office in London, nor even those of the Kremlin.

It becomes clearer with every day that the British Commonwealths are being lined up as units of a greater unit which is the British Imperial World. American assistance either short of war, or not short of it, will not only be welcome in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, it will be most essential. But the decisive battle line will probably be much farther east than Constantinople or the Dardanelles. The Dardanelles and Constantinople can wait. The real threat to the British life line is still through Persia, the Azerbaijan excitement was far from being a mere kite to test the atmosphere. But in the Persian Gulf, in the Arabian Sea, and in the Indian Ocean, Britain will not require much outside help. In those regions she is in home waters, in fact her control of the whole Indian Ocean way out to the South China Sea and the East China Sea is as unshaken as ever. Outside of Palestine no British army of occupation in Asia will cause headaches to British taxpayers. The Foreign Office has no occasion to deal with any problems in Asia which are not empire problems, now as much as before the war. The burden of managing other nations' affairs is eliminated. Let the United States and the Republic of Social Soviets wrangle over Korea, Japan, or Melanesia. Britain is safely entrenched from Aden to Hongkong, who will gainsay it?

The empire is safe again. The tactlessness of Messrs Stalin and Tito has been a godsend to the empire. The diplomatic battle for the control of the eastern hemisphere was won in the bleak hills of Yugoslavia and in the American election. Great Britain backed in the Near East by American might can now safely face the future. From the Azores and from Dakar, where the trickery of Mr. Churchill outdistanced the feeble attempts of the American President at real world politics, to the estuary of the great river Yangtsekiang, Britain is in the saddle again and means to stay in the saddle.

Whatever may have been behind the conciliatory attitude toward the national aspirations of India, or behind the sabotaging of the promised concessions, there may have been more shadow boxing than real constructive statesmanship in the whole affair. The altruistic ring of the announcements made at that time was slightly suspicious.

What of it, if Palestine has become a rather unmanagable mandate. Mandates belong to a bygone period, they are as much out of date as their inventor, the once formidable farmer-general Christian Smuts, now a pillar of smug political empire orthodoxy. The new word just coming into use is trusteeship. Palestine will probably become a trusteeship possibly falling to England. Or, it may be offered to the United States if our Washington statesmen will think best to accept it.

Springfield, Ohio

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SUFISM
Its System and Orders

By Prof. HARENDRA CHANDRA PAUL, M.A.

Mysticism in Islam, more commonly known as Sufism, an Anglo-Persian word, meaning the religion or the system and profession of a Sufi, the Arabic tasawwuf, though often connected with the Greek word Sophos (sage), is either derived from Suf, a word which is to be found both in the Persian and Arabic languages, meaning, coarse camel's wool or hair cloth (and for which the Sufis are often called by the Persians, *pashmina push*, the wearer of woollen dress) which was generally worn by the humble penitents of the earlier days of Islam, or from Safa, which may mean either the name of one of the stations around the Ka'ba of Mecca, where many of the neophytes passed days and nights together in fasting, prayer and macerations, or purity of heart, which is gained, after observing the spiritual exercises as instructed by the pir or the spiritual guide, the Sufi *par excellence*, the Arabic mutasawwuf, by the novice, who is called the *talib* (rather *talibul ilm*, a seeker after knowledge, or the *Salik*, rather *Salik-i-rah*, one who walks in the spiritual path), who desires to be a Sufi. A Sufi is also known by other names, such as Arif, the knowing one, one who is the possesser of *marifat*, the knowledge of God, the master contemplator, who is also a Wali (properly a prince or governor, one who rules over a walayat; and Wali, Pl. Aulia, is a saint, and the saintship being Waliyat or Walayat, both terms connoting 'lordship'; just as Maulavi, from the same root, means literally 'lord or supreme'), or 'one who is brought near to God—an expression which also signifies a saint; and a Faqir who has renounced the goods of the earth and adopted the life in an entire abnegation of all worldly enjoyments, following thereby the words of the Quran (39 : 13)—*Alfaqr Fakhri*, or the poverty is my pride.

> "The poverty which the prophet made his pride was a poverty of the spirit, that poverty of which Junaid al Baghdadi, perhaps the greatest name in early Sufism, said that it was a sea of affliction, but of an affliction that was all glory; which yahyabin Muaz al Razi defined as 'a preparedness to dispense with everything but God, its mark being the denial of all material means'."[1]

And in the same strain of thought, Moulana Rumi, one of the greatest of the expounders of Sufism in the thirteenth century A.D., said, 'It is to be forgetful of this world, in response to, What is *tasawwuf* (Sufism)?'

M. A. Ubicine says of the origin of Sufism :

> "Perhaps if we wish to trace it to its origin, we must go back even to the most remote theocracies of Egypt and India, through the secret schools of the Pythagoreans and the Neo-Platonism of Alexandria. It is easy to convince oneself, if attention be paid, that under the confusion of fantastical names, times and often of doctrines, the Greek trace does not cease to be visible in the Arabian Philosophy alongside of Indian impression."[2]

M. Garcin de Tassy says :

> "One Islam writer (referring to Jami in his *Nafahat-ul-Uns*) says that the first person who took the name of Sufi, was Abu Hashim (son of Al Jubbai, died in 303 A.H.) of Kufa in the latter part of the eighth century A.D., whilst another declares that the seeds of Sufism were sown in the time of Adam, germed in that of Noah, budded in that of Abraham and the fruit commenced to be developed in that of Moses. They reached their maturity in that of Christ; and in that of Muhammad produced pure wine. Those of its sectarians who loved this wine have so drunk of it as to lose all knowledge of themselves and to exclaim 'Praise be to me! Is there any greater than me.' Or rather 'I am the Truth! There is no other God than me'."[3]

In short, the origin of Sufism has been related with the various religions of the world, and the philosophies that are inter-connected with them, by the different scholars in oriental studies; and it is really very interesting to find in it, as in every religion, the universality of nature, and it must be so, for the people of different lands professing the different religions and their philosophies are come out of one species of mankind and their creator is the one Eternal God; the difference, we find, is only for the reason of its outward environments, but the thing of Sufism, rather Mysticism, and religion, is connected with the inward environments of the heart, and there it is one, as the mystics say, "Every prophet and every saint has a way, but it leads to God; all the ways are really one." And "The religion of love is apart from all religions; for lovers, the only religion and creed is God." (quoted from the *Masnavi* of Maulana Rumi).

Any one who is interested in the origin of Sufism may study for himself Arberry's *Introduction to the Study of Sufism* in detail.

We find that all the Sufis professed the religion of Islam, and their philosophy is based on the doctrines of the Quran, which they have interpreted in their esoteric ways. And as Macdonald says :

> "As to recognizing, using, and enjoying this world, Islam is a most practical religion, but on its doctrine of salvation it is absolutely and entirely other-worldly."[4]

Now let us see how far the religion of the Quran, namely Islam, is connected with Sufism. J. C. Archer says :

> "After all Islam is essentially the lengthened shadow of one man. Muhammad founded it, and his spirit dominates it still. He is the fountain-head of all the main Islamic currents which have grooved and moistened the soul of many lands. His word

1. A. J. Arberry, *Introduction to the Study of Sufism.*
2. M. A. Ubicine, *Letters on Turkey.*
3. In Collection and translation of *Muntiq-ut-tair of Attar.*
4. Macdonald, *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam.*

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and his life are a court of perpetual appeal on the part of his followers throughout the earth.

"In any proper historical survey of Islam, the mystical current is seen to loom large. Its source, however, has not plainly appeared in the view. Greek and Persian and the Buddhist waters have joined the stream and swelled it, but it arose first of all out of the deserts of Arabia, not mirage but a bubbling spring, a Mohammadan origin, the experience of the Prophet himself.

"There is good reason for some revision of the characteristic estimate of Muhammad. Great man that he was, the full story of his life and work is not yet told. The outer facts are very generally—and one may say, very fairly accurately—known. Our knowledge of the inner states, however, leaves much to be desired. A proper appreciation of these aspects of Muhammad's life gives us a more adequate view of him and of his religion. He has stood somewhat obscure behind the array of institutions which trace their rise from him, the system of Faith seeming of so much greater significance than the founder himself. The very magnitude of Muslim expansion has overshadowed the simple lines of the Prophet's own person. Yet the stream may not ignore the spring which feeds it. However many tributaries it may gather to itself as it flows, it must regard for ever the effective supply which gave it initial body and direction.

"It is clear that Muhammad strove for religious effects that he employed methods fruitful of revelation."[5]

As R. L. Swain in his *What and Where is God* says that any normal person may achieve religious insight if he goes about in the right way, and as Prof. Pratt says in his *Religious Consciousness*, that all religious people have at least a touch of mysticism, we can conclusively say that Muhammad also must have the mystical tendency which he observed in his own way.

Again, Archer in his *Muhammad's Practice of Mystical*, says :

"Urwa-ibn-azzubair reports on the authority of 'Ayesha' that the Prophet's retirement and seclusion in the cave in the Mount Hira was for the practice of tehannus or the night vigils for stated periods. The presence of God which he sought cannot be gained nor held without practice. This Muhammad realized for himself and for his people—it is after all out of his own experience that provision is made for his people that they may have and keep the sense of Allah. The rites, which Muhammad practised, were all, at first, privately observed ; even for some years, after they had been prescribed for the first members of the slender Moslem community, no public display of them was made. They were simple although strenuous rites. In time they were elaborated and used publicly ; became the 'pillars,' in fact, of the new faith.

"As we would expect, Muhammad puts a great deal of emphasis upon the practice of prayer. He does not give many details with regard to the methods used, but the few which he does give are very significant. The few are enough."

D. 'Ohsson, an oriental scholar, writes about the beginning of mysticism in Islam, thus :

"In the first year of the Hijra forty-five citizens of Mecca joined themselves to as many others of Medina. They took an oath of fidelity to the doctrines of their Prophet, and formed a sect of fraternity, the object of which was to establish among themselves a community of property and to perform every day certain religious practices in a spirit of penitence and mortification. To distinguish themselves from other Muhammadans, they took the name of Sufis. This name, which later was attributed to the most zealous partizans of Islam, is the same still in use to indicate any Mussalman who retires from the world to study to lead a life of pious contemplation and to follow the most painful exercises of an exaggerated devotion. . . . Following their example, Abu Bakr and Ali established even during the life-time of the Prophet, and under his own eyes, congregations over which each presided with peculiar exercises established by them separately, and a vow taken by each of the voluntary disciples forming them. On his decease Abu Bakr made over his office of president to one Salman Farsi, and Ali to Hasan Basri, and each of these charges was consecrated under the title Khalifa or successor. The two first successors followed the example of the Caliphs, and transmitted it to their successors, and these in twin to others, the most aged and venerable of their fraternity."

John P. Brown in his *Darvishes* says that it was in the second century of the Hijra, near 129, (corresponding to 746 A.D.) that a Sufi reputed for his virtue and knowledge, Sheikh Llwan founded the first religious order, to which he gave his name. This innovation met with great opposition on the part of the legislators and the truly orthodox of Islam, who recalled the formal declaration of Muhammad, 'No monkery in Islam.' Though this sentence, because in some sort proverbial, was received at the same time as an article of faith by all Mussalmans, the inclination of the Arabs for a solitary and contemplative life carried it against orthodoxy. Other orders were soon founded in imitation of the first. The number grew rapidly from the second to the seventh century, and also in subsequent epochs.

The Sufis interpret the tradition 'No monkery in Islam' in the sense that no extreme rigour should be made in their solitary, orderly life. And in the following lines we shall find how Moulana Rumi, founder of the Moulavi order in the thirteenth century A.D. interprets it :

Tear not thy plumage off, it cannot be replaced ;
Disfigure not thy face in Wantonness, O fair one,
That face which is bright as the forenoon Sun,
To disfigure it were a grievous sin.

* * * *

Rend not thy plumage off but avert thy heart from it,
For histility between them is the law of this holy war.
Were there no hostility, that war would be impossible ;
Hadst thou no lust, obedience to the law could not be.
Ah ! make not thyself an eunuch, become not a monk ;
Because chastity is mortgaged to lust.

Without lust denial of lust is impossible ;
No man can display bravery against the dead.[6]

5. J. C. Archer, *Mystical Elements in Mohammad.*

6. Mathnavi, Vol. V.

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The Sufis declare there are four stages of life in the Sufi path which leads us to God. The first is the Shariyat or the established or holy law which is to be observed by every one and is useful in regulating the lives and restraining the common mass who will otherwise never be able to grasp the hidden treasures of mystery that underlie their manhood. These are the established rites, customs and precepts of Islam. And when they will follow these established rules, they will reach that height of Divine contemplation where they will not be misled by that very liberty of faith which enlighten and delight those of superior intellect and more fervent devotion.

The second is the Tariqat, the path, rather the mystical path. Here the disciple or *murid* is initiated, and begins to obey his spiritual guide who knows every defect and merit of his disciple and instructs him accordingly. The disciple also, as he now understands to some extent the hidden treasures of Divine mystery, obeys him ungrudgingly without caring for any other thing of the world as a shadow obeys the branch of the Tree.' This gradually leads him to the stage of *marifat* or knowledge.

The third is the stage of Marifat or knowledge where the *murid* or disciple has understood the supernatural knowledge of God. In a sense he has grasped the Divine mysteries of God and has become an inspired one. And in the fourth or last stage which is called the stage of the Haqiqat, or that of the Truth, the disciple is supposed to have arrived at a position where he is completely united with God, the Truth.

These third and the fourth stages may also be called the states of *hal* and *maqam*, the ecstatic state and the state of constancy (with God). These are the states, the real idea of which cannot be described without what is common to our material and gross ideas. Moulana Rumi says of the state of ecstasy in his own fashion : Ibrahim bin Adham being asked with derision by one of his disciples, as to what marvellous gift he brought back from the garden of delights out of which he had come, replied : "I intended on arriving at this rose-bush (the sight of God) to fill the skirt of my robe with roses so as to offer them as a present to my brethren ; but when I was there the odour of the rose-bush so intoxicated my senses that the border of my robe escaped from my hands."[7]

In short, the reality of these states cannot be uttered with the tongue ; they are to be realized. In another place, the ecstatic state has been compared to the face of the bride which has been unveiled to the bridegroom for the first time and the *maqam* state is the state of constancy with the bride whose veil is removed from her face and in this unveiling of the bride there is always a tranquillity of mind in the bridegroom. The *hal* is the first vision of God ; and *maqam* is that continued state of mind when the Sufi feels the constant companionship of God, his Beloved.

Florence Lederer in his introduction to Shabistari's *The Secret Rose Garden* (*Gulshan-i-Raz*), says :

> "The journey to the Beloved has only two steps : Dying to self and uniting with the Truth (Fana and Wajd, or *hal*). When man's lower self is dead, the real self remains and is above the domain of the law. On being born into this world man is possessed by evil passions, and if he gives way to them his soul is lost. But in each soul there is an instinct for God and a longing for holiness. If man will foster this instinct and develop this longing, a Divine light will shine on him, and he repenting, turns and journeys towards God ; casting away self, he will meet and be united with the Truth in spirit. This is the state of the saints. But the man must not rest in this Divine union. He must return to this world of unreality, and in the downward journey must keep the ordinary laws and creeds of men."

This last stage is that of *maqam* where though obeying the outward formalities of religion at heart, he is always absorbed in the contemplation of God.

> "The Sufi system," as Browne says, "starts from the conception that not only True Being, but Beauty and Goodness, belong exclusively to God, though they are manifested in a thousand mirrors in the phenomenal world. 'God was,' says one of their favourite aphorisms, 'and there was naught beside Him'; and to which are sometimes added the words 'and it is now even as' it was then ; God, in short, is Pure Being and what is 'other than God' only exists in so far as His Being is infused in it, or mirrored in it. He is also Pure Good and Absolute Beauty ; whence He is often called by the mystics in their pseudo-erotic poems, 'the Real Beloved,' 'the Eternal Darling' and the like.
>
> "Their doctrine of Divine Unity is God alone really exists ; there is nothing but God, not merely that 'there is no God but God, which is generally the Muhammadan profession of faith. The world of phenomenon and of the senses is a mere mirage—a reflection of Being on Not Being, manifesting the attributes of Being as the reflection manifests its original, but not really participating in its nature. It is like that of sun (which typifies Being) reflected in a pool of water (Not Being). The reflection of the sun is entirely 'contingent'; it may be blotted out instantly by a passing cloud or marred by sudden gust of wind ; it is entirely dependent on the sun, while the sun is absolutely independent of it ; yet, while it lasts, it more or less faithfully reveals the Nature and Attributes of unchanging Prototype."

The creation, then, is only contingent and the nature of good and evil has no essence at all, like the different waves of the sea. As Moulana Rumi says in his *Masnavi* : "Both (good and evil) dash against each other from beneath and top, waves on waves, like the water of the ocean ; the appearance of opposition arising from the narrow body (of the waves) is due to the intermingling of the lives (of waves) at peace and in war. The waves of peace dash against each other and root up hatred and jealousy from the breasts. The waves of war, in another form, turn the loves (or the good qualities of men) upside down." The real nature of good and evil is known only to the Perfect who sees that good and evil are like the two sides of the different waves of the ocean. Those who have realized the essence of God find that this world of good and evil has no basis at all. It is only in the conflicts of our nature we find someone to be good and some one to be bad. Rumi says, "Since colourness became the captive of colour, a Moses came into a conflict with Moses ; when you attain to that colourlessness which you originally had, Moses and Pharoah are at peace (with another)."

I think the whole system of Sufism has been best summarised by Sir William Jones in his *Sixth Discourse on the Persians* :

7. *Masnavi*, Vol. II.

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"The fundamental tenets of the Sufis are that nothing exists absolutely but God ; that the human soul is an emanation from His essence, and though divided for a time from its heavenly source will be finally re-united with it ; that the highest possible happiness will arise from its re-union, and that the chief good of mankind in this transitory world consists in as perfect an union with the Eternal spirit as the incumbrances of a mortal frame will allow ; that for this purpose they should break all connection or *taalluq*, as they call it, with extrinsic objects, and pass through life without attachments, as a swimmer in the ocean strikes freely without the impediment of clothes ; that they should be straight and free as the Cypress, whose fruit is hardly perceptible and not sink under a load like fruit-trees attached to a trellis ; that, if mere earthly charms have power to influence the soul, the idea of celestial beauty must overwhelm it in ecstatic delight ; that for want of apt words to express the divine perfections and the ardour of devotion, we must borrow such expressions as approach the nearest to our ideas, and speak of beauty and love in a transcendent and mystical sense ; that like a reed torn from its native brook, like wax separated from its delicious honey, the soul of man bewails its disunion with melancholy music, and sheds burning tears like the lighted taper, waiting passionately for the moment of its extinction, as a disengagement from earthly trammels, and the means of returning to its only Beloved."

And this mysticism has been aptly defined by Miss Underhill who says :

"Broadly speaking, I understand it to be an expression of the innate tendency of the human spirit towards complete harmony with the transcendental order, whatever be the theological formula under which that order is understood. This tendency, in great mystics, generally captures the whole field of consciousness ; it dominates their life, and in the experience called 'mystic union,' attains its end ; . . . the desire to attain it and the movement towards it—so long as this is a genuine life-process and not an intellectual speculation—is the proper subject of mysticism."[8]

8. Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism*.

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SECRET MISSION TO ALGIERS

Story of a Rendezvous That Changed the Course of the World War II

By Dr. GYAN P. SRIVASTAVA, D.C.L. (Eton), G.C.H.W.

It's an old tale now. Yet how different the world would have looked if those four gallant souls had not staked their lives on that great adventure.

The lights in the East and the West, one by one were swiftly going out. The Japanese, with the fall of Burma, had reached the climacteric of their conquistador era. Russians were fighting with their back to the walls. Fearful darkness was filtering on in Egypt—booming guns around El Alamein were heard in Alexandria.

If once the pressure on the Soviet Allies could be relaxed ! The prospect of dislodging the Germans from the bases on the Atlantic scattered right from Narvik in Norway down to the southernmost tip of France on the Spanish borders was certainly not a good one. Nor it was anything better on the North African Front. In Africa it was a battle of initiative, whoever took it will sweep across the deserts for a time until the opposition gathers up strength to roll it back to the original position.

"Gyani, can we afford this game of swings anymore !" thought General Eisenhower loudly on the other end of the wire.

"How about a second front in Africa itself ? A surprise landing at Algiers and a smash into German lines from the west when they are being pushed by General Montgomery from the east. Mr. Bob Murphy, the American Counsul in North Africa, should be of some help to us."

. . . A war department cablegram marked 'most secret' was lying in the London Headquarters of General Dwight Eisenhower. It put up to the General the gravest decision of his career. In essence, it said this : A group of French officers in Algeria suggest that five officers from General Eisenhower's staff come secretly and at once to a rendezvous near Algiers with information as to what the United Nations will do to liberate them from virtual Axis capitulation.

The General reflected. "On 'D-day' at 'H-hour' (Nov. 8, 1942, at 1-00 a.m.) American and British troops would make amphibious landings in A. Africa."

The decision made, the Deputy Commander Major General Mark Wayne Clark departed to handpick the four men to go with him : Captain Jerauld Wright, United States Navy, a crack shot ; Colonel Julius Holmes, who knew French and knew Algeria ; Col. Arch Hamblen, an expert on shipping problems ; and Brigadier General Lyman Lemnitzer of G-3, the operations branch.

Each was instructed : "Leave your office as if you would be away no more than an hour. Take what a musette bag will carry. No papers of any kind. We leave tonight." At 7-30 a.m., October 18, two big planes roared into the air. The historic mission had started.

Meantime, coded cables had flashed orders to Captain D. E. Fawkes at a British naval base to provide a sub and your so-called *kayaks*—small boats made of wood and canvas which would be used to put the passengers ashore. The commandos contributed the services of three officers who were expert in this

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kind of business : Captains G. B. (Jumbo) Courtney and R. P. Livingston, and Lieutenant J. P. Foote.

Late in the afternoon the Clark party arrived at the base. Fawkes listened attentively as the scheme was outlined. Then he said bluntly : "It's very dangerous. We can put you ashore, no trouble there. But the kayaks are cockleshells. If a sea springs up you can't launch them, can't get away."

Clark nodded. This was a risk he had already considered and accepted.

The moon was rising as the five Americans and the three British commandos, led by the submarine's Commander Lt. N. L. A. Jewell, boarded a little 750-ton undersea craft. With them they took blue flashlights—which would not throw beams observable from the side—to signal in the morse code after they landed ; and a small portable 'walky-talky' wireless set which they could use to communicate with the submarine, secure in the knowledge that the Germans could not pick up what was said. The Diesels rumbled and the sub got underway.

At 4 a.m. of the second night they sighted the rendezvous signal light on the African shore. But it was too close to dawn to risk a landing. They submerged again to wait for evening.

For 15 hours the tiny submarine remained below the surface. The air became so foul, a struck match would not ignite. The men found themselves gasping, gulping. Their heads pounded ; the slightest exertion brought utter fatigue but night fell at last and the submarine surfaced. The men climbed to the conning tower, the night air clearing their heads, and waited for the signal light to gleam again. The light came on.

The crew got the kayaks through the torpedo hatch and launched them. Keeping close together, the party headed for shore through a chop that drenched them with chill spray. Some 500 yards from the beach they stopped. Suppose Vichy-controlled police had been warned and were lurking in the bushes ashore ? Were they about to walk into a trap ? Somebody had to go first and make sure of the ground.

Julius Holmes spoke French the best and knew some of the people ashore, so he and commando Captain Livingston headed in. If all was clear, the others would follow. Ten minutes later Holmes' boat grated on the gravel beach. Carbines ready, the two men got out and moved cautiously along the beach.

Suddenly they heard someone moving in the bush. They whirled, guns levelled.

A voice said in English, "Who's there ?"

"Who're you ?" countered Holmes.

"I'm Ridgeway Knight."

Ridgeway Knight was an American Vice-Consul who had taken part in the arrangements for the rendezvous.

"I'm Julius Holmes. Where's Bob Murphy ?"

"He'll be along in a minute. Everything is o.kay."

Holmes turned to Livingston. "Make the signal."

Livingston blinked his blue flashlight seaward. The signals were, "K" for "kerrect" if all was well ; "F" for foney if there was trouble. He made the "K" signal in Morse, and presently the other kayaks came out of the night and the other six men stepped ashore. Then the signal, "All's well," was made to the submarine, and its Diesel drone died away as it stood offshore.

To hide the boats, the wet shivering men hauled them up to the farmhouse and piled them in the kitchen. Then they shucked off their clothes, spread them out to dry, and after a slight meal dozed until the French party arrived at 7 o'clock and the conference began.

The information obtained was priceless. It included the tonnage capacity of the ports of Casablanca, Algiers, Oran, Tunis ; the French navy's plans for preventing a landing ; a list of the places where French army resistance would be tough, and where it would be only token. Special information on airport runaways later proved to be of inestimatable value.

The sun climbed the sky and started down, and still the men talked, and figured, and marked the maps.

But General Clark's luck was running out at last. Jerry Wright heard a sound that brought him quickly out of the house. The wind was whistling round the house's red-tiled roof. Waves as tall as a man were roaring against the shore. Wright knew that no kayak could ever be launched in that foaming tumult. He went gloomily back inside.

Meanwhile, two Arab servants, who had that morning been dismissed by the owner of the farm-house for safety's sake, had gone to a nearby town and visited the Commissioner of Police. They reported that they had seen strange men carry big bundles (the boats) to the farmhouse. The place had once been a smuggler's hide out ; perhaps it was being used thus again. So presently a police car was humming along the highway toward the rendezvous . . .

In the next room, the telephone jangled. The conferees jerked erect, looked at each other. The house-owner answered the call, and a moment later came rushing into the conference room, his eyes wide with fright.

"The Police ! They'll be here in five minutes !"

Most of the French officers—the top ones—hurried out. To be discovered here in these circumstances meant being shot for treason. Motors roared, gears clashed, and they were gone.

Clark's men hastily stuffed maps and papers inside their under-shirts. They were trapped between the Vichy police and the stormy sea. And now the police car roared up, its lights gleaming against the white walls of the farmhouse. Where could they hide ? Clark was all for taking literally to the woods. Murphy objected : if the police got suspicious and made a search, the Americans were bound to be discovered.

"There's an empty wine cellar," said Murphy. "You go down there. I'll get rid of the police."

Clark didn't like it : a cellar seemed like a rat-trap —no room to manoeuvre. But there was now no time for anything else. They could hear the gendarmes piling out of their car. Gripping carbines and tommy guns, the eight officers filed down into the wine cellar. Murphy pulled the doors down flat, put boxes over them, then turned to meet the police.

He had one stratagem that might work. The conference table was littered with half-empty wine bottles and cigarette stubs. Two French lieutenants in civilian clothes took their lives in their hands to pretend a drunken party with Murphy and Knight. They began singing snatches of drinking songs, laughing and talking loudly. That was the scene the Commissioner of Police walked in upon a moment later.

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Bob Murphy argued with the Commissioner, he and a few friends were having a little party. Since when that was a crime? What would Monsieur le Commissaire think if the American Police invaded the privacy of French citizens in New York.

Down in the cellar the tense silence was broken by choking gas, Jumbo Courtney was trying to suppress a fit of coughing. The strangling sound seemed to his companions loud enough to be heard in Algiers. Jumbo struggled desperately.

"By George!" he gasped. "I'm afraid I'll choke."

"I'm afraid you won't!" said Clark, grimly. "But here, chew this gum."

Jumbo fumbled for the gum, chewed desperately. The spasm passed. Silence settled on the cellar. The men could hear their own hearts thudding.

Above, Murphy was still arguing vociferously. Snatches of drunken song came from the gallant French lieutenants. A minute took a century to pass.

And then the voices upstairs changed tone. The Commissioner of Police was not so brusque. Holmes heaved a sigh. "Bob's got him," he whispered.

The Commissioner had decided there was no smuggling going on.

Nonetheless, he said, he'd have to report to his superior. And, yes, without a doubt his superior would return to look into the matter further.

Just then Jumbo started to have another spasm of coughing.

"Chew that gum," Clark whispered tensely.

"I am, sir, but all the sweetness has gone out of it."

"I don't wonder," whispered Clark. "I chewed it an hour myself before I gave it to you."

This was considered very funny—but much later.

At last, however, the footsteps faded away, and they heard the police car leave. Clark and his party ascended, anxious to get to the submarine, as soon as possible. But the surf still pounded on the beach. Jerry Wright said, "I'd hate to have to launch a whaleboat in that sea."

Yet the mission was now a success—if they could only get away with the information.

Clark said: "We'll try it."

A wireless message was sent to the submarine: "Stand in as close as possible. We are in trouble and will embark immediately."

They carried the kayaks down to the windswept beach. It took a bold man even to consider going into that roaring sea with a fragile craft hardly bigger than a child's toy-boat. Clark stripped to his under-clothes and carrying his outer garments, walked out into the breakers with Livingston. They managed to get into the heaving little boat, and drove their paddles deep. Then a huge wall of water broke over them, the kayak up-ended, and Clark and Livingston vanished into a white fury of foam.

A moment later, battered, turned end over end by the undertow, they came rolling along the beach, full of sand, salt water and artistic profanity.

They could not launch that night. Returning to the cellar was not safe. So they hid themselves and the kayaks among the palms.

The police returned at 11 that night. The group of the woods, guns ready, hid tightly. Murphy greeted the police again, smiling his charming smile, talking rapidly and smoothly. In the end the police did not search the woods. They were not satisfied; they said they would return in the morning; but for the moment they were staved off.

By 4 a.m., the wind seemed to have lessened somewhat, though the seas were still mountainous.

"We'll try it again," said Clark. His wireless to the submarine this time was imperative, "Stand in as close as you possibly can."

Jumbo, Knight and the two French lieutenants steadied the first kayak. Clark and Wright climbed in. Cautiously the four walked the frail craft out into the pounding surf until Wright saw a comparatively smooth stretch. "Now!" he yelled.

The four men heaved the boat forward, Clark and Wright paddled with all their strength. The light kayak climbed the side of an on-coming wave, hung for an endless space almost perpendicular—then suddenly went over the hooked crest and cleared the surf.

Meanwhile, the others were trying to float their boats. General Lemnitzer and Lt. Foote used the same four-man system of launching, but their kayak capsized almost at once. Men and boat were hauled ashore. They tried again, and this time, miraculously, got clear.

Holmes and Livingston got off without accident, but Arch Hamblen and Jumbo Courtney overturned on their first attempt. They were the last to reach the submarine, and just as they did so a gigantic wave caught their kayak, lifted it high and swept it down upon the sub. Crew members snatched the men clear, held them while the water poured in a torrent off the sub-marine's back. The wave broke the kayak in two and swept it away.

The danger was instantly apparent. A broken boat ashore with its contents scattered along the beach—it had contained letters, uniforms and a musette bag holding the gold—would be a complete betrayal of the Americans' presence. They flashed Murphy a warning to clear the beach of all debris.

The sub turned her bow north at a painful four knots—her top speed submerged. Clark, anxious to get his information to London as soon as possible, decided to risk breaking radio silence. He sent a message to the nearest British base, giving the sub's course, speed and position, and asking that a plane be sent out.

At 3-20 p.m., a Catalina flying-boat droned low overhead. An hour and a half later Clark and his men landed at the base and flashed the news of the great success. Then they boarded planes for England. The plane carrying Clark ran into every kind of difficulty, as though Fate at the last moment was reluctant to see him through. For hours they were completely lost in fog. The plane iced up so badly that at one time it staggered along, barley aloft. The General calls this flight "the biggest thrill of the trip."

In England, where the other plane had arrived right on the nose, there was consternation. But Clark's plane finally nosed down through the soup. You could have bought all that remained of her gasoline for a quarter-rupee bit.

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SOME SANSKRIT LYRICAL POEMS OF BENGAL

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By Prof. J. B. CHAUDHURI, ph.d. (Lond.), f.r.a.s. (Lond.), b.e.s.,
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Bengal has made very substantial contribution to almost all branches of Sanskrit Literature and none the less—to Sanskrit Lyrics. Jayadeva's *Gita-Govinda* and Govardhana's *Arya-Sapta-sati,* composed during the rule of Lakshmana Sena, are two of the best lyrical works in the whole range of Sanskrit Literature. The *Sadukti-Karnamrita* of Sridhara contains a large number of lyrical stanzas composed by many poets of the court of Lakshmana Sena and their predecessors most of whom flourished in Bengal. Thus, the contributions of Satananda, Gaudabhinanda, Umapatidhara, Dhoyika, etc., are unique and it cannot be denied that this anthology is the best of all our Sanskrit anthologies. Post-Chaitanya contributions of Bengal to Sanskrit lyrical literature are extensive and rank very high in the whole range of Sanskrit lyrical literature. Within the short space at disposal, I shall deal with only a few Duta-Kavyas or Messenger-Poems of Bengal, composed after the model of the *Meghaduta* of Kalidas. These works are indeed very beautiful and important and Bengal can undoubtedly be very proud of them. Chronologically, the *Pavanaduta* comes after *Meghaduta* if the Jaina Duta-Kavyas are not taken into consideration. Of the Dutakavyas contributed by Bengal, (1) the *Pavanaduta* of Dhoyi, (2) the *Manoduta* of Visnudas, (3) the *Hamsaduta* of Rupa Gosvamin, (4) the *Bhramaraduta* of Rudra Vachaspati, (5) the *Padankaduta* of Krishnanath Sarvabhauma deserve special mention. Brief accounts of these works and of their authors are given below :

(1) "Pavanaduta" of Dhoyi

This work is, like its model *Meghaduta,* very rich in the description of both the external love of nature for man and the love of man for nature—as well as of human love and the geography of India during the twelfth century A.D. The work is based on a supposed invasion of the South by King Lakshmana Sena as far as Malayas. There he is said to fall in love with one Kuvalayavati, who at the advent of the spring is overpowered with the sentiment of love and sends the north-eastern wind to Bengal as Messenger. The wind is entreated to traverse from Kankanagara to the Malaya hills, Uragapura (capital of Pandyas), Adam's Bridge, Conjeeveram, Kaveri, Malyavat, Panchapsar Lake, Kalinganagari in the Andhra country, the Narmada, Yayatinagari, Suhma, the town of Shiva, Triveni and then Viyayapura, capital of Lakshmana Sena.

Many of the verses attributed to Dhoyika or Dhoyi are not traced in the *Pavanaduta* and certainly, such a great poet composed other works as well. The present work is important not only for giving us graphic descriptions of the important places of India in the twelfth century A.D., but also for bringing in Lakshmana Sena, a historical person within the range of Duta-kavya Literature, a unique thing in itself. Further, it throws some light upon the invasions of Lakshmana Sena. Some inscriptions and references reveal that King Lakshmana Sena had a full sway over an extensive area—as far as Benares, Kamrupa and Kalinga. One would only wish that further light is thrown on this interesting subject in near future.

(2) The "Manoduta" of Visnudas

Time soon came when the immortal Kalidas (who got the idea certainly from the Hanumat-Sandesa sent by Ramachandra to Sita) was adopted by devotees as a means of giving vent to their religious fervour and the equation turned out to be as follows :

Yaksha—Supreme Soul.
Yakshini—The Devotee.
Cloud—Mind, Devotion, etc.

In other words, the Duta-kavya Literature was employed for the purpose of philosophical and religious discussions. Thus the *Hamsaduta* of Venkatanath Vedantacharya is nothing but a Vedantic work out and out and the *Manoduta* of Visnudasa of Bengal under discussion is nothing but a work on Vaisnava theology. It was composed in the fifteenth century A.D. and the author is supposed to be a maternal uncle of our Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. Visnudas made a present of this work to Gopinatha Kavikanthabharana, author of the *Krisnarjuniya Mahakavya.* One Rama of Visnudas's family also composed another *Manoduta,* a critical edition of which will soon be published in the January issue of the *Prachyavani.*

In this poem a Vaisnava devotee sends Mind as a messenger to the Supreme Deity. The sorrows and miseries of mundane existence are dwelt upon and supplications are made to the Almighty for final rescue. Gokula, Yamuna and Vrindavan—the favourite haunts of Sree Krishna—are described in ceremonial details. The qualities to be developed by the Mind are also beautifully described.

(3) The "Hamsaduta" of Rupa Gosvamin

Rupa was a direct disciple of Sri Chaitanya and one of the six law-givers of the sect. Rupa, his brother Sanatana and nephew Jiva are the most active literary figures in the whole history of Bengal Vaisnavism. He has to his credit twelve works.

In the *Hamsaduta,* Lalita, friend of Radha, sends a swan as messenger on behalf of them all, particularly Radha, to Krishna who has deserted them and gone to Muttra. The route described is Vrindavan to Muttra. The work is permeated with an effusion of devotion to, and love for, Krishna. The swan is entreated to report to Sree Krishna about the piteous condition of Radha whose peer cannot be traced anywhere in the world and who only blames herself for all her sufferings and nobody else. Krishna must return immediately if he still cares for her life.

(4) The "Bhramaraduta" of Rudra Nyayapanchanan

Rudra Nyayapanchanan was a scion of the famous family of Vasudeva Sarvabhauma. Rudra was the son of Kasinath Vidyanivas and elder brother of Visvanath Tarkapanchanan, author of the *Bhasa-paricchedа.* Smarta-Bhattacharya Raghunandan also flourished in the same family. Rudra Panchanan has to his credit a good number of poetical and philosophical works, the majority of which have not as yet seen the light of the day.

In this work a bee is sent by Ramchandra to Sita in Ceylon from Mount Malyavat and entreated to relate all the woeful pangs of separation undergone by him. This episode is not mentioned in the Ramayana.

The work is rich in the figures of speech and the metre Mandakranta, too, aptly employed. A logician of high order, Rudra Nyayapanchanan combined in him-

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self the rare gifts of a poet of Bengal, he has rendered invaluable service to the cause of the propagation of Sanskritic Learning in his own time.

(5) THE "PADANKADUTA" OF KRISHNA SARVABHAUMA

This work was composed in 1723 A.D. at the instance of Raja Ramajivan of Nadia. Some cowherdess of Vrindavan, greatly suffering from the pangs of separation from Krishna, sends his foot-print on the bank of Jamuna as a messenger to him and the route described is Vrindavan to Muttra. The metre employed is Mandakranta and the number of verses only 46. In spite of the short extent of the work and its recent date, it may be considered as one of the most substantial contributions of the mighty Bengali brain to Sanskrit Literature and it is no wonder that the work enjoys immense popularity amongst the devotees as well as the deity.

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INDIA'S STERLING BALANCES

BY SANTOSH KUMAR BRAHMA, M.A.

THE question of Britain's indebtedness to India continues to exercise the financial and commercial minds in India no less than in Britain. One of the outstanding questions of the day in the field of Anglo-Indian Finance is the problem of the liquidation of India's sterling balances. Besides the repayment of virtually the whole of India Government's pre-war debt of 360 million sterling, India's sterling assets have risen, since the outbreak of the present war, from 52 to 3,500 million. The war has thus turned India from a debtor to a creditor country in relation to Britain.

The original cause for the accumulation of India's sterling assets is the Sterling Exchange standard which called for large overseas investment in sterling. But the immediate cause was the Indo-British Financial Agreement made in November, 1939, which laid down that India would bear the cost of troops raised in India and deemed necessary for India's local defence and the cost of equipping them with such resources as India herself provides; that all heavy equipments of these would be lend-leased by U.S.A. or provided free of charge by U.K.; and that Britain will bear the cost of all Indian troops serving outside India including the Indian forces in Burma.

Lord Keynes, in an article on the Anglo-Indian Finances (in the *Economist*) put forward a vigorous plea for reopening the question of the sterling figure of the Indian debt by a re-negotiation of the Financial Agreement. His first contention that the Financial Agreement is indirectly responsible for aggravating inflation in India is hardly convincing. His second point that if the Financial Agreement is revised, it would not really increase the real burden of the people of India, is misleading. His third contention that India would herself gain from a re-negotiation of the said Agreement sounds forbidding. Lord Keynes' statement made on Britain's Indian debt that "the bigger that claim, the smaller the chance of converting it from the present virtually blocked character into a multilaterally convertible asset" seems like a veiled threat. The position seemed to be that unless something could be done to prevent these sterling assets from going on accumulating at the then current rate, the whole thing would have reduced itself to absurdity. As late as October, 1944, Sir John Anderson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, made the significant statement in the House of Commons that the sterling credits to the account of the Government of India involved no direct obligations on the part of the British Treasury. "Sterling balances held by overseas countries," remarked he, "though they represent a liability from the point of view of our national economy are not a direct obligation of the Treasury; nor do balances themselves form part of the national debt in the technical sense of the term." Lord Keynes' "veiled threat" of blocking India's sterling assets reinforced by Sir John Anderson's hint at the possibility of repudiation raised fears in the Indian mind. The sad experience of the Indian Delegates at the Bretton Woods Conference where the question of India's Sterling Balances was kept out of the purview of the International Monetary Fund has only confirmed that fear. The sterling debt may be written down by U.K. by applying the price-level corrective. What India wants is a fair and equitable solution of the problem here and now as a safeguard against the possible future price-inflation in the United Kingdom.

It is an admitted fact that the sterling redemption is beyond the United Kingdom's capacity. Had Britain paid India in gold or goods and services, the situation would have been otherwise. But Britain's stock of gold had long ago gone to U.S.A. We are now left with the problem of conversion. There is general agreement in India that these sterling balances should be utilised to strengthen India's industrial apparatus to the fullest possible extent. For this purpose, India needs capital equipments. On the other hand, it will be politically expedient and morally justifiable on the part of U.K. to seek some compromise to meet India's desire to spend outside the sterling bloc. But two things may be profitably remembered in this connection. In the first place, other countries besides India are in possession of such sterling balances. Hence any question of the wholesale conversion of India's sterling balances, which is virtually blocked, is impossible, for it will seriously affect the balance-of-payments position of U.K. In the second place, the whole world will run short of capital goods, more so England, which has stood the greatest strain of the present war. So, Indian opinion is desirous of using sterling balances as a means of acquiring capital assets from U.S.A. This is only possible if Britain has sufficient dollar reserves and if the easy inter-changeability of British sterling and United States dollar is guaranteed. The U. S. Administration's proposal for a loan about five billion dollars to U.K. and the August Agreement between U.S.A. and U.K. to keep the dollar-sterling rate between 4 and 5 dollars to the £ will go a long way in removing the transfer of converting a part of the sterling balances into dollars on a significant scale. Such a course will not destroy the hope of restoring the international trade system. It will also allay the fear on the part of the United Kingdom of India looting Britain and also the apprehension in Indian mind about Britain dumping on India.

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POETRY BETWEEN THE WARS

By Prof. RAJENDRA VERMA, M.A.

Wilfred Owen comes easy on the tongue when one speaks of War poetry ; and the universal appeal of

"The truth untold
The pity of War, the pity of
War distilled."—W. Owen

comes handy to reveal the post-war attitude to poetry and wars. Humanity, the thinking and feeling section of the Homo Sapiens, tried to fuse in its experiences the terrible pity which underlies all human slaughter ; but the year 1939 destroyed this emotional pattern and the drums of Mars quickened again the primeval instincts.

The world emerged out of the devastating conflagration, its spirit exhausted and its mind maimed. The poet, the barometer of man's sensibility, has just started giving utterances to the pain of bruises and wounds his spirit received during this war.

If the generation after the 1914-18 war was a disillusioned one, who saw the destructive potentialities of man, what could be said about the post-war generation of today? For one thing, no single attitude has finally crystallized and it is, therefore, hazardous to make a generalization so soon. Moreover, World War II was fought, in its second phase, with the fierceness and bigotry of crusaders : the deadly combat between fascism and communism. The mental climate was germane to Epic poetry rather than the lyrical impulse of irony and tragic pity. Yet in this storm and stress the man of feeling did not keep his lyre down ; only the notes are rather vague and largely esoteric.

It is interesting to note that Thomas Hardy was a poet, who alone of all others, viewed war's pity and irony in the background of some unchanging standard. The dim and diffused philosophy which saw only a blind volition in the depth of reality took the poise of a sublime scorn of wars.

As early as 1908, the date of composition of *The Dynasts*, Hardy had forebodings of the breakdown of social morality during war. His description of war-profiteers :

"Warfare mere,
Plied by the Managed for the
Managers ;
To wit : by frenzied folks who
Profit nought
For those who profit all."

has a poignancy of appeal today.

The real war poets, the Wilfred Owens and Sassoons, were transplanting the Georgian plant on the pessimistic soil. They had seen the futility of wars and a general sense of dissolution of things. Things fell apart for them and the centre could not hold, and in this background of the falling gods they looked upon

"The hell where youth and laughter go."

But it was not all nihilism, no stubborn philosophy of denial and negation. Even in moments of ironic contemplation, these first generations of war-poets had glimpses of the illusory hope :

"We laughed, knowing that
Better men would come,
And greater wars ; when each
Proud fighter brags
He wars on Death for Life ;
Not men for flags."

When the last Great War broke out, Rupert Brooke hailed it as an ennobling experience. Now these war-poets with their streak of pessimism and all-enveloping disillusionment were in fact Rupert Brookes without his faith. Their hatred of war was not sociological, nor grounded in a system of beliefs. Pacifism, the cult of the time, was indeed a safety-valve which the middle-class intellectuals had created for themselves.

Many were the currents and cross-currents in English poetry sequel to the war-poetry. The nature poems and the poems of classical sadness all tried to re-interpret the cultural heritage of England. But alongside these grew up a coterie of poets who tried to interpret man's feeling in terms of crisis in civilization.

Among these the most notable were W. H. Auden, Stephen Spender, Cecil Day Lewis and Isherwood. Their technique was a sharp break with the past and a daring use of images wrung from myriad aspects of life. They were so to say, the mouthpiece of the new wave of life and hope, mostly through the gateway of Marxism.

One cannot easily overlook a domineering figure. It is T. S. Eliot. A poet of vast potentialities, a harbinger of new technique he chose the road that leads back to ages stilled in the pages of history, to ideas that appeal not to a marching generation. Eliot developed a perverted sense of history and discovered in Catholicism the final vanish of all values. Yet Eliot is the greatest poet of disintegration, of modern life breaking down, of absolute loss of creative faith. In his *Murder in the Cathedral* we have the supreme sadness of the modern age : the overhanging clouds of suspicion, distrust and hatred which permeated the world that had just emerged out of the "war to end all wars."

"We have gone on living
Living and partly living . . .
A fear like birth and death,
When we see birth and death
Alone.
In a void apart, we
Are afraid in a fear which we
Can't know
Which we can not face, which
None understands . . ."

T. S. Eliot knew the anguish of "living and partly living." The way of correct living that he pointed out opened out to the Catholic Church. As John Strachey once cleverly said, out of Communism, suicide and religion, his two alternatives, he has chosen the latter and the easiest.

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When World War II broke out the shattering splinters and the air-raid sirens afforded little opportunities to poets to "recollect emotion in tranquillity." Yet some daring spirits did write poems snatching moments in between attacks of V Bombs and 1,000 pounders.

Of these Sidney Keyes and Alun Lewis attracted considerable attention. The predominant note in their poetry is the pre-occupation with life and death, and a subdued belief that after these mad hours beauty will again shine forth. Alun Lewis wrote in his *Poems in Transit* :

"Love reeled in that dark, and beauty
Stained the rocks with fragile flowers.
But love and beauty will survive
These grey malignant hours . . ."

Another poet of note is John Pudney. His is an ironic attitude, neither accepting nor rejecting wars. His airman can jest and yet fling himself in the face of death :

"Happy-go-lucky he
Heeded well
How shone the sun
The day he fell."

Whatever may be the warp and woof of the conviction of these poets, one thing stands out, and it is their overriding sense of tenderness for Man.

Of these Sidney Keyes has a special significance ; when he passes out from magazine reviews into settled literary criticism his height would be measurable. The significance compels attention because Sidney Keyes stands in symbolic relation to his generation as did Rupert Brooke ; the analogy is more than literary.

Rupert Brooke died fighting at the age of 28, and Sidney Keyes at 20, *i.e.*, in 1943 in the Tunisian campaign. The precocious death of both marks them out ; but the two stand out from each other. The difference is in fact the distance between 1914 and 1943.

Before Rupert Brooke heard the call of the trenches he was reacting against the vitiated hot-house atmosphere of the *fin de sicle*.. The eighteen-ninetees which attracted him first also repelled him to the extent of making him 'morbid' in his quick reaction against the 'pretty' poetry. One remembers his violent metaphor of the time—"a fly fast-stuck in grey meat on a corpse's neck." But he was soon found among the objects of nature, the everyday events, and the simple laughter in the friendly circle.

So was Sidney Keyes busy with his poetic trade. But his was an aloof and lonely plying, and his wares were markedly individual. An adolescent who turned out remarkable verses even at 16, Sidney Keyes dwelt among the poets of the Romantic age : Blake, Schiller and Yeates particularly. The contemporary literature had not claimed him yet. He was not of the receptive kind, and was no believer in hollow antidotes against romantic tradition. But a rich and fertile mind he soon fused in romanticism and continental symbolism ; and his poetry at 17 showed touches of a mature technique. He wrote :

"The trouble is, that a thing of beauty is not a joy for ever to me ; nor am I content to imagine beauty is truth, etc. All I know is that everything in a vague sort of way means something else, and I want desperately to find out what."

How different from Rupert Brooke was Sidney Keyes ! The Georgian pursued the clear-headed ideal of Beauty in the commonplace, they had their mind fastened upon broad realism, their output was a crystal of graphic and sympathetic naturalness. The mystic terror, the puerile inspiration of the divine, 'the metaphysical' and 'the wit' were absent in their poetry. This implicit humanism stood the test of the first Great War and largely accounts for the stature which they attained during and after it. It also explains how Rupert Brooke and his generation plunged into the ruck and chaos of battle with sons of faith.

"What of the faith and fire within us,
Men who march away."

How unlike were Sidney Keyes and his generation! The smugness had already vanished, the titanic forces of fascism had shaken men out of their pacifist convictions. Yet the War was to be fought, and fought as the strong men do. No one thought of becoming a pulse in the eternal mind. They had seen through the tinsel of beliefs which men in power carefully implanted.

The importance of Sidney Keyes lies in his fashioning a mentality for his generation *vis-a-vis* the War—not that he did it in any crude homilistic way. The motif of his poetry is Death. He did not get premonitions of death in the battle-field. But his early interest in the macabre themes, the poetry of death-wish which was quite the rage in Germany with Rilke as leading it and his inherited sense of guilt and evil destiny largely prepared the motive-spring.

Even before the Second World War Sidney Keyes had said :

"Sleep is sweet in the tomb
As in your quiet room
Do not fear every bed is a bier
Sleep is sweet in the grave and the womb."

This shadow of death deepens and finally merges into its huge, sprawling shadow when the War broke out. Keyes' philosophy was a quaint one. Death was neither a state of existence nor a cessation of it. It was an abiding presence, a spirit which we bear within us, awaiting its final release in the external world. It was neither the ennobling experience of the Romantic Georgian nor the metaphysical problem of Donne. It was a spiritual reality, an inescapable truth. The problem was how to make our terms with it.

So when Sidney Keyes was preparing himself to grapple with the steadfast reality he had none of the pacifist illusions nor had his generation. He wrote in his *Advice for a Journey* :

"The drums mutter for War and soon we must begin
To seek the country where they say that joy
Springs flowerlike among the rocks, to win
The fabulous golden mountain of our peace."

But this time the generation would not be led astray by the will-o'-the-wisp. The golden mountain of our peace had sunk with other romantic lies.

"O my friends, we are too young
For explorers, have no skill nor compass,
Nor even that iron certitude which swung
Our fathers at their self-fulfilling North."

The loss of 'iron certitude' was a universal loss which knawed the contemporary mind. Yet the poet exhorts—but in no spirit of a crusader :

"Go forth my friend, the raven is no sibyl,
Break the clouds' anger with your unchanged faces

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You'll find, maybe, the dream under the hill—
But never Canaan, nor any golden mountain."

'Unchanged Face' is the metaphor of stoicism. A stoical generation calmly standing the racking experience of thunder and fire and threats of invasion readily claimed Keyes for its own.

In the 'Foreign Gate' which is the panoramic picture of the dead done in a philosophical mood one hears the groans, confessions, and effusions of many a noted figure who had died in the remote and recent past. A voice is heard :

"—— pain alone is true."

another

"I fell on black Spanish hillside
Under the thorn-edge, fighting for a dream—"

In this domain of Death there is no honourable term for the mortal except in a detached contemplation of it.

"The great have come home and the troubled
spirits have spoken
But help or hope is none till the circle be broken
Of wishing death and living in time's compulsion,
Of wishing love and living love's destruction.
Till then, the Soul is caged in brain and bone
And the observant man must walk alone."

Active contemplation of death was the recipe which Keyes prescribed for the soldier. He does not ask him to be infatuated with death-wish, because that would bring in fear and repulsion like all physical infatuations. He must face it and contemplate it thinking it to be the omnipresent reality. It is in such a detached contemplation that the action of the soldier would be unhampered and unswerving. The vicious circle revolves round wishing death and living time's complusion, it has got to be broken at both the points.

Sidney Keyes went into action in April 1942. Here was his pagan-god Death face to face. Its bewildering chaos took away some of the earlier serenity of his approach to death. His calm and active contemplation matured into something like action, a quest for solution in the heart of the battle. The pain—the great truth of his heart remained. He wrote in his *The Wilderness*:

"O Speak no more of ceremony
Speak no more of fame.
My heart must seek a burning land
To bury its foolish pain."

He was greatly drawn towards the Phoenix symbol. The regeneration of the legendary bird from the fire kindled hope and courage but before this resurrection one must have stood the test of fire. He wrote :

"——They all must face the Sun, the red rock desert
And see the burning of the metal bird.
Until you have crossed the desert and face the fire
Love is an evil, a shaking of the hand,
A sick pain draining courage from the heart."

This is the philosophy of *The Wilderness*; self-abnegation, and conquest over death is complete.

To a generation which accepted the tragedy of the War, Sidney Keyes gave philosophical gravity—a conviction, the core of which was rooted in a sense of fate. He was not in the line of the shallow propagandist or the morbid nihilist, his was a lonely furrow which turned new soil for his contemporaries. Celebrating Death he also struck for man.

The world catastrophe obliterated the line between life and death, and the risk of future civilization lay in death-wish becoming supreme. Sidney Keyes sublimated this death-wish, and while infusing courage in the fighter, also brought home to him the final vanish of a social superstructure which had made death seem so real.

——:O:——

H. G. WELLS ON ATOMIC BOMBS AND INDIANS

By M. F. SOONAWALA

With the advent of the Atomic age ever since the world at large was first apprised of it with the bursting of the Atomic Bomb on Hiroshima on 6th August, 1945, much has been said about the late Mr. H. G. Wells's prophecy about it.

As long ago as in 1914 he wrote a book entitled *The World Set Free*, in which he predicted the invention and devastating use of this terrific weapon. A perusal of the book shows what a prophetic vision he had three decades back and what potentialities he could foresee of such inventions turning the mind of man back to the great problem of setting up a World Government so as to ensure enduring peace and thereby save civilisation and mankind from disintegration and total extinction.

Incidentally, the book reveals how the author conjures up the vision of a highly regenerated India. In the first chapter he mentions :

"The Dass-Tata Engine—invention of two among the brilliant galaxy of Bengali inventors—that modernisation of Indian thought was producing at this time . . . Small wonder was this when the cost, even of these earliest and clumsiest of Atomic Engines is compared with that of the power they superseded. . . . The Dass-Tata were, indeed, making strenuous attempt to secure a world monopoly in Atomic Engineering."

From this one can conceive how the then growing fame of Indian scientists like the late Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose and industrialists like Tatas had captivated his imagination.

Then, again, while describing the first great World Conference of rulers, scientists and statesmen to establish a World Government (the prototype of our UNO), he assigns a place to an Indian also—"opposite (sat) a great Bengali leader," to cite his own words.

The presence today of delegations representing nationalist India at all World Conferences amply justifies the great author's farsightedness and optimism about India's future greatness.

Karachi

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FAMINE EPIDEMICS AND MEASURES OF HEALTH REHABILITATION

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By Prof. KARUNAMOY MUKHERJEE, M.A.

The Bengal Famine Inquiry Commission[1] admits that in 1943

"The calamity of famine fell on a population with low physical reserves and circumstances were favourable for a flare-up of epidemic diseases."

The admission was evidently based on facts at the disposal of the Commission. In the following paragraphs we, however, propose to discuss some aspects of public health and famine epidemic not on the provincial scale but on a smaller regional basis : We shall base our conclusions on such facts and figures as were made available to the author of this note both through official sources and his personal survey of Faridpur district in lower Bengal where he spent nearly two years (1944-46) to study firsthand allied problems of Famine and Rehabilitation.

It is to be noted that, normally, the health of the district as a whole is bad, except in some parts of the south-east. The presence of 28·8%[2] of landless families alone is a sure index of poverty of the people who are dependent predominantly on agriculture.[3] Sir John Megaw's reported figures of badly nourished population in Bengal, namely, 31%, will presumably apply to this district.[4] The late Major J. C. Jack calculated that the percentage of the population "in starvation" during 1904-10 in the district was only four.[5] The proportion, according to recent Settlement Operations, rose to 23·4% during 1940-42 ; and according to the Sample survey of the present writer, it stood at 72·1% during 1943-44. The progressive deterioration in nourishment and health can be well guessed from these figures. In the writer's Sample survey of five villages, 88·6% of the total population (on 1st January,1943) was found lying ill in 1943. During the aftermath of the famine, a vast majority of the poorer section of the population continued to suffer from general debility and devitalisation. It will not be wrong to presume that at least 50% of the people "in starvation" during 1943-44, fell ill in 1944-45. This proportion almost corresponds to the all-Bengal average of 2 crores of epidemic-ridden people during the aftermath of the famine, as estimated by Dr. B. C. Roy, President, Bengal Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee.[6]

Although accurate figures regarding the number of persons that fell ill in 1943 or in 1944 in the district as a whole are not available, the nature of the high incidence of Malaria and Kal'azar fever may, however, be gauged by referring to the recorded Statistics of Treatment Centres and Charitable Dispensaries functioning within the district. Both these types of diseases spread in an epidemic form. Then, again, Dysentery, Cholera, and Small-pox took a heavy toll of human lives. The following figures would indicate that Cholera and Malaria cases which had been fewer in number during the four years preceeding the famine,[7] suddenly increased greatly in 1943, and that Kal'azar and Malaria continued to increase and assumed very large proportions in 1944, although, of course, Cholera attacks seemed to have substantially abated during that year. Such diminution in the incidence of Cholera may, however, have been due to the fact that the available medical staff were so fully engaged in attending to Malaria and Kal'azar cases that came up for treatment that they found little time to call on Cholera patients who were generally to be treated at the latter's own homes.

Number of Cholera attacks and of Malaria and Kal'azar cases treated in Treatment Centres and Charitable Dispensaries in Faridpur Dist.
(Figures collected from District Board, Health Dept.)

Year	*Cases of Cholera attack*	*Death from Cholera*	*Total cases treated*	
			Malaria	Kal'azar
1939	2841	1984	78147	7044
1940	2460	1571	147302	8535
1941	9920	5394	342057	15615
1942	9600	8117	272112	13260
1943	10083	7479	338754	9689
1944	1948	1803	956205	13251

In some of the Annual Reports of the District Board Charitable Dispensaries, the following over-all stereotyped remark is entered : "Malaria was prevalent in 1942, 1943 and 1944, probably due to insufficient drainage as a result of silting up of rivers and accumulation of water-hyacinth in this area." This explanation can be only partially true. No rational, full explanation is, however, available. An expert medical opinion reveals that previous to 1941 (since when Malaria became very widespread), miscroscopic examination of blood gave out only 5% to 10% Malignant Tertian (M.T.) Malaria parasites ; the rest consisted of the Benign Tertain type. But during 1941 to 1943 period, it was found that there were 50% to 60% M.T. infection due to reasons unknown (for, how Anopheles bred and spread was not investigated). This, it was contended, was the reason for the sudden increase in the number of Malarial patients.

Government Measures

The steps taken by Government to combat epidemic and endemic diseases during 1943-44 and 1944-45 were quite inadequate. There may be some excuse for lack of arrangement in 1943 on the ground that the Government was quite unprepared to meet such an emergecy, the vast magnitude of which defied all anticipations. But, no such explanation will hold good for unsatisfactory arrangements in 1944-45, for, by that time, the seriousness of the situation might well have been realised. During 1944-45, the following measures were taken by Government to give medical relief to the people of the district :

(*a*) 3 Mobile Medical units
(*b*) 85 Satellite treatment centres

1. Vide *Report on Bengal*, 1945, p. 116.
2. Figures supplied by the District Relief Co-ordination Officer (R. C. O.) at Faridpur town.
3. Of the total population of the district 81 per cent. in 1909, 26.3 per cent. in 1931 and 79.3 per cent. in 1941 were directly or indirectly supported by agriculture.
4. Vide *Enquiry into Certain Public Health Aspects of Village Life in India*, 1933, by Sir John Megaw.
5. The percentage was five and a half in case of non-agricultural people. Vide p. 93 of *The Economic Life of a Bengal District* by J. C. Jack.
6. Vide *Save Bengal's Two Crores*, booklet published by Peoples' Relief Committee, Bengal. Also, vide p. 30, of *Bengal Famine and Problems of Rehabilitation* by K. B. Ray.
7. Except Malaria cases in 1941.

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(c) 89 to 91 Famine Relief Emergency (F.R.E.) Hospitals

(d) 921 lbs. of quinine ; 21,81,000 tablets of mepacrine sold through dealers ; and 692 lbs. of quinine, 900 lbs. of cinchona, 24,81,000 mepacrine tablets distributed free.

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS

The exact volume of relief work done by (a) and (b) above is not known. As regards (d), personal enquiries revealed that much of the benefit of such medicinal distribution was intercepted by interested parties and persons : as in 1943-44, so in 1944-45, black marketing and profiteering could not be stopped. As the people said in a tone of irony, "Quinine turned camphor, and vanished into the thin air !" There was the substance of truth in such a remark in the sense that the commodity disappeared into the black-market. Regarding (c), certain observations are called for. If well-managed and sufficient in number, these F.R.E. Hospitals may really prove to be the lever for an improvement of public health in the rural areas. Outdoor departments should, however, be opened in every such hospital, so as to deal with patients that come up for treatment from adjacent areas.[8] Invalids, orphans, and people otherwise turned destitute should be housed indoors and treated till they are restored to normal health. In both these respects, F.R.E. Hospitals were clearly much below the mark. Outdoor arrangements were lacking. Provision of beds fell far short of requirements. The cases actually admitted and treated in July, 1944, and in March, 1945, are appended to this note in tabular form ; they prove, specially, the figures in columns (5) and (6) of Table (B) prove, the Government's efforts at medical relief to be mere eye-wash. In July, 1944, in 88 Hospitals 2820 beds were provided. At the maximum the number of beds stood at 3050 in March 1944. Even assuming this maximum to represent Governmental efforts all through, we find that not even one bed per village, which ought to be the lowest desideratum of a health rehabilitation plan was provided. One bed for each village and one Hospital for each Union is the minimum arrangement required. Thus 3338 villages of the district would require 3338 beds at the rate of 14 beds per Hospital, in 238 Unions. Better still, 238 twenty-bedded F.R.E. Hospitals in the Unions, supplemented by four hundred-bedded Hospitals in the Sub-divisional centres, should be established permanently.

Even in that case unless the management be improved, the arrangement proposed above would largely be nugatory. The Sub-divisional Officer of Madaripur in his report of 1944-45 laments (dated 5.4.45) that "the hospitals are still not well-provided with medicines and necessary equipments." We may observe that simply to have "red mixture," "blue mixture," in big glass jars, kept perhaps for window dressing purposes, and quinine ampules full of sheer water, will not cure patients overnight. The supply of diet and genuine medicine must be adequate and steady ; black-marketing and the mysterious disappearance of materials, and, above all, moral turpitude on the part of the staff employed must be stopped with threats of dismissal together with fine and imprisonment. All attempts to inflate the figures of "total discharged"—a column in the F.R.E. Hospital form—by reckless and premature release of patients so as to lend a tone of gravity to the volume of work done, must be discouraged. Patients must be allowed to remain indoors till they are cured radically.

APPENDIX ON MEDICAL RELIEF

Table (A)—Details of patients, treated in March, 1945, of Epidemic diseases in the Hospitals

Sub-division	Cholera Admitted	Cholera Death	Small-pox Admitted	Small-pox Death	Malaria Admitted	Malaria Death
Sadar	2	..	9	5	273	4
Goalundo	2	..	26	3	256	22
Madaripur	5	..	28	4	662	3
Gopalganj	9	2	3	2	364	9
Total	18	2	66	14	1555	38

Table (B)—Details of patients in F.R.E. Hospitals in July, 1944 and March, 1945

Sub-division	Total admitted Mar. '45	Total admitted July '44	Total-dead Mar. '45	Total-dead July '44	Total remaining on 31.3.45	Total remaining on 31.7.44
Sadar	878	9968	27	746	434	476
Goalundo	722	7206	50	332	398	477
Madaripur	1384	15917	43	899	784	995
Gopalganj	692	5962	29	103	351	438
Total	3676	39053	149	2080	1967	2386

8. Now F. R. E. Hospitals are known as Auxiliary Government Hospitals, and out-door arrangements are said to have been made from about the middle of 1946 in some of these hospitals.

—:O:—

A PLEA FOR SEPARATION OF WEST BENGAL

BY PROF. HEMANTA K. SARKAR,
Late Member, Bengal Legislative Council and A.-I. C. C.

ACHARYA KRIPALANI rightly pointed out in his presidential speech of the Meerut session of the Indian National Congress :

> "Even if Muslims must have a theocratic State of their own, they cannot be allowed to impose it on Hindu, Sikh and other minorities in their territory. These minorities have at least as much right to self-determination as Muslims claim for themselves in India as a whole."

Hindus and Muslims in India are a subject nation now. If the British go away and two separate States on the two-nation theory are allowed to function, why should the Hindus of Bengal be agreeable to remain a subject-nation under the Eastern Pakistan ? The Sikhs in the Punjab have rightly decided to fight it to death against such a contingency in the Western Pakistan.

The recent proposal of Mr. Jinnah about the transfer of Mahomedan population from Bihar is being given a practical shape by the Government of Bengal who are settling them in West Bengal where Hindus predominate. This is a sinister move which will tell seriously against the Hindus of West Bengal in the future. This is no exchange but a one-sided affair. The Hindus in Bihar in West Bengal and in Assam is effected under a deliberate plan and we must beware

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of it from the very start. People from Noakhali and Tipperah have already been forced to take refuge in Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal, though now temporarily. Influx of East Bengal people to Calcutta and its neighbourhood in quest of jobs and business ventures has been a steady feature for a long time. In spite of Mahatma Gandhi's unique attempts, the return of Hindus to their former homes in those districts has not yet been possible and the future does not envisage a hopeful picture.

Some people think that Lord Curzon did the right thing by dividing Bengal which "settled fact" ought not ot have been "unsettled" by the Swadeshi Movement of 1905. In that partition the Eastern half of Bengal, preponderating in Muslim population, was attached to Assam and the Western half, predominantly Hindu, was combined with Bihar and Orissa as from before.

We are not aware of the inner motives of Lord Curzon. But now that Bihar, Orissa and Assam have been functioning as separate provinces, and the present Bengal with a majority of Muslims is going to be included in the C Group of provinces including Assam forming the basis of Eastern Pakistan, we must ponder seriously over the plight of the Bengalee Hindus who form 42 per cent of the population. The makers of modern Bengal are largely the Hindus and it now appears that the "brute majority" of Moslems is going to endanger the very existence of the Bengalee Hindus —their religion, culture and rightful social and economic self-expression.

The Great Calcutta Killing of August and similar disturbances in Noakhali and Tipperah in October last have been an eye-opener. Rape, loot, murder, arson, forced conversion and marriages have been the features of this great disturbance. Men levelled themselves down to the status of brutes or even worse.

A Muslim League Ministry rules Bengal. The Premier and the Leader of the League are one and the same and he was in charge of Law and Order. But the City of Calcutta and the districts of Noakhali and Tipperah appeared to have been without any government for those fateful days.

This was due to the commissions and omissions of a purely communal ministry who wanted to force a hartal on the 16th of August at Calcutta—the date fixed for observing the Direct Action Day of the Muslim League all over India.

In other provinces, the day passed off peacefully. The only other province where there was a League Ministry supported by a small European Group was Sind and there, too, holiday was not observed on the 16th of August under instructions of the Chief Secretary to the Government against the order of the League Ministers.

But in Bengal things happened otherwise. No police precautions were taken and even ordinary police help was denied to the citizens though the Premier who was in charge of Law and Order was in the Control Room of the Lalbazar Police Head Quarters at the time of the happenings in Calcutta. The military help was sought for much later, but before the military acted the mischief had been fully done. As a result huge loss of life and property occurred in the second City of the Empire.

It was evident that life and property of the minority community were not safe under the present (a group of incompetents or worse) League Ministers. Some briefless lawyers particularly from the mofussil have been drawn into the Bengal Cabinet to shoulder the responsibilities of giants, *i.e.*, distribution of food, development of agriculture, maintenance of Law and Order, etc. As an inevitable result, the whole machinery of administration collapsed during the time of crisis. The best brains have been deprived of all opportunities of national service and the narrow communal outlook could not save the province from catastrophe.

The leaders of Bengal are unanimous in having one Bengal with extended boundaries of Bengali-speaking parts of Bihar and Assam, too. Messrs. Sarat Chandra Bose, Dr. P. C. Ghosh, Kiron Sankar Roy, Dr. S. P. Mookherjee, and H. S. Suhrawardy are unanimous on this point, though perhaps form different reasons. The Indian National Congress has long laid down the principle of having provinces on linguistic basis. The Nehru Report also supports our claim. But will the Congress provinces of Bihar and Assam agree to transfer to Bengal the areas where Bengali-speaking people are in a majority? Even then the communal ratio will not be in favour of the Hindus.

Says Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee :

"In Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara, the proportion of inhabitants speaking Bengali are as high as 95 per cent, 60 per cent and 40 per cent respectively."—But majority of these are Bengali Mohomedans.

"Similar in Bihar,—the population is 67 per cent in Manbhum, 16 per cent in Singhbhum, 12 per cent in Santal Parganas and not less than 33 per cent in Purnea."—The vast majority of these are Hindus.

"It is indispensable for bringing about the proper balance between agriculture and manufacture in her economic structure that the Bengali-speaking areas of Manbhum, Singhbhum and Santal Parganas, rich in iron, coal, manganese, graphite and other minerals should be restored to Bengal.

"It cannot be denied that the languages of Chotanagpur, her ethnic and cultural history are different from Bihar. Her ethnic and cultural affiliations with Bengal justify her restoration to the parent province.

"Since the visit of Sri Chaitanya to Jharkand in the sixteenth century, the process of Hinduisation has been accelerated under the Bengalee aegis. A congeries of tribes like the Bhumij, Khaira, Buiya, Dom, Musahar and Bauri have been already transformed into Hindu castes as the result of upward economic movement and social assimilation."

"The worship of Kali is as general in Santal villages as the Hari-Sankirtan among the Hos in Chaibassa and the Mundas and Oraons in Panch Parganas. Inside Bengal, the steady migration of Santals, Mundas and Oraons has continued for decades, now reaching the total of more than 10 lakhs. Of these immigrants more than half describe themselves as Hindus and speak the Bengali tongue."

The Adibasi Movement of Chotanagpur for the creation of a separate Jharkand Province should also be taken note of. An understanding with their organisation should first be arrived at before Bengal could hope to restore the Bengali-speaking areas to her. A fast process of Beharisation of these parts is also taking place. The Muslim League Premier of Bengal has already been hobnobbing with them.

Bengal as it is now or with extended boundaries of Bengali-speaking areas of Bihar and Assam, stands on

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the same footing as before so far as her communal ratios stand. Under the influence of a Muslim majority rule, her Hindu population is sure to lose all influence and get demoralised. Her culture, tradition, religion and wealth which have been practically built up by the Hindus have already been affected and in course of a few decades will be wiped off.

Take, for instance, the services and the educational facilities. These are now practically shut up for the Bengali Hindus. Some of the recent legislations have hard hit the Hindus. There is a proposal for a separate Muslim University at Calcutta and the Secondary Education Bill is on the legislative anvil. The distribution of ration shops and business licenses has already deprived the Hindus of their legitimate share.

We have no objection to legislation for ameliorating the condition of the masses. But the League's policy in this respect is peculiar. When the Moslem zemindars of Bihar and U.P. are affected they oppose the idea of abolition of zemindaries, but in Bengal they are themselves the sponsors of the move. In C.P. and Bombay, it has been found at the time of passing of the Goonda Act, the League staged a walk-out from the legislature.

The writing of primary text books has been taken up by the League Government. A new type of language advocated by newspapers like the *Azad* with Arabic and Persian words preponderating is coming to vogue. The peculiar phonetics and Islamic idioms are absolutely foreign to Bengalis.

Primary schools are now called *Muktabs*, it is likely that the secondary schools, mostly built up by the money and energy of the Hindus, will be called *Madrassas*. Some of the primary text-books already contain passages describing how sweet is the taste of beef. And this has to be memorised by the Hindus, however repugnant it may be to them. The Hindus will soon have to read accounts of 'Janab' Ramchandra and his 'Begum' Sita.

In the name of communal ratio, the Administrative posts have been filled up by Mahomedans, while more deserving and qualified Hindus have been shunted off. Almost all the key-positions are held by Mahomedan officers: the District Magistrates, S.D.O.'s, Dy. Commissioners of Police, Superintendents of Police, Thana officers are mostly Mahomedans.

The key positions in the Civil Supply Department and the Education Department are held by Mahomedans. Even in Hindu localities Presidents of Union Boards are mostly Mahomedans.

The proposal for formation of Home Guards with arms supplied by the Government is suspected to be a Mahomedan organisation at Government cost for suppression of the Hindus.

Beds in hospitals have to be reserved in proportion to the strength of the communities.

Colonisation of Hindu areas by outside Mahomedans has already started. One day Calcutta may be colonised in its eastern outskirts by Mahomedans in the name of cheap-housing at Government cost. The late Mr. Momin, as officiating Chairman of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, was about to start this, and the idea is still being pursued.

The latest is the liquidation of Hindu wealth by direct method, *i.e.*, loot, murder and arson as were evidenced during the Great Calcutta Killing and the Noakhali and Tipperah disturbances.

Forcible mass conversion of Hindus to Islam and forced marriages have been other features.

Economic boycott of Hindus is being openly advocated by some of the Mahomedan Leaders of Bengal.

Under such a rule by "brute majority," we the Hindus of Bengal, need protection for our very self-existence and precisely for the reasons given by the Mahomedans for having a Sovereign State of Pakistan. And for this, partition of Bengal is the only painless solution. Otherwise Civil War is inevitable. If the Eastern portion of Bengal with Mohomedan majority districts of North Bengal and Assam forms Eastern Pakistan, the Hindus may have a separate province with the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions with the Hindu majority districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling and the State of Coochbehar and the Bengali-speaking portions of Bihar, *i.e.*, Manbhum, Singhbhum, Santal Parganas and Purnea. Thus the two major communities may live and grow peacefully. Joint electorate does not improve the situation so far as Hindus are concerned.

An objection may be raised by the minority Hindu population of East Bengal and North Bengal and Bengali-speaking Hindus of Assam to this partition. The Pakistan demand leaves one-third of the number of Mahomedans in Hindustan. A similar number of Hindus may be left in the Eastern Pakistan. But a corresponding proportion of Mahomedans will also be left in West Bengal, who will stand as hostage for good behaviour of the Eastern Pakistan towards Hindus there. Besides there will be a place in West Bengal where Hindu life and culture will flourish, where East Bengal Hindus might migrate, if so willing. There are some people who apprehend invasion of the Western part by the Eastern one, but in that case, if the Hindus of West Bengal cannot resist, they are not fit to live. Even if Eastern Pakistan does not invade West Bengal, the Gurkhas, the Biharis and even the Oriyas will not spare such a timid and worthless lot.

But now the question is put who is going to sanction this mutual partition. The Hindus of West Bengal demand it from the Congress and through the Congress from the Constituent Assembly which is going to revise the boundaries of provinces afterwards. If Mr. Jinnah and his Muslim League keep away from the Constituent Assembly, then a procedure has to be adopted for devising the new constitution for India and it may be expected a civil war will be launched by the Muslim League and a tug-of-war will go on between the Congress and the League and whoever wins will have its way. The British Cabinet has already declared that no constitution drafted by the Constituent Assembly in which an important section does not take part will be accepted for presentation to the British Parliament.

If the Muslim League joins, Bengal and Assam will have to sit in C Group to devise a constitution of their own. Assam has already refused.

If Assam opts out, Bengal is left alone. In this case also, the Hindus being in a minority cannot have a constitution to their liking. The British Cabinet has declared that decisions will be taken by simple majority votes. In C Group, the proportion of Moslems and Hindus was 36 : 34 ; out of the 34, there is one Communist (Mr. Somnath Lahiri) and one Scheduled Caste representative (Dr. B. R. Ambedkar). The only Nationalist Mahomedan, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haque has already turned a Leaguer.

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The Hindu Minority of C Group stands nowhere. Amongst the Congress Hindu Members of the Constituent Assembly from Bengal all the Caste Hindu Members with the exception of two are from East Bengal.

So there is hardly any chance of our proposal being backed by the members of the Constituent Assembly chosen from Bengal. This is why it is all the more imperative on our part that we should create a movement for separation of West Bengal and we should go on agitating before the bar of India's public opinion and should have a strong organisation like that of the Sikhs in demanding a place under the sun. Remembering the words of the Lord Buddha we must march on :

"Be thou thy own light,
Thy own shelter is thyself,
None else can be thy help."

———:O:———

MODERN LITERATURE OF TURKEY

By SUBASH RAI CHOUDHURI

The defeat of Turkey during the Great World War I marked the dawning of a new period of national literature. Turkey, the play-ground of heroism and nationalism combined with uncommon vitality and strength, played a great and important role in history. The breath of patriotism roused the soul of the nation and a wave of nationalism flooded over the country paving the path to the foundation of the Turkish Republic. The drooping spirits of national literature revived and fired the soul of the nation and inspired the movement. The immortal Kamal Ataturk, the most powerful leading pilot of the period, steered the ship of state clear and safe and ruled the destiny of the country ushering in an era of new order and change.

The current of renascent Turkish literature began to flow in a new channel and the trends of the dynamic inspiration of the new era brought about changed expressions and developments in culture, art, and intellectual movements. New systems of imparting and propagating education came into being replacing older ones. Series of reforms were introduced giving rise to new ideas and a broad out-look in the field of literature. The rise of eminent men of letters with vast erudition, literary acumen and passion bringing in a renaissance of literature was a feature of the period. They advocated national culture and nationalist ideas and feelings and gave expression to moral, social and political ideas and principles. They piloted the dynamic national movement of literature and shaped its destiny towards the peak of glorious achievements and attainments so characteristic of the period. It was an age of dynamic inspiration, rejuvenation and fresh splendour to Turkish literature. It brought about an awakening in the country and made the literature typical and national in hue and character. This new era dawned in and commenced from 1914 and spread onwards. This flourishing period made a new chapter in the history of Turkish literature.

Ziya Gok Alp, an inspired poet and nationalist idealist with inherent powers and forces was a dynamic personality. He played an important part as a passionate lover of literature and infused inspiration in promoting national culture. The *New Review*, a national organ, was his stupendous achievement and it quickened and thrilled the pulse of the nation through his enlightened guidance.

The Turkish Land, a national cultural mouthpiece, was an immense source of awakening the mind of the people. The outstanding and excellent contributions from powerful writers and authors to these papers were the symbols of revolt and revolution in every sphere. Prose and poetry became the popular rage of the day.

M. Faud Koprulu, a well-renowned savant, introduced new trends and methods in literature. His name and fame resting on national and international writings was upon every lip. Ahmet Refik was a puissant historical figure. His penmanship with a new outlook on past historical subjects and episodes was really superb. Halide Edib was a talented authoress. Her erudition in psychology surpassed others. Omer Seyfettin became well-known as a virile critic and commentator. His well-thought-out criticism and commentaries elicited highest tributes even from the foreigners. Yahya Kemal was a poet of exceptional merit and extraordinary power. He is regarded as the father of Turkish poetry. His verses centred round ancient glory and his lyrical and classical poetry are the living embodiments of the glorious past of Turkey. His writings and compilations were momentous and outstanding. He ranked among the first who propounded the unification of Western and Eastern culture. Hamadulla Suphi besides his powerful literary penmanship was a forceful orator of the age. His speeches and orations were immeasurably impressive and expressive as well. Fazil Ahmet was a witty and humorous writer. His criticisms tinctured with a biting satire earned a notoriety so characteristic of him. Ahmed Nurredin and Yusuf Ziya loomed large as playwrights and dramatists. Their stage productions were really the rage of the day .Mehmet Akif was a fiery and spirited writer. Being an idol of Islam, his writings and poetical works became widely known and popular. His verses are recited and chanted as national anthems of freedom.

Halide Edip and Resat Nuri are very popular as novelists. Abdulhak Sirasi Hissare earns a wide reputation for his concise and interesting prose writings. He is the author of *Fahin Bay and Ourselves*. Nurullak Atoc is eminently noted for lucid and outspoken criticisms. Hassan Aaleyual shines as a poetic figure of immense popularity. Mehmet Fuad Kaprulu is a puissant historian of the time and a great exponent of historical culture. Kemalettin Kami, Muhip Dranas, Yasan Nabi, Kemal Caglan, Nafiz Camlibel Frauk, progressive poets of the age, are the popular figures noted for their elegant taste, wide vision and fresh attraction.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

SUBJECT INDIA: *By H. N. Brailsford, LL.D. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., 3, Round Building, Bombay 2. 1946. Pp. 260. Price Rs. 4-8.*

Mr. Brailsford wrote this book on the political and economic situation in India for his own countrymen. There is much in it which may therefore seem unnecessary for the Indian reader. Although some may be inclined to consider his picture of India's economics as sketchy or overdone in parts, yet we feel that he has succeeded in giving a fairly accurate representation of things as they really are in millions of homes belonging to the poor in our country.

There seems, however, to be one point of weakness with regard to the picture of the political scene. On the whole, Mr. Brailsford has been fair; but somehow he has been misled with regard to the economic and political programme of the Congress. In an attempt to oversimplify the case, Gandhi and the Congress have been practically painted as agents of the forces of reaction. This is not the place to controvert an honestly held opinion; but it should be pointed out that the subject perhaps deserves more attention than has actually been given to it. It is patent Mr. Brailsford has tried to understand the Congress case with the help of people who suffer from an inhibition on that side.

HINDUISM AND UNTOUCHABILITY: *By Swami Sundarananda. Foreword by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. Udbodhan Office, 1 Udbodhan Lane, Baghbazar, Calcutta. 1946. Pp. 180. Price Rs. 2.*

The author, who is a member of the Ramakrishna Mission, is of opinion that Hinduism does not really contain any sanction for the vicious system of untouchability; the degradation to which the caste system has been dragged down was the result of priestly selfishness and a spirit of conservatism not in keeping with the best traditions of Hinduism as they were handed down the centuries by an unbroken series of philosophers and saints. He holds that a radical social reform must precede the political emancipation of India, and in the matter of establishing a democratic society, we have much to learn from the West.

The author pleads with passion and at the same time comes forward with a practical scheme of social uplift and educational reform among the untouchables of today; he feels rightly that mere pious sentiment will be of no use.

PRACTICAL NON-VIOLENCE: *By K. G. Mashruwala. Second revised edition. 1946. Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad. Pp. 48. Price twelve annas.*

After Gandhiji, Shri Mashruwala is perhaps one of the most original thinkers on Non-violence or the peaceful way of social revolution. He does not expect from the average man any unattainable measure of non-violence; but believes that the large quantum of non-violence which has already made social life on earth possible is capable of further organization and expansion, to the point when we shall be able to dispense with the method of war for the settlement of disputes and for arriving at great human decisions.

Shri Mashruwala shows convincingly that unless, in peace-time, we try to reorganize society's economic life on the basis of non-violence which is synonymous with non-exploitation, the instrument of non-violence will be of no avail when the time of crisis comes. Things gained by violence can be preserved by violence alone; and gained without exploiting others. So, if we are to replace war, we must ceaselessly work to establish an exploitation-free society. He tells us how that can be done by working out Gandhiji's Constructive Programme which aims at decentralizing both production and distribution for the establishment of economic democracy.

We recommend the book whole-heartedly to those who are interested in this very vital question.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

MARX AND THE TRADE UNIONS: *A. Lozovsky. Radical Book Club, College Square, Calcutta. Pages 173. Price Rs. 2-12.*

Although a philosopher Karl Marx was a realist in the full sense of the term. He was in touch with life, men and masses and he was alive to what was happening in the countries of Europe, America and even Asia. He had to fight against Proudhonism, Bakuninism and Zasallianism of his times and propound his theory about the role of Trade Unionism in the general class struggle of the proletariat. Marx considered the proletariat to be the only force that would successfully fight for socialism

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He drew a sharp political line between the proletariat and other classes. Marx believed in revolution by force and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat to be the only path towards socialism. He did not write any special books or pamphlets or text-books on Trade Unionism. His ideas on problems of economic struggle and the *role* of the trade unions in the past, present and future can be found all through his works, especially in his practical work as leader of the International Workmen's Association. Marx followed the first steps of the trade union movement in England, France and Germany, saw its strong and weak points, thought a great deal about all that was happening, found out just what the trade unions were, what were the limits of their action, what were the relations between economics and politics. He did all this with the accuracy, profundity and charity, so characteristic of him.

In the words of Engels, "Marx was before all else a revolutionary". In his own words, Marx was 'a mortal enemy of capitalism'. As such Trade Union problems do not occupy very much space in the Marxian literature.

The book being the first reprint in India will be welcome to the students of Marxian literature.

A. B. DUTTA.

THE BOOK OF BENEFICENT GRIEF AND OTHER POEMS : *By Serapia Devi. To be had of Uttar Chand Kapur and Sons, McLeod Road, Lahore. Pp. 85. Price Re. 1-8.*

The poems contained in this volume pass one by one before one's eyes with the slow but colourful pomp of a dazzling procession, some enriched with a sensuousness, some sweet like Elizabethan lyrics, and some tinged with melancholy, but none without the display of colours and contours. The imageries, conceived with a sleepless sense, not only of Keatsian colour but also of Keatsian concreteness, are at times reminiscent of Elizabethan lyrics, and at other times, surprise by copiousness. A keenness of imaginative sensibility matched with a rare felicity of pen, has stamped upon every poem the mark of a very high standard of art. But grief, "bitter-mouthed, onyx-eyed" woke the poetess up and took her out on an aerial excursion "to distant realms as yet unknown." She dipped her pen "in blood and bile" in order to praise "the majesty of lofty grief." As ever, here also grief, or rather an imaginative vision of it, inspires poetry which is colourful, luxuriant, now beautiful like moths, now mysterious like the rainbow.

NONE SHALL LIVE : *By K. K. Rao. Kitabghar, Rajkot. Pp. 216. Price Rs. 4-12.*

Sarathy, the hero of this novel, whose eventful but brief career constitues its plot, is boldly conceived but poorly executed. Orphaned at a tender age, having tasted the bitterness of a castaway life in the very prime, Sarathy is moulded into a unique pattern of an unconventional free-thinker, to whom the accepted values of life are meaningless. But in depiciting his character the author's pen fumbles, and after much hesitation, develops him not into a sober rationalist which he bade fare to be, but into a youngman who consummates marriage before marrying Vani, then marries her, falls in love with Meena and Mary, kills his wife and is killed. In sheer sensationalism and sexual orgy, the book represents much that is not life, and if it is life at all, life is much more than merely this. Of the world depicted in this novel, very few deserve to live.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

SPIRITUAL TEACHINGS OF SWAMI BRAHMANANDA : *Puplished by the Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. Pp. 286. Price Rs. 2-4.*

Swami Brahmananda, a direct disciple of the sage Ramakrishna Paramhansa, is now no more amongst us. It is all the more necessary, therefore, to have a collection of his sayings. It is needless for us humble mortals to point out or to say anything about the excellence of his sayings. The reader should mark and inwardly digest every passage of the book under review. The printing and get-up is excellent and the price is moderate.

J. M. DATTA

SANSKRIT

MUKTAPHALA OF VOPADEVA : *Revised Edition. With critical Notes and Introduction by Durgamohan Bhattacharya, 'Kavya-Sankhya-Puranatirtha, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Scottish Church College, Calcutta. With a Prefatory Dissertation by Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., Calcutta. Oriental Series No. 5. Calcutta Oriental Press, Ltd., 9 Panchanan Ghosh Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 6.*

Here we have a critical edition of a work on the Bhakti cult written by Vopadeva, the famous grammarian and polymath. It consists of about eight hundred verses taken from different parts of the *Bhagavata Purana* and arranged in nineteen chapters. The text is accompanied by a commentary attributed to Hemadri, minister at the court of Devagiri and patron of Vopadeva. But as the learned editor has shown, the commentary like some other works attributed to Hemadri might as well have been written by Vopadeva who wrote voluminously under his instructions and sometimes even in the patron's name. A list of the known works of Vopadeva has been given. A reference may in this connection be made also to a commentary, attributed to him and noticed by the undersigned in the pages of the *Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat* (12. 153-7), on the author's well-known grammar, the *Mugdhabodha*. With regard to the work of editing proper special mention may be made of the labour devoted to the irksome task of identifying the sources of the verses of the text as also of most of the numerous quotations made in the commentary from various works. Reference has been made to the variations found in the text adopted by Vopadeva from the one commented upon by celebrated commentators like Sridhara Svamin. The Prefatory Dissertation gives an elaborate exposition of the *bhakti* cult. The absence of any index is keenly felt in this otherwise very attractive publication. An index at least of the first lines of the verses of the text would have been welcome and useful.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

VICHITRA MANIPUR (2nd Edition) : *By Nalini Kumar Bhadra. Published by Indian Associated Publishing House, 8/C Ramanath Mazumdar Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

Manipur received some publicity during the war through press-reports. But the country deserves better treatment from the point of view of Manipur's intimate cultural relations with Bengal, through centuries. This work was admirably performed by Mr. Nalini Kumar Bhadra who possesses intimate knowledge of the manners and customs, the history and legends of the Manipuris. We are glad to find that the first edition of his book was soon exhausted. In the second edition the author has enriched his book by adding a new story from the original Meithei Language and also by adding a dependable narrative of the I.N.A. in Manipur. Moreover, a valuable chapter gives for the first time a systematic account of the historical relations of Manipur with India from the Mahabharata epoch. The author's style has all the qualities of simplicity and grace. We recommend the book to all lovers of good travel-literature. In view also

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of the importance of future administration of the tribal peoples, Mr. Bhadra's notes on the aborigines of Manipur will be read with great interest.

KALIDAS NAG

HINDI

VIKRAM SMRITI-GRANTH : *Edited by Messrs. Ramshanker Tripathi, Suryanarayan Vyas, Yudhishthir Bhargava, Ramchandra Srivastava and Hariharniwas Dwivedi. Published by Scindia Oriental Institute, Gwalior. Pp. 910. Demi 11 in. × 9 in. Price Rs. 30.*

This anthology under review, published to commemorate the twentieth centenary of the mighty Hindu Emperor Vikramaditya, is in the real sense a unique collection of flowers of literature and art. Though its scope has strictly been limited by the boundaries of Vikramaditya, his court-poet Kalidas and the culture, literature, art, science, history, philosophy, politics and archaeology of the Vikram-era, few collections hitherto published can vie in superiority to the fine galaxy of writers and painters who have decorated this volume. To mention only a few, writers of eminence like Dr. Lakshman Swarup, Dr. Rajbali Pandeya, Dr. Moti Chandra , Sj. Sampurnanand, D. B. K. M. Jhaveri, Sj. Fa Chau, Maulvi Maheshprasad, Dr. D. C. Sircar, Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjea, Sj. Rahul Sankrityayana, J. Chandrabali Pande, Dr. V. A. Joshi, Dr. Vasudeosharan, Sj. Suryanarayan Vyas, S. L. Katre, Dr. Miss Charlotte Crouche, Dr. H. Roy-Choudhury, Dr. Jadunath Sarkar etc. and renowned painters like Sjts. Nandalal Bose, Asit Haldar, Nicholas Roerich, Ravi Shanker Raval, Ramgopal Vijayavargiya, Kanu Desai and Sjta. Mahadevi Varma are sufficient to testify to the excellence of the volume.

The collection is of immense value and importance to the scholars as well as laymen and can serve as a handy reference-book for the Vikram-era. We highly commend it to readers and seats of learning. The Scindia Oriental Institute deserves our hearty felicitations for bringing out such a valuable collection.

M. S. SENGAR.

GANESH : *By Sampurnanand. Kashi Vidyapith, Benares. Pp. 50 with three appendices. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a masterly illustrated monograph by a writer, who is outstanding among the modern authors in Hindi for his deep as well as diffused knowledge combined with dynamic, independent thinking, on the entry of Ganesh, a pre-Aryan deity, into the Hindi pantheon. It is a history of his protean shapes and significances through the ages. The god's metamorphosis from "the lord of obstacles" into the presiding *avatar* of auspiciousness reads like a romance. The work bears the stamp of prolonged and profound study on the subject.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SHRI SUBODHINIJI—RAJAS SADHAN SECTION : *Translated into Gujarati by N. N. Gandhi, M.A., LL.B., Dhandhuka. Published by Shrinath Dwarkrishna Bhandar, through Patwari R. V. Rajkot. 1944. Paper cover. Pp. 267. Price Rs. 3.*

Like the Tamas Fala Prakaran, the book under notice before, this book is concerned also with the Subodhiniji of Vallabhacharya in relation to the Rajas Sadhan section in the latter part of the Bhagvat. The translation is simple and calculated to help those who are in search of light to understand this philosophical subject.

VENICINO VEPARI : *By Mrs. Hansa Mehta. Printed at the Rajni Printing and published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay. 1944. Illustrated jacket. Thick cardboard cover. Pp. 128. Price Rs. 2.*

Mrs. Hansa Mehta has to her credit already the translation of one of the most difficult dramas of Shakespeare from a translator's point of view, *viz.*, Hamlet. Undeterred by the difficulty, she did her work successfully. This is her second essay in the same line and her choice has fallen on a more popular work, the Merchant of Venice. She has translated it into *Nirbandha Anushtupa Chhanda.* Gujarat is not yet sufficiently advanced to welcome such literary efforts and divert them into a popular channel by enacting them on the stage. The writer knows it but is not disappointed and rightly so, as attempts such as hers are required in larger numbers to attain the end she has in view.

GURU GOVIND SINGH : *By Govindbhai H. Patel of Dharmaj. Printed at the Sadhana Press, Baroda. 1944. Paper cover. Pp. 365. Price Rs. 8-8.*

The tragic events which led to the killing of Guru Govind Singh of the Sikhs, at the hands of Aurangzeb have furnished the subject-matter of this very long poem in various metres. It is written in the style of a Mahakavya, and certainly the study of the poet is wide enough to enable him to produce such a work. But this is not a Mahakavya in the real sense of the work. Besides, the language is so difficult that ordinary people would find it difficult to understand it. All historical events should have been explained in footnotes or by separate notes at the end, instead of assuming that the reader knows them all.

JIVAN NATAK : *By Baldev P. Molia. Printed at the Shankar Press, Surat. 1944. Illustrated. Paper cover. Pp. 108. Price Re. 1.*

Twenty-one pleasant pen-pictures of various incidents in the life (Jivan) of modern India are to be found in this collection of very short stories. One finds in the writings of this rising author the germ of good work.

PREM DHANUSHYA : *By Kolak. Printed at the Unity Printing Press, Bombay. 1944. Illustrated. Paper cover. Pp. 104. Price Re. 1-8.*

"Kolak" has already won his success in the field of verse-writing by his two previous works, *Sandhya Gita* and *Swati.* This is a long poem of 1748 stanzas, and full of poetic fancies. He is an agriculturist by caste and inclination and has fancied life on this earth as a grain of rice, which every one connected with rice cultivation knows, is planted in one place and when it grows to a certain height is transferred to another place where it ripens. Thus according to the poet life here is the seed or rice-grain sown in one place with a view to its transference to another place *i.e.*, after death where it would grow healthily and ripen spiritually. The tragic end of the hero is thus sought to be justified. The verses are full of meaning and easy to read and understand and they maintain the same level throughout.

KANS VADHA : *By Prof. H. R. Kapadia. Printed at the Gandiva Printing Press, Surat. 1944. Paper cover. Pp. 69. Price Re. 1-8.*

Kans Vadha is a poem in four parts, composed by Ram Panivad (Nambujar Brahmin) of Kerala (Malabar) in the eighteenth century. The language is Prakrit or Marhatti. The translation by Prof. Kapadia is in verse and reads very well. It shows his mastery both over Prakrit and Gujarati. Footnotes elucidate many points.

K. M. J.

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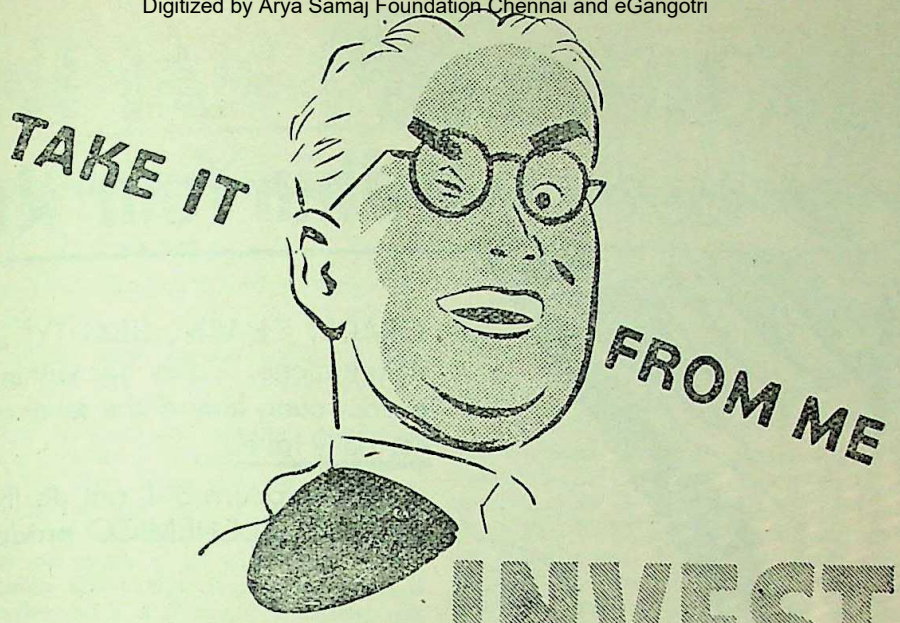

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

J. M. Keynes

Khagendranath Bhattacharya writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*:

Keynes is a familiar name in the world of both economic theory and practice. Indeed, therein lies his real greatness; for, economists are rarely gifted with the twofold virtue of keen intellect and abiding inspiration for action. Had he been only a theorist, the interest of the world in him would have been very much limited. If, on the other hand, he had been only a practical economist, the value of his contribution to the betterment of society would have lost much of its wider significance. The really unique thing about him, therefore, was that he illumined his intellect with a fervour for action, and it is this quality that gave him dynamism in character and earned for him a universal reputation.

Yet, the fact should not be forgotten that an intellect, illumined by inspiration, however fruitful in its final results, is in actual experience very difficult to integrate. In the early years of his career, therefore, Keynes had to face inner conflict, bitter disappointment and, at times, complete frustration. For, intellect and inspiration are almost contradictory. Consequently, for a long period he had to suffer for the existence of this element of contradiction in his own nature. It was only in the later period of his life that he integrated the two and achieved ultimate victory. Thus, like all great men, Keynes, too, had to pay a heavy price for greatness.

Traces of this inner conflict are first found in him when he was barely twenty-four years of age. A double first at Cambridge in Mathematics and Economics, and an Adam Smith Prizeman, he passed the Civil Service examination with great distinction. During the years 1906-08, he was posted at the India Office, London. At that time the world was passing through a financial crisis. And as financial intricacies had for him always a greater fascination than the dull routine work of the office, he decided to resign from service, and after much hesitation he actually did so. Subsequent events have shown that he took the right step, though at that stage of his career the decision was by no means an easy one to make.

Keynes then returned to Cambridge as a Fellow of King's College, a position which he occupied till his death. In the calm, academic atmosphere existing there, far from the madding crowd, he applied himself to intellectual pursuits. In 1913 he published his first book, *Indian Currency and Exchange*, which is remarkable for its lucidity. Even after more than thirty years of its publication, it still remains the best treatise on that abstruse and least understood subject.

Keynes could not long remain in intellectual seclusion. The war of 1914 called him back to public life.

His mastery of economic problems had attracted already wide attention, and so the Government offered him the post of Chief Representative of Britain's War-time Treasury. If he had been loyal to his intellect alone, he would have declined the offer. But the idealism in him got the better of his intellect. The fact is that he was never satisfied with pure academic pursuits, for he felt that these without being implemented in action tend to become "high and dry".

Keynes served the Treasury till the end of the war, but resigned from it in 1919, the year of the Treaty of Versailles. The circumstances leading to his resignation were not only historic—his resignation itself also made history. For, though on the political front, the Treaty produced Hitler, on the economic front it paved the way for the coming of Keynes.

As is well-known, in their first flush of victory, the Allies imposed exacting reparations on Germany. Keynes protested, not so much on grounds of humanity, as because of the economic absurdity of the whole reparation plan. With an amazing skill in argument, he pointed out that the huge reparations which were being imposed on Germany were not only unpayable, but that even if they were, they would spell common disaster for Europe and America. But it was in vain. The Allies were not in a mood to hear him. In righteous indignation, therefore, Keynes dramatically left the meeting of the Supreme Economic Council of the Peace Conference. The incident caused much flutter, though it produced no immediate salutary effect.

It was believed that Keynes would now withdraw possibly from the turmoil of human affairs and settle down in his *alma mater*. But his inspiration for action had not yet died down. On the contrary, it was revitalised. He saw with a prophetic vision that the policies pursued by the politicians would lead the world to economic ruin.

Being too much of a fighter to take things lying down, he condemned in scathing terms, the Peace Treaty, and published in 1922 his famous book, *The Economic Consequence of the Peace*, which is considered a classic in economic literature.

The book forthwith drew world-wide attention. It ran into several editions and was translated into nineteen languages. Politicians and publicists poured both praise and ridicule on him. All the same, the economic clauses of the Treaty of Versailles were not changed and reparations were imposed on Germany. Thus though Keynes finally lost the battle yet he gained international reputation.

Before the storm had subsided, however, another significant event occurred. In 1925, under the leadership of Mr. Churchill, England decided to return to the Gold Standard. Keynes again protested. In his small book, *Economic Consequence of Mr. Churchill*, he pointed out with remarkable precision that the time was most inopportune for such a course of action. If England returned to the Gold Standard, he argued, time would soon come when she would again have to be off from it. The harm that would be done in the meantime would be simply irretrievable. However, once again he lost the battle, for Mr. Churchill stuck to his decision. But in the light of subsequent events, it was clear that it was Churchill who lost, because six years later, in 1931, England had to give up the Gold Standard, as will be shown presently.

Having been defeated twice at the hands of vested interests and political leaders, Keynes, for the time being, went into oblivion. For some years, he devoted himself exclusively to intellectual work and divided his time between Cambridge and Bloomsbury. At Cambridge

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he spent his time in editing the *Economic Journal* and writing several books, which came out in succession. *Treatise on Money* was published in two volumes in 1930, *Treatise on Probability* in 1931. *Essays is Persuasion* also published in the same year, and *Essays in Biography* in 1933. His home, in Gordon Square, became the centre of a galaxy of eminent persons, most of them hailing from Cambridge, including Virginia and L. S. Woolf, Clive and Venessa Bell, Robert Fry and Duncan Grant and an "assorted eminence of Stracheys".

Then came the year 1931 and Keynes, inspite of himself, was again in the limelight. The economic crisis which he had long foreseen overtook the world. There was an all-round depression followed by cataclysmic fall in prices. Trade collapsed and currency was dislocated. Germany defaulted and a moratorium had to be granted. England, to save herself, went off the Gold Standard, and many other countries, too, did the same.

His predictions had thus come to be more than true, but even he himself must have been surprised at such startling accuracy of his forecast of events.

Henceforward, no longer was he the impatient critic battering his head against the wall of ignorant mind of arrogant politicians, but a prophet whose vision and wisdom stood head and shoulder above those of his contemporaries.

From this time onwards, Keynes became a power. He was not only heard with respect, but also promptly obeyed. On his part he, too, was not slow to suggest remedies. America modelled her New Deal on Keynesian analysis. Economic recovery started and the world was restored to equilibrium much sooner than it was anticipated. And so it came about that Keynes stood on a pinnacle of greatness when the Second War broke out, in 1939.

From the very beginning of the hostilities Britain and Allied governments used the talents of Keynes for saving their countries on the economic front. He, accordingly, formulated policies and this time they not only accepted his recommendations but also immediately put them into effect straightway.

But for him the British people would have passed through an inflation, very much similar to one which brought disaster to Germany in 1917.

At the end of the war, Keynes was engaged in the important task of reconstructing the world currency. He drew up plans for the successful working of the international Monetary Fund and the International Bank. The Anglo-American loan, which he had so successfully negotiated paved the way for closer international collaboration between the two countries. But before his work could be completed the hand of death removed him from this world.

Such then was Lord Keynes, a genius among men. His life is indeed, an instructive study in conflict and integration, in frustration, courage and eventual victory.

Maybe, as some believe, that the phenomenal reputation which he gained was conditioned by the history of the times in which he lived. And, there is some force in this argument. But though Keynes' prediction of the economic crisis after the First World War arose out of historical conditions, yet the remedies which he suggested for avoiding future crisis and trade cycles are not a mere historical phenomenon. They contain in them an abiding truth which rests on a pivotal principle. Briefly stated, the Keynesian technique of fighting trade depression is, that with a low rate of interest and planned budget-deficits, any society can be kept permanently in a semi-prosperous condition. This is almost revolutionary thinking. For Trade Cycle is a phenomenon which has perplexed the economists of all ages; but whereas they solved the problem by side-tracking the main issue, Keynes not only analysed the causes thereof but also found remedies, with the result that the creation of a level of economic activity that can create conditions for "full-employment" is to-day no longer a hypothetical reality.

The Keynesian technique has provided a new tool for the economic reconstruction of the modern world, except only in Russia. It is discernible in the post-war budgets of all the economically advanced countries. Sitting in the Peers' Gallery in the House of Commons and listening to Dalton's first post-war budget speech, Keynes must have felt, indeed, that it was but an echo of his own voice.

By evolving a mechanism with which to ward off the much vexed problem of the Trade Cycle, Keynes has given to Capitalism a fresh lease of life. For, recurrent over-production and mass unemployment are the two most irremediable evils of the capitalist system of production, and the socialists have always made much of these two defects and strengthened their position by holding out the promise of a society where these would be neither over-production nor unemployment.

The Keynesian technique has, thus, completely disarmed the socialists, because now through planned budgets and a controlled rate of interest, capitalist society can maintain the level of full-employment and ensure prosperity.

But strangely enough, the Socialists claim Keynes to be as much their own as do the Capitalists. They often quote from his numerous writings to prove that he believed that Capitalism was in a state of constant disequilibrium.

Be that as it may, one thing is clear that Keynes' technique has anchored Capitalism to a new harbour from where it can embark on longer voyages and without much danger ahead.

Keynes was not merely a great economist. He was also a philosopher. For, he regarded the economic problem as secondary and called the problem of want and poverty "a muddle and frightful muddle, a transitory and unnecessary muddle". And he lived in the hope that "the day is not far off when the economic problem will take the back seat where it belongs, and that the arena of the heart and head will be occupied or re-occupied by our real problems, the problems of life and relations, of creation and behaviour and religion". As some one wisely put it, "This is the real Keynes speaking across the ages, looking beyond his pure theory of money and the trade cycle".

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Poetic Creation

Poetic creation is a synthetic act where the co-operation and organisation of many elements of feeling, imagination and intelligence occur in varying proportions simultaneously as they go to shaping expression. V. Sitaramiah writes in *The Aryan Path* :

What happens in the mind of the poet as the mood is closing in, when it is on, or when the fury of the at-first-formless urge takes on direction, can be roughly indicated. The mood quickens the pulse ; makes warmer and swifter the circulation of the blood, puts an edge on sensitivity, heightens the vital tone, enlarges perception and the sweep and daring of the fancy, releases energies and resources from folds and levels of its own inmost being, memory and association adding, at each turn, image, sound and meaning, patterns of rhythm and movement, suggestion and symbolism, clarities and profundities, gusts and disgusts of affection, subtleties and playfulnesses, indeed all that has gone into the poet's make-up—until it emerges as something *new* even to itself. Beauty is now "born"—or is rendered or discovered—having an independent concrete existence outside the creator's own being.

This process is at once aesthetic, creative and technical. It has a beginning, a middle and an end : Impulsion ; the will to form and express through a lively medium ; the technique of expression and embodiment in a concrete object of art. This is one phase of the process of art. And, since the artist is a human being in a particular milieu and uses as his medium words,—which are the medium for a million others—with meaning, emotive association, history, quality and feeling, reference and attitude behind them, what is expressed makes meaning to others ; *i.e.*, the poet achieves communication.

When, through his delight in the use and possibilities of his medium, he has made it a successful vehicle of his vision, it is "without residue on either side." The work of art thus throws one span backwards to the springs of its existence (and the conditions and process of its production) and one forwards to its reception, evaluation and criticism. It now begins to be enjoyed or reacted to challengingly, to be absorbed into or thrown out of tradition or asking tradition to modify itself.

Genius is an assumption and a starting-point in all this analysis.

Why genius functions in one way and not in another at any time, why it is fitful and not active at all for long periods, why personality keeps fluid and free in rare cases or hardens into character and freezes overlaying expression in others still await study.

Though one may not go as far as to say with Freud that "the conscious Ego is passive and that we are 'lived,' as it were, by unknown and uncontrollable forces"; the "Id," as he calls "the impersonal aspect of the Ego' is a strangely powerful reality which, from below the surface, acts and urges as effectively as any instrument of potency seen on the superficies. The man of genius is an individual with special gifts. He is a child of an environment with needs and calls, with limitations, fashions, opportunities, etc.; he comes of a family with local, class or race characteristics ; he has faculties ; modes of response and preference, behaviour, knowledge of the world and views of destiny. Much of this is product of (and factor in) his individual and social history ; this, again, has developed or failed to develop in a secondary environment of mental and institutional climate. He has acquired abilities through training or choice, or by unconscious inhibition from infancy onwards.

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The individual traits of the man of genius fix his signature, *i. e.*, the distinctive manner and temper of his work.

But the rest of it is inherited from or shared with all around him, immediate or remote—reaching out to all the essence of whose being is the result of a common evolution. These lie dormant in him at different levels of the conscious, the preconscious and the unconscious —as instinct, memory, association, mood, attitude and impulsions to conduct and in the hinterlands of instinct, feeling and behaviour. They are present as springs and reserves of energy. These racial and almost cosmic levels are thus an unexpressed presence—(an *avyakta Sattva*) primordial and inchoate, crude, massive, hard to rouse, untame most of it, irrepressible when roused, and capable of releasing and throwing up elements unsensed or unsensable normally.

It is to these springs of energy that a genius plunges when his creative impulse is seeking embodiment. At one stroke his personality is released and set to work in the furies, the fluidities and the possibilities of this level of function. His imagination courses there in almost savage exhilaration. May we not take it, that it is this upsurge of general latent resources and abilities that supplies body to his creative urge to form ? That, the *Avaranabhanga* having happened, the limitations of the poet's character fall off and dissolve into a full play of his entire personality ? He then grasps what elements he will of fancy, fact, fulfilment, rhythm or suggestion, even as the father seed may be said to do in the quickened womb of the mother all through the period of shaping—before it is delivered into the world as a fully made child.

Diving into this vortex of energy and resources in the substratum of his sleeping yet enduring potencies the poet rises as from the depths of an ocean or the bowels of the earth with the wealth of imagery, feeling, movement and passion which are in play in forming the impulse.

There is always more in that reservoir of resources than is at any time thrown out or selected by the poet, but for the time being his total absorption (*samadhi*) is limited to the specific purpose claiming imperium. And such is its dignity that it does not care to take more or be satisfied with less. The roots of all that is man—now this man,—are thus tapped for fulfilling a purpose. The result is at once singular and universal, intelligible and communicable to all who are men—because it functions at both levels at the same time as one integral unit.

Each poet, according to moment or "ability of attention" is either fully or incompletely inspired or fully or incompletely absorbed. He can be affected differently at different times about the same subject. Other geniuses react differently at the same time. This is what produces the varieties of degree, quality and intensity of vision in expression. Often a disturbance, a deflection or a loosening of grasp (a *sithila samadhi*) hurts the process, bringing in self-consciousness and failure, frustration and false steps. Or one strains after effect and makes the talent and the moment slave to another than an artistic purpose. The work of art is then likely to suffer or be vulgarised. This, however, is certain : that in the act and mood of creation the poet is in a *lokottara—detached*—field of sensation and communion. Other demands of men and life are an irritating irrelevance then, or a disturbance causing blight of the spirit. The resulting work of art, which is the child of his genius and of which he is father and mother in one, is more truly his than any child of his flesh in the birth of which another life co-operates or shares with him.

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Demographic Problems of the Lebanon

In an article under the above caption in the *Foreign Review* Eliahu Epstein observes :

The Lebanese Republic covers an area of about 10,000 sq. k. (Since the demarcation of the Syro-Lebanese Frontier has not been completed, estimates of the areas of the two States vary. The area of the Autonomous Sanjak of the Lebanon (1860-1915) was 5,700 kilometers and its population was 400,000) The population was last assessed in the Order of the President dated June 17, 1943, as the number of citizens registered in the registration records on December 31, 1942. This Order also referred to a number of Lebanese who had emigrated but had retained their Lebanese citizenship.

The Order in question was published in connection with the elections in the Lebanese Parliament. The following is the table which served as the foundation for fixing the population of the Lebanon as on January 1, 1943.

Communities	Inhabitants	Emigrants	Total
Maronites ..	318,201	91,276	409,477
Sunni ..	225,594	4,913	230,507
Shi'ah ..	200,698	9,367	210,065
Greek Orthodox ..	106,658	33,655	140,313
Druzes ..	71,711	4,863	76,574
Greek Catholics ..	61,956	13,272	75,228
Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians) ..	58,007	66	58,073
Minorities ..	41,596	2,159	43,755
Total ..	1,084,421	159,571	1,243,992

The following are the estimated figures for the movement of population in the Lebanon, and the estimated natural increase:

Communities	1932 Census	End 1943	Difference	Percentage
Sunni ..	179,667	225,594	45,927	31.1
Shi'ah ..	159,133	200,698	41,565	38.5
Druzes ..	56,297	71,711	15,414	38.0
Maronites ..	269,620	318,201	48,581	18.0
Greek Catholics ..	55,045	61,956	6,911	12.5
Greek Orthodox ..	92,991	106,658	13,667	13.0

The instructive conclusions which can be drawn from these tables are:—

(*a*) Most of the emigrants from the Lebanon and those who continue to maintatin their Lebanese citizenship abroad are Christians, the overwhelming majority of whom are Maronites.

(*b*) The natural increase among the non-Christian population of the Lebanon, and particularly of the Shi'ah and the Druzes, is more than twice as great as that of the Christian population.

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At What Ages People Insure Their Lives

Jatindra Mohan Datta writes in the *Insurance World* :

We can calculate the age-distribution of the proponents. They are as follows:—

TABLE VI

Age-Distribution of the Lives Insured

Group	under 20	21-25	26-30	31-35
1937 38				
Single	8	14	8	2
Married	4	18	21	11
Total	12	32	29	13
1946				
Single	9	26	5	3
Married	1	11	21	9
Total	10	37	26	12
Total of				
Unmarried	17	40	13	5
Married	5	29	42	20
Grand Total	22	69	55	25
	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55
1937-35				
Single	..	..	..	..
Married	5	8	1	..
Total	5	8	1	..
1946				
Single	..	..	..	..
Married	7	7	..	1
Total	7	7	..	1
Total of				
Unmarried	..	..	..	..
Married	12	15	1	1
Grand Total	12	15	1	1

A study of the above Table is highly interesting. For those who are unmarried the largest number insure their lives at ages 21-25, or in other words the peak of insurance is reached betwen the ages of 21 to 25. This is so in both the earlier (1937-38) and the later (1946) groups. The tendency, if any, is for the peak to be higher in the later period. For in the earlier group about 44 per cent. of the unmarried insured their lives between the ages of 21 to 25; in the later group the corresponding percentage is 60. Obligations arising out of marriage are no longer the main incentive for insuring the lives of the husbands or the fathers. Among the married insured the peak is reached some five years later at the ages from 26 to 30. Why this is so, we do not know, neither do we profess to be able to give any plausible explanation. One thing however is patent—married people of all ages do insure. It is not suggested that bachelors of late ages do not insure their lives; the number of such people being very very small owing to the social customs and practices prevalent among the Bengalee Hindus, it is unlikely that they would come within our observation when the range of our observation is so small. From the absence of such insurants at later ages no conclusions should be drawn. Among the first hundred 3 persons were of age 19; among the last hundred 2 were of age 18 and 1 of age 19. This shows that people are realising the benefits of early insurance more and more.

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India and the U.N.O.

The National Christian Council Review observes :

The Indian Delegation to the United Nations Assembly deserves to be congratulated on the splendid and convincing way in which it presented the case of Indians in South Africa suffering disabilities under the recent legislation of the Union Government. The success achieved at the U.N'O. is not only a triumph for the Indian cause in South Africa, but also a vindication of the principle of equality of races in the eyes of the law. It cannot be denied that certain sections of the people in India are badly treated by their brethren, but it also has to be remembered that strenuous efforts are being made in India to bring about social reform, and that the law in India does not make any discrimination such as is legalised by the Union of South Africa. We cannot but wish that Great Britatin and America had also supported the case of India. The success of the Indian representation has proved that the UNO may well claim to be the conscience of the world in matters coming within its purview. We deeply appreciate the service that the Indian delegation rendered to the country, and we believe that their success has a world significance.

The Constituent Assembly

The same *Review* observes :

The opening of the Constituent Assembly in Delhi made December 9th, 1946 a red-letter day in the history of India. To this Asembly has been entrusted the task of framing a Constitution for a free India. The way in which the affairs of the Assembly have been conducted so far gives us confidence that we can expect justice and fairplay for all concerned. We hope that when the work of the Assembly is over India will have a Constitution which will give her, her rightful place in the family of free nations of the world. It is to be regretted that the Muslim League has not participated in the Assembly so far, but we hope that the way will soon open for it to come in

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Capital New-York

The New Review observes :

The U.N.O. conference ended, as it had begun, with a tone of optimism. It had been opened with the organ-overture *To Each One His Own,* it closed with the President's *To Everybody Thanks and Congratulations.* Much of the optimism was due to the new mood of the Russian delegates. Mr. Molotov was smiling all day and shaking hands all round: Mr. Vishinsky had led a five-man Soviet dtlegation to St. Patrick's Cathedral to attend a Pontifical Mass for the United Nations on the feast of Christ the King, and had placidly heard fiery denunciations of 'impious and rank materialists'. The U.S.A. delegation was in the highest spirits and Tom Connally the most gushing of guys. There were ugly moments, as when the British delegate frigidly called Russia's disarmament plan 'a piece of pure humbug', or when Australia put awkward questions about the Russian use of the veto power. But there were many bright moments, the convivial wisecracks at the international bar where drinks and views blended colourfully, or the spectacular hand shake of Tom with the Attorney-General and the Comrade. The undertone was exhilarating, and though the agenda was heavy it was gone through at a fair speed and in a spirit of calculated conciliation. It was so pleasant that all voted to make New-York the permanent headquarters of the U.N.O.

Disarmament

Russia took the initiative in the vital discussion on disarmament; she wanted at first to embarrass Britain and America about their armies overseas: she ended with being embarrassed about her home forces. Her proposal was limited to the atomic bombs and to the census of troops in non-national territories. America followed up and broadened the issue so as to cover all mass-destructive weapons. Britain came forward with pertinent questions. How to harmonise Russia's proposal with the work of the Atomic Energy Commission? Did Russia want immediate control and inspection? Would control and inspection be under the Security Council?

Australia, the *enfant terrible* of the family, threw the veto question on the floor; Cuba tried to speed it from the Committee floor to the Assembly table. But Britain got hold of it and despatched it through the window; the veto is not for small boys of the Bush to pitch at respectable top-hats.

Once the top-hat had been steadied, the Committee came down to brass-tags. Molotov had insisted on the control of atomic energy, he conceded the control of all weapons. The concession was significant. All weapons that can be used for mass-destruction will be hard to control. It is already difficult to draw a sharp line between military and industrial uses of atomic energy, and general control of armaments would lead to the control of raw materials, research work, management, and possibly ownership of armament factories. This would lead to a necessary limitation of national sovereignty, which all nations, Russia above all others, are reluctant to contemplate.

The Soviet demanded a census of troops on foreign service. Britain was not agreeable, as she feared such a census would disclose the weak spots in her imperial defence system: moreover armies which are moved by sea can be more eosily enumerated than armies moving by rail or road; in particular armies which can be temporarily withdrawn across frontiers and placed in equivalent strategic position can easily escape detection and census. Hence an honest census should include all troops in active service and in reserve, on foreign soil and at home. Molotov nodded approval. When the census will be taken, checked and published, we shall know the strategic planning of Britain in Greece, Palestine and Egypt of the U.S.A. in China, the Philippines and the islands of the western Pacific, of Russia in the neighbourhood of Greece, Turkey and Persia. Generally, the disposition of troops is dictated by political motives of mutual distrust, and reveals the respective prognistics of governments about possible international conflicts; it should be published if progressive disarmament is attempted on a world-scale. But disarmament can only be effective after mutual distrust has been allayed, and national greed and pride renounced.

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Transfer of Population

A Sin Against God and Man

Transfer of population is sometimes offered as a happy substitute for the present arrangement of the people in India for all those who want Pakistan, now and here. An article by Mr. R. H. Markham in the *Christian Science Monitor* is reproduced in *The Social Welfare* :

More than 20,000,000 eastern Europeans are now being shifted from one province or nation to another and set up in new homes or in refugee camps. It is a transfer accompanied by strong pressure, much suffering, and some violence.

Within this figure of 20,000,000 there is not included the inmates of displaced-persons camps who for political reasons do not wish to return home, nor members of Gen. Wladyslaw Andres' Polish Army in exile. Neither does it include the European Jews seeking to settle abroad. It refers to nationals of defeated nations forced to evacute certain territories and to nationals of victorious nations occupying those territories.

The grim tragedy of the moment seems to be repeating, in some measure, the inhumanities which followed the march of dictators' armies across Europe in the early days of the war. There are important differences. There are nuances of justification. But the total of human suffering from the transfer of population is great indeed.

The most voluminous shift of men and women back and forth is taking place in Poland, where Wladyslaw Wolski, Vice-Minister in charge of migration, says that 6,000,000 Poles are being settled in new homes.

This means that at least the same number of other persons are moving out of those homes. Most of the migrating Poles come from what was eastern Poland and are being settled in East Prussia and what was eastern Germany. Also half a million Ruthenians and White Russians are moving out of present-day Poland to the eastern Polish provinces which Russia annexed.

In Czechoslovakia, Hungry, Yugoslavia, and Rumania, more than 6,000,000 persons have moved or will be required to move. The main beneficiaries in this vast population shift, extending from the Baltic Sea to Belgrade and Sarajevo in Yugoslavia, are Russians, Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, with Rumanians, Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes picking up a few crumbs. The principal losers are Germans and Hungarians. A larger number of persons is moving out of the Slav countries than is moving in. Practically the whole of this family uprooting is taking place within the so-called Russian "sphere of security."

If one could imagine twice as many persons as there are in the whole of Ireland suddenly forced to leave their homes, jobs, farms, churches, household goods, and cities to resettle in foreign lands, he would have a partial picture of what is happening to men and women in eastern Europe.

One familiar with Irish history recalls that during the past, many thousands of outsiders have been forcibly settled in Ireland, after which, in the course of time, many thousands of Irishmen settled abroad. One also may recall that this double shift of population provided no permanent solution for any basic political problem, but aroused an enmity so deep that centuries have failed to obliterate it. The Irish in Ireland have not yet become reconciled to the settlement of outsiders there, nor have the Irish who emigrated forgotten their old enmities. Most people in the world, when shoved around, react as the Irish, have. May one believe that the children or children's children of the European men and women now being driven from their ancestral homes, packed into crude cattle cars, and herded into overcrowded, inhospitable, insecure foreign settlements, will forget that experience?

Will the tragedy not become ever more vivid with the passage of the years? Is this forced migration not piling up future trouble?

And the people who are being moved are for the greater part not recent colonists or new settlers, but 'old-timers.' They have lived in the homes from which they are being expelled longer than white men have lived in America.

If the 3,000,000 Americans were driven back to Britian, Scandinavia, Germany, Ireland and Czechoslovakia, with $20 and a truck each, they probably would feel distressed even though all have been there less than 100 years and most less than 50 years. In contrast with this, the ancestors of most of the 3,000,000 Sudeten Germans being driven from Czechoslovakia settled there long before the time of Luther, while ancestors of the Hungarians about to be forced from Slovakia were there when William the Conqueror invaded England, and the Germans in Rumania have been there 800 years.

Before World War II, there were about 1,000,000 Germans in Poland and, according to the Vice-Minister for Migration, about 1,000,000 still remain in new Poland, but all are to be expelled by the end of the present year. This means that the number of Germans who will have been removed from their homes by Russia and Poland by next Dec. 31 will be equal to the original million plus all in the annexed territories.

East Prussia, which has been divided between Russia and Poland contained about 2,000,000 Germans. The area in eastern Germany from the Baltic to Czechoslovakia which Poland annexed was inhabited by at least 4,000,000 Germans.

This means that 7,000,000 Germans formerly living in the Reich or Poland will have been forced to migrate or have been lost in the war. Among those who eventually will be migrants are many taken to Soviet Russia for forced labour. In many respects their lot is even worse than that of the present refugees and their future is equally dark.

As the millions of migrants from Poland reach devastated, overcrowded Germany, they meet the 3,000,000 coming from Czechoslovakia, the 500,000 from Hungary, and the remants of the 500,000 who used to inhabit Yugoslavia. A German, Joseph Cardinal Frings, is reported to have placed the number of German immigrants at 14,000,000.

Many Hungarians face or indeed already experience a similar fate. The Government of Czechoslovakia has expressed its determination to expel all Hungarians from that country who are not willing to become Slavs, not only in citizenship, but in heart and in culture. The Hun-

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garians minority is in danger. No such thing as a minority right is even to be discussed.

These Hungarian fugitives from a new kind of racism will be taken to an overcrowded, devastated land with no superfluous food supplies and a tragic deficiency of jobs. How many of them there will be one cannot say exactly. Before the war, there were more than 600,000 Magyars in Slovakia. How many of them Prague will accept as Slavs is uncertain. Probably most of them will have to leave and will prefer exile to denationalisation. The Hungarians are known as persistent nationalists.

Marshal Tito has intimated that he, too, is planning to expel Hungarians from Yugoslavia. They are probably 400,000 in number. Many Romanians are determined to drive most of the million and a half Hungarians out of Rumania, though the Bucharest Government still is decidedly against it. Among the many problems facing Hnngary, this prospective influx of refugees from abroad is one of the most serious.

Anyone reflecting upon the present suffering of homeless Germans and Hungarians will recall that those nations launched the World War and that they brutally persecuted Jews and others. It is also a fact that Germans and Magyars have caused much trouble to the Slavs; the Czechs and Poles hope to make themselves secure after centuries of bitter conflict by driving into wretched exile more than 6,000,000 of their rivals.

But whether peace will be served by cruel reprisals upon helpless women and children may be doubted. And that security can be won by acts that arouse mass hatred is far from certain. If even the partitioning of weak Poland never made Germany safe, can the sending out of 3,000,000 destitute Sudeten Germans to tell their woes to 75,000,000 other Germans make Czechoslovakia safe?

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Public memory is short. In 1946 we have salved our conscience by expecting **Government to take necessary action. We forget that People get the Government they deserve.**

Public opinion must never be allowed to forget the tragedy that was enacted in Bengal in 1943 unless and until action has been taken to make a recurrence possible." But how to do it?

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Five U. S. Scientists Attend Indian Science Congress

Five American scientists are attending the Indian Science Congress which opened January 3 Delhi They are Dr. E. Newton Harvey of the Department of Biology of Princeton University; Dr. Oscar Riddle, biologist, former member of the research staff of the Carnegie Station for Experimental Evolution; Dr. Harlow Shapley, director of Harvard University Observatory, president of the Indo-American Science Association and trustee of the Watumull Foundation; Dr. Albert F. Blakeslee, director of the Smith College Genetics Experiment Station at Northampton, Massachusetts; and Dr. William E. Deming, mathematical statistician of the U. S. Bureau of the Budget.

Following are brief profiles of the visiting scientists:

Dr. Edmund Newton Harvey, professor of physiology at Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, was born in Philadelphia in 1887 and attended German town Academy there. He received the Bachelor of Science degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1909 and the Doctor of Philosophy degree from Columbia in 1911. At Princeton he was instructor of physiology from 1911 to 1915, assistant professor from 1915 to 1919, and professor from 1919 to 1933, when he received the Osborn professorship. From 1940 to 1941 he was visiting lecturer at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology at Boston.

Dr. Harvey was awarded the John Price Wetherill Medal of the Franklin Institute of Pennsylvania in 1934. He has made special studies in bioluminescence, cell permeability, nerve conduction, regulation in plants, ultra sonic radiation, cell surface tension, brain potentials and decompression sickness. He is author of *Nature of Animal Light, Laboratory Directions in General Physiology and Living Light.*

Dr. Harvey is associate editor of the *Biological Bulletin, Biological Abstracts* and *Journal of Cellular a d Comparative Physiology.*

Besides being trustee of the Bermuda Biological Station and vice-president and trustee of the Marine Biological Laboratory at Woods Hole, Massachusetts, Dr. Harvey is a member of a number of societies including the American Society of Naturalists, American Society of Biological Chemists, American Physiological Society, National Geographic Society, National Academy of Sciences and National Research Council.

Dr. Oscar Riddle, biologist, was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1877, received his Bachelor of Arts from Indiana University in 1902 and his Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Chicago in 1907. He received his Doctor of Laws from Indiana University in 1933. His many posts as biologist include member of the research staff, Carnegie Station for Experimental Evolution, from 1914 to 1945, in addition to being member of the Genetics Society of America, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, American Society of Naturalists and the Washington Academy of Sciences.

Dr. Riddle has contributed numerous papers on the physiology of development and reproduction and the physiological and chemical basis of sex, heredity and endocrinology.

Dr. Harlow Shapley, director of the Harvard University Observatory, was born in Nashville, Missouri, in 1885. He received the B. A. from the University of Missouri in 1910, M. A. in 1911 and Doctor of Laws in 1927. Princeton University awarded him a Doctor of Philosophy degree in 1913. Among the universities awarding him honorary degrees are the University of Toronto, Canada, University of Pittsburg and Harvard University.

Dr. Shapley was astronomer at Mount Wilson Observatory, California, from 1914 to 1921 and has been director of Harvard Observatory since then. He was also lecturer at the Lowell Institute in Boston (1922) and Halley lecturer at the Royal Astronomical Society (1934). He has made researches in photometry and cosmogony. Besides being life member of the Corporation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and was its president from 1931 to 1944. Dr. Shapley is a member of the American Astronomical Society. He also is president of the Indo-American Science Association, trustee of the Watumull Foundation in India and chairman of the Worldwide Broadcasting Foundation.

Dr. Albert Francis Blakeslee, director of Smith College Genetics Experiment Station at Northampton, Massachusetts, was born in Geneseo, New York State, in 1874. He received the B.A. from Wesleyan University in Connecticut in 1896 and Doctor of Science from there in 1931. He was awarded the Master of Arts degree by Harvard in 1900 and Doctor of Philosophy in 1904.

Among the posts he has held are teaching fellow at Harvard (1901-1903), investigator in Europe for the Carnegie Institution (1904-06), and William Allan Neilson Research Professor of Botany at Smith College (1942-43).

Dr. Blakeslee was awarded the Cressy Morrison Prize by the New York Academy of Sciences in 1926 and again in 1936, and the Henry Dejouvenal Prize at the Palais de la Decouverte in 1938. He is a member of the Royal Danish Academy of Science, the Society of Naturalists in Moscow and numerous other societies.

Dr. William Edwards Deming, mathematical statistician for the U.S. Bureau of the Budget, was born in Sioux City, Iowa, in 1900. He graduated from the University of Wyoming in 1921, received the Master of Science degree from the University of Colorado in 1924 and the Doctor of Philosophy from Yale University in 1928. His career includes the following: instructor of physics at the Colorado school of Mines (1922-23); physicist for the U.S. Agriculture Department (1927-39); sampling adviser for the Budget Bureau since 1942, special lecturer in mathematics for the National Bureau of Standards since 1930; and consultant to the Secretary of War since 1940.

Dr. Deming is a member of the American Statistical Association, Phi Beta Kappa, Washington Academy of Sciences and the Mathematical Association of London as well as several other societies.—*USIS.*

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South Africa Turns Against Its Indians

In an article under the above heading in the Sept., 1946 issue of *Asia and the Americas*, Ashwin Choudree, delegate of the South African Passive Resistance Council to the United States, also adviser on the South African Indian issue to the Government of India Delegation at the United Nations, writes as follows :

With the rest of the people of the world who hold human rights to be "inalienable," two million sons of India, including the Indians of South Africa, made common cause in the recent world war. They, too, died by the thousands in North Africa and elsewhere. But the sacrifice, as far as South Africa is concerned, seems in vain.

Eighty-six years ago Indians were invited to come to South Africa. I was born in that country, to which my family came three generations ago. But existing conditions make me a South African in name only. The Indians came as labourers and worked in the coal mines and on the railways and tilled the sugar plantations. By their sweat they helped to make South Africa the prosperous country she has now become. They were induced to remain by the free grant of Crown Lands. They enjoyed the Parliamentary and Municipal vote. No impediment existed to bar their progress. They were considered desirable citizens.

But recent years have witnessed the gradual deterioration of our status in South Africa. Each year has meant the passage of some new law which has curtailed our liberties. We have been deprived of the Parliamentary and the Municipal vote; laws to curb our trading rights have been passed; we are made to feel that we are a sub-human people. We are segregated on buses and trains, separate seats are alloted to us in parks, separate counters are set up for us in post offices; in Government and Municipal departments, and even in the law courts, we have to sit separately. Almost 60 different laws now exist which restrict our free movement and check our natural aspirations for economic and social development.

Now comes the worst blow of all, the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946. This law means the complete segregation of our community and takes away from us our right to free ownership and occupation of landed property except in certain defined and segregated areas. Gandhi, Nehru and all India denounced this Ghetto Act. China, too, has protested. Bernard Shaw declared: "British South Africans are mentally lazy and snobbish. In trade they cannot compete with the mentally alert and flexibly witted Indians. But they have the whip hand politically, they can and do persecute them. The Ghetto legislation is flat persecution like that of the Jews by the Nazis."

The new law adds insult to injury. Two million Europeans elect 150 members to Parliament. One-quarter of a million Indians now have the right to elect three representatives to this Assembly on a separate communal roll. The humiliation of this inferior vote is made complete by the law which stipulates that these three representatives must be Europeans.

This is the third-class citizenship which South Africa offers us. On such flimsy grounds South Africa will claim in her defense, in answer to India's complaint before the United Nations Assembly in September, that we are South African nationals; that the issue is purely domestic; and that she is not answerable to the United Nations for her policy towards her Indian subjects. In like manner, Hitler defended his persecution of the Jews.

India has shown her strong indignation at this unjust treatment of her children in South Africa; she has recalled her High Commissioner, severed trade relations with South Africa and applied economic sanctions.

Though we trace our origin to India, we have adopted western standards of living. Given the opportunity we could play our full part in the future of our country. South Africa is our home, the land of our birth. To sons of her soil we claim full and equal opportunity in her development.

We have revived the method which Gandhi launched in South Africa some thirty-five years ago against anti-Indian laws. The Indians in South Africa today are waging a non-violent passive resistance struggle against the government. In protest to the new land tenure act hundreds of Indian men and women are continuing to occupy in Durban a piece of municipal land from which the Act debars us. We do so as a symbolic gesture. The South African government daily continues to lodge these non-violent objectors in jail. Nearly 435 of them are now in prison sentenced to hard labour.

South Africa must answer at the bar of world opinion. Democracy cannot remain the special preserve of the Europeans in South Africa. It must be extended to all her peoples.

The Indian States in the Future

K. R. R. Sastry observes in the *Asiatic Review*, October, 1946 :

In addition to the eleven Provinces there are in India 601 Indian States governed by rulers big, medium-sized and inconsiderable. These cover an area of 712,508 square miles, while the Provinces have an area of 1,006,171 square miles. They vary in size, population, revenue and level of internal administration.

They range in importance from Hyderabad with a population of more than 18,000,000 to the tiny principality of Bilbari with a population of 27. The 283

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Kathiawar States, excluding 9 large States, have a total revenue of Rs. 135 lakhs. The area of 178 of these States is from 10 to 100 square miles each; 202 States in India have each an area of less than 10 square miles, and 139 less than 5 square miles; 70 States have each an area not exceeding 1 square mile.

In the days of the East India Company these States increased in number owing to the policies of subsidiary alliance, subordinate co-operation, mediatization and imperial consolidation pursued towards them. Their independence was impaired, however, by a gradual change in the policy of the British Government in India. Many Indian States had maintained an independent existence for hundreds of years, and some States, including Travancore, Jammu, Orchha and Hyderabad, and many of the Rajput States had never been conquered or annexed.

With the remains of sovereignty intact, with Rulers who have some of the rights of foreign potentates while travelling abroad, and their people, like their cousins across the all-too-thin frontier, are British-protected subjects while travelling outside their States, the status of Indian States may be described as quasi-international.

The territory of Indian States is not British territory; the subjects are not British subjects. The States are political communities. The laws of England do not apply to them; they are outside the jurisdiction of the British courts. They are internationally subordinate to the authority of the Crown. In cases of grave misconduct of a Ruler the Crown, under its prerogatives, has taken action extending in some instances to deposition.

The problem of Indian States under the pending Constitution is twofold. Firstly, reduction in their number by absorption of small units so that there may be proper administration on modern democratic lines. Paramountcy has become a huge hospital with a number of patients undying but suffering from incurable diseases. The second need is the evolution of the Rulers into constitutional monarchs of the number of States that can survive. These States, which vary in size and standards of civilized administration, have to be reduced to a manageable number to become useful units of the proposed Indian Union.

The Cabinet Mission proposals contemplate a union including British India and Indian States. The Executive and the Legislature at the Centre is to be constituted from British Indian and Indian States' representatives The States are to retain all subjects and powers not ceded to the Union. "Paramountcy" is to be handed back. The question is how to reduce their number. A small committee of the British Cabinet can go into the facts and regroup these States, pensioning off the very small ones and amalgamating others either into Indian Provinces or adjacent States.

The students of the problems in India have much to gain by digesting the wise words of Hamilton and Madison in the *Federalist!* History has taught through the U.S.A. that the only way of reconciling *different races* and varying units to a common effective life is through Federalization. Such is the lesson to us in India of Washington (where I am writing), the great and noble copital of the U.S.A.

Poems of Sarojini Naidu

The Indian Times, the monthly magazine of the Fiji Islands, gives a brief but fine estimation of Sarojini Naidu's poems in the following lines :

From groves of spice,
O'er fields of rice,
Athwart the lotus stream,
I bring for you,
Aglint with dew
A little lovely dream.

Such is the rapturous, lyrical quality of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's poems.

They have the freshness and sweetness of a full-bloomed lotus as well as the musical cadence of a free bird singing "in full-throated ease."

"Bird-like," "warbling"—these are the phrases that come to one's mind when reading her books of verses which themselves carry such significant titles as *The Bird of Time* and *The Broken Wing*.

How much she was engrossed with the songs of birds from early years is evident from her letters to Arthur Symons : "Come and share my exquisite March morning with me : the thousand little gold and blue silver breasted birds bursting with the shrill ecstasy of life in nesting time;" " . . . these little quivering birds are my soul, made incarnate music."

শীঘ্রই প্রকাশিত হইতেছে
প্রথিতযশা লেখিকা শ্রীশান্তা দেবীর

রামানন্দ ও অর্দ্ধ-শতাব্দীর বাংলা

বাংলার সাংস্কৃতিক আন্দোলনের পটভূমিকায় বর্ত্তমান যুগের অন্যতম শ্রেষ্ঠ মনীষীর জীবনাদর্শের সুনিপুণ বর্ণন ও বিশ্লেষণ।

প্রবাসীর আকারে বহু পৃষ্ঠায় সম্পূর্ণ, বহু চিত্রশোভিত, বাংলা-সাহিত্যে অভিনব জীবনচরিত। ইহা একাধারে মনীষী রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায়ের জীবনী এবং সমসাময়িক বাংলার সাংস্কৃতিক প্রগতির ইতিহাস। বিগত পঞ্চাশ বৎসরের বাংলার সাহিত্যিক, রাজনৈতিক ও সামাজিক ইত্যাদি বিবিধ আন্দোলনের প্রকৃত স্বরূপ উপলব্ধি করিতে হইলে এই পুস্তকখানি অপরিহার্য্য।

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And talking of her childhood home she says : "It is full of the music of birds in the garden and children in the long-arched verandah." Her desire was to be always "a wild free thing of the air like the birds, with a song in my heart."

She inherited her lyric gifts from her mother who had written some exquisite Bengali poems in her youth. From a very early age Sarojini began writing verse ; at 13 she had written a long poem in the pattern of the *Lady of the Lake*—1,300 lines in six days ; a drama of 2,000 lines, besides a novel and "fat volumes of a journal." All these she consigned to the fire on the advice of Edmund Gosse, the celebrated critic, who asked her to give up imitating the English classics but to be a genuine poet of the soil.

From then on she poured her heart out in all those poems enshrined in three tiny volumes, wherein is to be seen all the radiance of the "sun-scorched hills and plains of the Deccan" as well as the authentic voice of India's weavers, street-singers, corn-grinders, snake-charmers and palanquin-bearers. These poems, full of the magic of melody, are remarkable for the haunting sweetness of their lyrical appeal.

Despite the exclusively Indian character of their imagery, still faint echoes of Keats :

> The tissues that veiled her delicate breast,
> Glowed with the hues of a lapwing's crest ;

of Wordsworth :

> Behold her, daughter of a wandering race
> Tameless, with the bold falcon's agile grace
> And the lithe tiger's sinuous majesty ;

and of Rossetti :

> Seven queens shone round her ivory bed,
> Like seven soft gems on a silken thread,
> Like seven fair lamps in a royal tower,
> Like seven bright petals of Beauty's flower.

may be heard in some of her poems, particularly the *Queen's Rival* and the *Indian Gypsy*.

They are full of the rapture of Spring, either quivering with passion and love, or leading one to a world of inner ecstasy—always as ever pulsating with the life of India's luminous past and her present renascent awakening. When she sings of the gipsy

> In tattered robes that hoard a glittering trace
> Of bygone colours, broidered to the knee,

or of the Coromandel fishermen :

> Come, let us gather our nets from the shore,
> And set our catamarans free,
> To capture the leaping wealth of the tide, for
> We are the sons of the sea,

one catches visions, unutterably lovely, of Indian scenes radiant with beauty and invested with sweet hints of divinity by the matchless aesthetic emotionalism of her art.

There are several lines and stanzas scattered throughout her poems, lilting lines that have something new and mystical about them. Listen :

> And smiles are entering like magical serpents the
> poppies of lips that are opiate-sweet.
> The wind lies asleep in the arms of the dawn
> like a child that has cried all night.

The treatment of Nature in her poem, unlike Wordsworth who heard in it "the still sad music of humanity," reminds one of Tennyson serving as a background for the delineation of human emotions. But all the child's ecstasy and wonderment at the sight of the loveliness of Mother Earth—as in *Ecstasy* and the *Champak Blossom*—is given expression with an intensity of passion and sincerity of thought.

Here may be found no Miltonic sweeps or Spenserian grandiloquence ; but her art "frail as a cassia-flower" is

> Carven with delicate dreams and wrought
> With many a subtle and exquisite thought.
> Therein I treasure the spice and scent
> Of rich and passionate memories blent
> Like odours of cinnamon, sandal and clove,
> Of song and sorrow and life and love.

পণ্ডিত ৺রমানাথ চক্রবর্তী সঙ্কলিত এবং
ভক্তিতীর্থ শ্রীউমেশ চক্রবর্তী সম্পাদিত ও প্রকাশিত
(সচিত্র ও মূলসহ) শ্রীশ্রীচণ্ডী ১৷৷০
অর্গলা, কীলক, কবচ, মূলচণ্ডী, সূক্তাদি এবং রহস্যত্রয়ের সরল বঙ্গানুবাদ ও ব্যাখ্যা, পূজাবিধি এবং সম্পাদকীয় নিবন্ধে 'চণ্ডী' বিষয়ক বহুল জ্ঞাতব্য বিষয়াদিতে ও বর্ণানুক্রমিক শ্লোকসূচীতে সুসম্পূর্ণ।
শ্রীশ্রীলক্ষ্মীপূজা ও কথা ৵১০ ত্রিসন্ধ্যা ।০
প্রাপ্তিস্থান—শ্রীগুরু লাইব্রেরী প্রভৃতি বইয়ের দোকান এবং প্রকাশকের নিকট - ১২০।২ আপার সারকুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

প্রথিতযশা লেখিকা শান্তা দেবী প্রণীত
১। অলখ-ঝোরা (উপন্যাস) ... মূল্য ৩৲
২। দুহিতা (উপন্যাস) ... ১৲
৩। সিঁথির সিঁদুর ১৷০
৪। বধূবরণ ১৸০
সুপ্রসিদ্ধ লেখিকা শ্রীসীতা দেবী প্রণীত
১। ক্ষণিকের অতিথি (উপন্যাস) ... ২৷০
২। নিরেট গুরুর কাহিনী (ছোটদের গল্প) ৸০
প্রাপ্তিস্থান—শ্রীশান্তা দেবীর নিকট
পি-২৬, রাজা বসন্ত রায় রোড, কলিকাতা ও সমস্ত বিখ্যাত পুস্তকালয়ে প্রাপ্তব্য।

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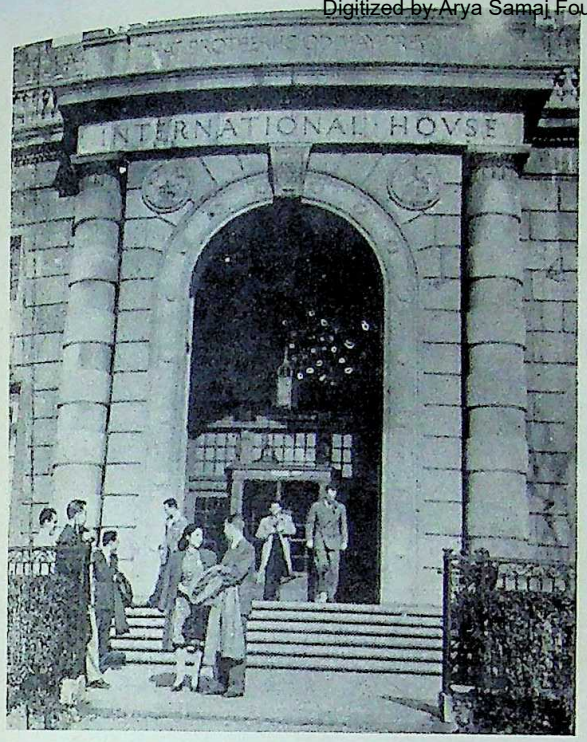
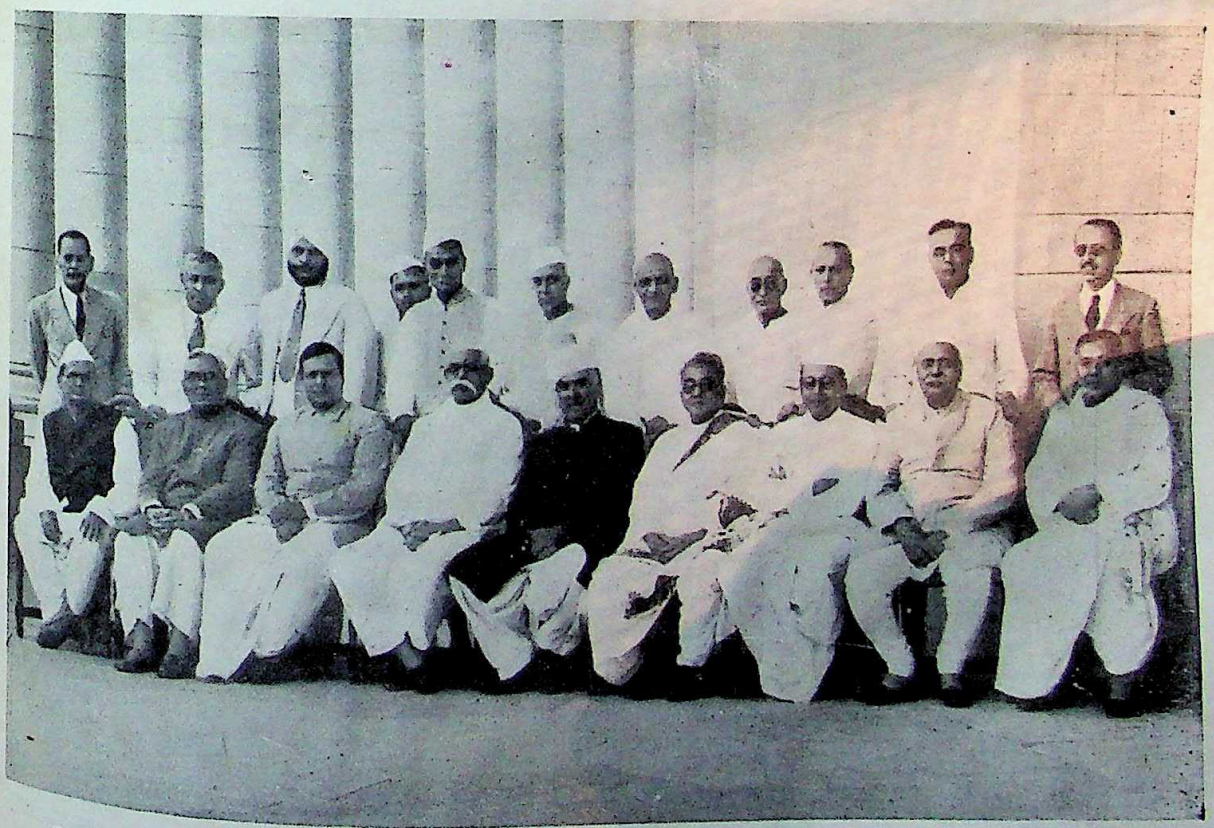


International Houses in the U.S.A. aid foreign students

A group of students engaged in discussion in New York's International House



The Premiers' Conference at New Delhi. Sitting (*left to right*): Shree Krishna Sinha (Bihar); Dr. Khan Sahib (N.-W.F.P.); Hare Krishna Mahatab (Orissa); Ravishankar Sukla (C.P.); Muzzafarali Quzilbash (Home Minister, Punjab); T. Prakasam (Madras); B. G. Kher (Bombay); Govind Ballabh Pant (U.P.) and Gopinath Bardoloi (Assam)
Standing (*left to right*): Shafaat Ahmed Khan; Dr. John Matthai; Sardar Baldev Singh; K. B. Sahai (Revenue Minister, Bihar); Rajendra Prasad; Jawaharlal Nehru; Vallabhbhai Patel; Rajagopalachari; Asaf Ali; Syed Ali Zahir and C. H. Bhabha

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THE LOVERS MEET
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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Britain Sets a Date

Much of the speculations and doubts regarding the intentions of the British Labour Cabinet towards India have been settled by the statement of the British Government's plans in the House of Commons on February 20 by Mr. Attlee. The first reactions were dismay and elation in the Congress and the opposing camps, but a more careful perusal reversed the effect, and the Lords' debate has clarified matters still further. We find ourselves in complete agreement with Pandit Nehru's statement to the press. Since 1942, the Congress demand has been that the British should "Quit India" and the unequivocal declaration of the British Cabinet that they are definitely quitting India after June 1948, brings us within sight of the goal.

But the marking of the date-line does not mean that India is out of the woods. The forces of reaction are there, as are the vested interests, black-marketeers and corrupt officialdom. The six years of war have immersed India into a veritable morass out of which we shall have to extricate ourselves by our own efforts. There are signs that this latest declaration of H. M. G. is having a sobering effect on the intransigent ones, but between that and a state of "sweet reasonableness" there is a long long distance. The spate of lics remains unabated in the League press, as for example one vernacular daily in Calcutta which went so far as to mistranslate, deliberately, Lord Pethick Lawrence in the House of Lords, making him promise Pakistan definitely! Mr. Jinnah has not pronounced anything as yet and his lieutenants are also observing a silence. The Congress spokesmen have clearly indicated that there is an extremely difficult and delicate task ahead and the Congress would need all the support and aid that its constituents could give in every way. A Herculean effort is called for and a time-limit has been set.

The Lords' debate was most remarkable as an exhibition of chagrin and anger on the part of the Conservative spokesmen. Bucketfuls of crocodile tears were shed and there was loud gnashing of teeth on the part of the harpies at the prospect of the victims being loosened from the toils. Lord Templewood, of the unsavoury Hoare-Laval Scheme fame, led the attack, trotting forth the usual nauseating and hypocritical saws about British responsibilities towards the minorities. As if there ever was a Conservative in power who cared a hoot about any minority or depressed class in India unless they were tools, to be used for the nefarious purposes of the exploiting Britisher and to be cast aside when that purpose had been served. What did Samuel Hoare or his Conservative predecessors and successors ever do for the minorities in Bengal excepting to help oppress them? The sublime limit in this hypocritical tirade was reached when another noble lord stated that he would no longer be able to look the Indian peasant in the face! And this after millions of the self-same Indian peasants were callously left to die of famine and pestilence in 1943, when his party was in power! Indeed, we know of extremely few Britishers in history, who ever stirred a finger to help the Indian peasant or labourer, whereas we know there have been many thousands who helped in the looting and oppressing of the same helpless body of men, some of them attaining the peerage in Britain thereby.

Lord Pethick Lawrence gave an able reply to the opposition, incidentally clearing up many obscure points in the Attlee statement thereby. Lord Halifax and the British Primate brought the irresponsibles to their senses by laying stress on the serious nature of the issues at stake, thereby bringing this parade of ignorance and presumption, posing as omnipotent wisdom, to an end.

We, in India, know only too well that the most ruthless oppression and exploitation of a minority that is active now, is in existence in Bengal, and that it was initiated by the British and is proceeding on its brutal course even today with the approval and aid of British officialdom. So far has the foul disease of communal oppression injected in the veins of Bengal by Lords Curzon and Minto and their satellites, eaten into the vitals of Bengal, that that fair province, once the most prosperous in India is moribund, economically, culturally and socially. The Hindu minority that is now being subjected to oppression, ignominy and spoliation, contributed and still contributes towards 75 per cent of the finances, 95 per cent of the charities and voluntary donations for the purposes of social and moral uplift. It was

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solely through the strenuous efforts of this community that Bengal attained its premier position in culture, education and social uplift. Today that position is gone and the very existence of the Bengali Hindu is jeopardised *unless a homeland can be found for him by the partition of Bengal, whereby he can live his own life, free from persecution and oppression.* And the sole reason for this unhappy and perilous position of the Bengali Hindu is British malice, resulting from the fact that the self-same Bengali Hindu initiated, and led for a number of years, the fight for freedom from British rule.

Full Text of Attlee Statement

On February 20, Mr. Attlee made the following statement :

It has long been the policy of successive British Governments to work towards the realisation of self-Government in India. In pursuance of this policy, an increasing measure of responsibility has been devolved on Indians, and today the Civil Administration and the Indian Armed Forces rely to a very large extent on Indian Civilians and officers.

In the constitutional field, the Acts of 1919 and 1935 passed by the British Parliament, each represented a substantial transfer of political power. In 1940, the Coalition Government recognised the principle that Indians should themselves frame a new constitution for a fully autonomous India, and in the offer of 1942 they invited them to set up a Constituent Assembly for this purpose as soon as the war was over.

His Majesty's Government believe this policy to have been right and in accordance with sound democratic principles. Since they came into office they have done their utmost to carry it forward to its fulfilment. The declaration of the Prime Minister of March 15 last, which met with general approval in Parliament and the country, made it clear that it was for the Indian people themselves to choose their future status and constitution and that in the opinion of H. M. Government, the time had come for responsibility for the Government of India to pass into Indian hands.

The Cabinet Mission, which was sent to India last year, spent over three months in consultation with Indian leaders to help them to agree upon a method for determining the future constitution of India, so that the transfer of power might be smoothly and rapidly effected. It was only when it seemed clear that without some initiative from the Cabinet Mission, agreement was unlikely to be reached that they put forward proposals themselves.

These proposals, made public in May last, envisaged that the future constitution of India should be settled by a Constituent Assembly composed, in the manner suggested therein, of representatives of all communities and interests in British India and of the Indian States.

Since the return of the Mission, an Interim Government has been set up at the Centre composed of the political leaders of the major communities, exercising wide powers within the existing constitution. In all the provinces Indian Governments responsible to Legislatures are in office.

It is with great regret that H. M. G. find that there are still differences among Indian parties, which are preventing the Constituent Assembly from functioning as it was intended that it should. It is of the essence of the plan that the Assembly should be fully representative.

H. M. G. desire to hand over their responsibility to authorities established by a constitution approved by all parties in India in accordance with the Cabinet Mission's plan. But unfortunately there is at present no clear prospect that such a constitution and such authorities will emerge.

The present state of uncertainty is fraught with danger and cannot be indefinitely prolonged. H.M.G. wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948.

This great sub-continent now containing over 400 million people has for the last century enjoyed peace and security as a part of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Continued peace and security are more than ever necessary today if the full possibillties of economic development are to be realised and a higher standard of life attained by the Indian people.

H. M. G. are anxious to hand over their responsibilities to a Government which resting on the sure foundation of the support of the people, is capable of maintaining peace and administering India with justice and efficiency. It is, therefore, essential that all parties should sink their differences in order that they may be ready to shoulder the great responsibilities which will come upon them next year.

After months of hard work by the Cabinet Mission a great measure of agreement was obtained as to the method by which a constitution should be worked out. This was embodied in their statements of May last. H. M. G. there agreed to recommend to Parliament a constitution worked out in accordance with the proposals made therein by a fully representative Constituent Assembly.

But if it should appear that such a constitution will not have been worked out by a fully representative assembly before the time mentioned in paragraph seven, H. M. G. will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over, on due date, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India, or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people.

Although the final transfer of authority may not take place until June, 1948, preparatory measures must be put in hand in advance. It is important that the efficiency of the civil administration should be maintained and that the defence of India should be fully provided for. But inevitably, as the process of transfer proceeds, it will become progressively more difficult to carry out to the letter all the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935. Legislation will be introduced in due course to give effect to the final transfer of power.

In regard to the Indian States, as was explicitly stated by the Cabinet Mission, His Majesty's Government do not intend to hand over their powers and obligations under Paramountcy to any Government of British India. It is not intended to bring Paramountcy, as a system, to a conclusion earlier than the date of the final transfer of power, but it is contemplated that for the intervening period the relations of the

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Crown with individual States may be adjusted by agreement.

H. M. G. will negotiate agreements in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power with representatives of those to whom they propose to transfer power.

H. M. G. believe that British commercial and industrial interests in India can look forward to a fair field for their enterprise under the new conditions. The commercial connection between India and the United Kingdom has been long and friendly and will continue to be to their mutual advantage.

H. M. G. cannot conclude this statement without expressing on behalf of the people of this country their goodwill and good wishes towards the people of India as they go forward to this final stage in their achievement of self-government. It will be the wish of everyone in these islands that notwithstanding constitutional changes, the association of the British and Indian peoples should not be brought to an end, and they will wish to continue to do all that is in their power to further the well-being of India.

Pandit Nehru on Attlee Statement

British Prime Minister Mr. Attlee's Statement of February 20, has been favourably received by the Congress and the Princes. Pandit Nehru commended the British Government's Statement on India as "a wise and courageous one" and said that the work of the Constituent Assembly must now be carried on with greater speed. Proceeding, he said, "In this great work, we invite afresh all those who have kept aloof and we ask all to be partners in this joint and historic undertaking, casting aside fear and suspicion which ill become a great people on the eve of freedom." The Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, said, "The statement of policy in regard to India issued by H. M. G. will serve a useful purpose. No longer now can it be said that the British desire to maintain their hold on India through adherence to the principle of divide and rule."

The following is the full text of Pandit Nehru's statement :

"The statement made by the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, in the House of Commons on February 20 in regard to Indian policy has received, and is receiving, the earnest attention of all those who are vitally interested in bringing the present transitional period to a satisfactory conclusion.

"The statement is obscure in some places and requires careful consideration. The outstanding feature of it, however, is the decision of the British Government to transfer power to Indian hands not later than June, 1948.

"It has further been stated that preparatory measures must be put in hand in advance. This is important as only thus can we secure a rapid and effective transference of power within this period. My colleagues and I are giving the fullest thought to this statement, and early next month the Congress Working Committee will meet and give its considered views on the new situation that has arisen.

"I should like to say, however, even at this stage that the decision of the British Government is a wise and courageous one. The clear and definite declaration that the final transference of power will take place by a date not later than June, 1948, not only removes all misconception and suspicion, but also brings reality and a certain dynamic quality to the present situation in India. That decision will undoubtedly have far-reaching consequences and puts a burden and responsibility on all concerned. It is a challenge to all of us, and we shall try to meet it bravely in the spirit of that challenge. I trust that we shall all endeavour to get out of the rut and end the internal conflicts that have frustrated our efforts and delayed our advance, and accept this burden and responsibility, keeping only the independence and advancement of India in view.

"The work of the Constituent Assembly must now be carried on with greater speed, so that the new and independent India may take shape and be clothed with a constitution worthy of her, and bringing relief and opportunity to all her children. In this great work, we invite afresh all those who have kept aloof, and we ask all to be partners in this joint and historic undertaking, casting aside fear and suspicion, which ill become a great people on the eve of freedom.

"The Constituent Assembly, however constituted, can only proceed with its work on a voluntary basis. There can be no compulsion, except the compulsion of events, which no one can ignore. The moment British rule goes the responsibility for the governance of India must inevitably rest on her people and their representatives alone. They will have to shoulder that responsibility. Why, then, should we not accept this responsibility now, and work together to find integrated solutions of our problems? No external authority is going to help or hinder us in future.

"The British Government, on behalf of their people, have expressed their goodwill and good wishes to the people of India. We have had a long past of conflict and ill will. But we earnestly hope that this past is over. We look forward to a peaceful and co-operative transition, and to the establishment of close and friendly relations with the British people for the mutual advantage of both countries and for the advancement of the cause of peace and freedom all over the world."

The Lords Debate

A debate on India had been forced in the House of Lords by some Conservative peers led by Lord Templeton (formerly Sir Samuel Hoare) to voice their opinion against the fixing of a definite date for the transfer of power to Indian hands. Replying to the debate, Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, has made a number of observations which will go a long way towards clearing up a lot of misunderstanding between Nationalist India and the British Labour Party. He said that fixation of a time-limit to give final effect to their Quit India policy was done to impress on Indian parties the British Government's sincerity in their promise to transfer power and the urgency of the parties' finding a solution to their differences among themselves. The Secretary of State added that if the parties did not arrive at the main decisions and agreement by the fixed date, "it will be possible for Britain to hand over power to a Provisional Government which can accomplish the remaining part of the task." Replying to the usual minority protection bogey raised by the Conservatives, the Secretary of State laid great importance on the Minority Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly and declared that the British Government would decide their course of action in respect of the minorities in the light of the paper recommendations of that body. This declaration knocks out the last plank from under Mr. Jinnah's feet. In this debate, it has been made quite clear

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that agreement between the major parties is no longer a condition precedent to transfer of power to Indian hands.

The following is the text of the Secretary of State's speech :

Lord Pethick Lawrence referred to the fact that, during the war, India's Civil Service and Police had not been refreshed and brought up-to-date and the time had come to consider whether recruitment should be renewed in the teeth of strong opinion in India.

The Government were confronted broadly with two alternatives—they could either go back or go forward.

"If we go forward," he said, "we must rely rather more on the good sense and co-operation of the different parties in India or we must be prepared, in the event of oppositional disagreement, to start all over again the unhappy procedure of arrest, imprisonment, and imprisonment without trial, and come into direct conflict with what is a rapidly growing and determined body of people in India.

"A vast majority of people of all parties in this country, with perhaps a few exceptions, concur in the view that the Government should go forward. If Britain had attempted for a short while to restore the old position of complete control by the British Raj in India, it would be necessary to guarantee that we would stay in India for 10, 15 or even more years."

As soon as they came into office, said Lord Pethick Lawrence, the Government decided on a different course—a course which would enable an endeavour to be made to build the structure of complete Indian Self-Government.

Recalling the visit of the Cabinet Mission to India Lord Pethick Lawrence, who was himself a member of the Mission, said he would like the House to appreciate that before the Cabinet Mission went out and in fact when they arrived in India, "we were confronted with a really dangerous situation." There was in the realm of the Congress a violent revolutionary sentiment,

The Cabinet Mission found that there was a swing to the extreme and a demand for revolutionary methods to achieve full independence.

"Again," he said, "we had to consider whether we would go forward or go back."

Speaking of the results of the Cabinet Mission, Lord Pethick Lawrence said : "Although we may not have succeeded in bringing about a combined Constituent Assembly and a Coalition Government, we did succeed in one objective at any rate, and that was the dispersal of the element of suspicion that was in Indian minds against the British Government.

"That was of very great importance in enabling the relationship between this country and India to proceed on these lines.

"The major parties in India have all stated their willingness to provide full safeguards for the minorities in the Constitution in the form of fundamental rights and other necessary conditions.

"Since we issued our Statement of May 25, important developments have taken place in accordance with our proposals. The Constituent Assembly has appointed an Advisory Committee. A resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly, defining the objectives of that body, laid it down that in the Constitution to be framed there would be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India, justice, social, economic and political, equality of status, opportunity before the law, freedom of thought, expression, etc. It was provided that there should be adequate safeguards for the minorities of tribal and backward areas.

"There is no reason to assume that this Committee, which is widely representative of all sections except Muslims, whose places have been kept vacant, will not make proper recommendations. Whatever paper safeguards there may be in the Constitution, after we have left the treatment of minorities must, in the last resort, depend on the wisdom and statesmanship of Indians, subject to the light of world opinion.

"This resolution passed in the Constituent Assembly is part of the machinery which the Cabinet Mission suggested should be carried out. I think, under the circumstances, we have achieved a great deal in protecting the rights of minorities.

"Now I come to the question of the date for the transfer of power to Indian hands. It will be evident that transfer of power has been approaching ; that it has been steadily going on for the last 20 years ; and that this process cannot be indefinitely continued of leaving nominal responsibility for events in our hands while lacking the means of fully exercising that responsibility.

"The advice we have received from responsible authorities in India has been that, taking all circumstances into account, British rule cannot be maintained on its existing basis with adequate efficiency after 1948.

"The policy pursued in recent years by successive British Governments had assumed that full power must be handed over sooner or later and that when the time came Indians would be found capable of assuming authority. We cannot now accept the conception that Indian leaders are incapable of bearing that responsibility. The fixing of an early date is designed to impress upon Indian parties, first of all, the compelte sincerity of the Government in their promise to transfer of power ; and, secondly, a sense of the urgency of finding a solution of their outstanding difficulties themselves without the assistance and control of this country.

"Substitution of a slightly later date would not make it appreciably more easy to procure a more detailed constitutional structure."

Lord Pethick Lawrence continued : "Had the British Government decided on a date giving a period running into years, I think we should have failed to produce the psychological effect on Indian parties which our statement was designed to produce. With the date announced, there will be ample time for the main decisions and agreements to be reached between the Indian parties if they are willing to arrive at an agreement and for a great deal of details to be filled in. If the task is not fully accomplished, it will be possible for Britain to hand over power to a Provisional Government which can accomplish the remaining part of the task."

Lord Pethick Lawrence said that Viscount Templewood had claimed that he saw no signs that the statement had produced the desired effect and claimed that there were signs of the reverse. "I do not see any sign of the reverse," said Lord Pethick Lawrence, "and there are signs that it has had some of the effects we hoped for.

"I will not quote the various utterances of Pandit

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Nehru, but they certainly have been encouraging. I think Pandit Nehru and the Congress as a whole realize that it is of supreme importance that they should bring the Muslim League in with them in constructing the future constitution.

"So far as I know, the Muslim League have not expressed any opinion, but I shall be surprised if, when they read the terms of the statement carefully and with due consideration they think it is so likely to produce Pakistan (apparently as likely as Viscount Templewood has suggested)."

So, the last word of the British Government's view on Pakistan seems to have been uttered.

Lord Samuel, leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Lords, blamed the Conservative Party and made them responsible for the loss of the American colonies, and the quarrel with Ireland, and South Africa. The Conservative Party, he said, might have added a fourth which would be provided by an ungovernable India. Coming to the Indian problem, Lord Samuel said :

> It had long been obvious to friends of India that the right destiny of India was to become a federation—neither a unitary State, for it was too large and varied for that, nor yet to be divided into two or more independent States, which would be only too likely to give rise to future conflicts.
>
> Lord Samuel said that on consideration, and knowing that the Government had taken the course they had with much fuller knowledge of the circumstances than any member of the House, he would not be disposed to challenge their decision. The worst course possible would be to proclaim a policy that the Government could not execute.
>
> If the minorities, of which Lord Templewood had been speaking, were induced to shape their course on the lines of British action in their support and then found that their trust had been unjustified because Britain was unable to make good her undertakings, that would not avoid distaste to them, but add disgrace for Britain.
>
> The Muslim League had a strange case *up to a point. It had lately clearly gone beyond that point* and it had put itself, in his opinion, in the wrong. The Congress Party had been most reluctant to concede anything and, when they did, they did so reluctantly and accompanied concessions with reproaches.

Lord Darwen, an independent Labour peer, believed that it was lack of faith in British bonafides that Indian leaders felt no responsibility for settling differences between themselves. There was a great deal of co-operation going on in India between Hindus and Muslims which one did not hear about. Lord Listowel approached the problem in a more realistic way. He emphasised that "to say, as some of the Opposition did, that the Government should wait until the Muslim League entered the Constituent Assembly, was, in the Government's view, putting the cart before the horse.

> So long as any party believes that it can rely on British protection, it can surely, with comparative safety, refuse to compromise with its adversaries and may secretly hope in the long run to obtain British support for its extreme claims. To say that after the year 1948 our authority can no longer be enforced means that the parties will be obliged to settle their differences. The whole responsibility will be thrown on their shoulders and an opportunity will be given for the exercise of that statesmanship which we have all assumed to be possessed by leaders of Indian opinion.
>
> *That is one important reason why a date should be fixed in advance of an agreement between the parties and not subsequently."*

Lord Templewood and Viscount Simon, the two chief spokesmen of the Opposition, repeated only the age-old Conservative phrases so long passed as arguments. When the question of pressing for a division came, Lord Halifax (formerly Lord Irwin, Viceroy of India) said that he would find it difficult to support Lord Templewood to a division and urged it would be possible to avoid one. If this chapter of Indian history has to come to a close, he said, there was no better way of closing it than by offering to assist India's passage into a new order. Lord Jowitt, the Lord Chancellor, said that he knew that the Government were taking a very grave risk, but the true path of statesmanship today was not to attempt to avoid risks. The Government, he said, had come to the conclusion that it was a right risk to take. He did not regard this as a breaking up of the Commonwealth. That Commonwealth, he hoped, would survive not in force but on reason, not on violence but on persuasion.

Acceding to the appeals of Lord Halifax and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Templewood withdrew his motion and there was therefore no vote.

Mountbatten to Succeed Wavell

Simultaneously with the announcement of the date for the final withdrawal of the British rule from India, the British Premier told the House of Commons that Viscount Wavell's tenure of office had been terminated and that Lord Louis Mountbatten had been appointed to succeed him. Of late Lord Wavell's actions in India were looked upon with suspicion by the people. Through his active aid, the League had smuggled itself into the Interim Government on a false promise conveyed to the Congress Party by the Viceroy to the effect that the League had assured him that they would reverse their Bombay decision. Lord Wavell was held to be a party to this attempt at breaking the Cabinet character of the Interim Government. He had failed to carry out his responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in the country and the protection of minorities in the Muslim majority provinces. He was explicit in his sympathy with the Bihar sufferers, but kept silent over the lot of the Hindus in Bengal and Sind. The *United Press of America* understands that Lord Wavell had expressed the conviction that there was no likelihood of the Hindus and Muslims forming a real coalition and that only the presence of British troops in India would avert a major conflict. In pursuance to his first idea, he had permitted the League to proceed with its attempts at preventing the Congress shaping the Interim Government into a Cabinet with joint responsibility with the Muslims. His second idea is also equally false. Law and order has been maintained and riots averted in the eight provinces under the Congress and in the Punjab mainly with Indian police and Indian military together with the sincere activities of Congressmen.

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British troops were largely called out in League-ruled Bengal and they have so far been used by the League Government in a manner as to serve their own ends.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Attlee said :

"The House will wish to know of an announcement which is being made public today. FM the Rt. Hon. Viscount Wavell was appointed Viceroy on 1943, after having held high military command in the Middle East, S.-E. Asia and India with notable distinction since the beginning of the war. It was agreed that this should be a war-time appointment. Lord Wavell has discharged this high office during this very difficult period with devotion and a high sense of duty. It has, however, seemed that the opening of a new and final phase in India is an appropriate time to terminate this war appointment.

"His Majesty has been pleased to approve, as successor to Lord Wavell, the appointment of Adm. the Viscount Mountbatten, who will be entrusted with the task of transferring to Indian hands responsibility for the government of British India in a manner that will best ensure the future happiness and prosperity of India. The change of office will take place during March. The House will be glad to hear that His Majesty has been pleased to approve the conferment of an Earldom on Viscount Wavell."

This announcement evoked bitter criticism from Mr. Churchill who wanted to know whether Lord Wavell had been dismissed. Mr. Attlee declined, every time he was pressed, to make any addition to the statement that he had already made. The fact remains that Viscount Wavell has not resigned nor has he been recalled, his office has been terminated because he has been considered unsuitable to preside over the coming changes for the introduction of a new and final change in India. British Labour Party has declared their intention to march with the progress of time and to hand over India to Indians as a going concern and not in chaotic state. Lord Wavell proved himself an obstacle to both through his League partisanship and other obsessions that came in train.

Princes Enter Constituent Assembly

A joint meeting of the Standing Committee of the Princes and the Constitutional Advisory Committee of the Chamber of Princes have ratified the decision taken by the Negotiating Committee of the Princes. A joint statement signed by Pandit Nehru and the Nawab of Bhopal, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, declaring that agreement has been reached on fundamental points in controversy, has set at rest all speculation about the Princes' role in constitution-making. The *Hindustan Times* learns authoritatively that it was the patriotic stand taken by the Rulers of Patiala and Bikaner, supported by those of Gwalior, Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur and the wise counsel of Sir Mirza Ismail that succeeded in frustrating the plot which had been hatched by the Chancellor of Princes and the Political Department.

It has been made clear that there was no question of changes or adjustment of territories except by pure voluntary and consensual agreement. It was further agreed that the States under the Cabinet Plan would retain all powers other than those ceded or delegated by them to the Union and that the Union will exercise only such functions as are so assigned by the States to the Union. The question of implied or inherent powers is a matter which will have to be carefully defined with special reference to the above proposition and provision will have to be specially made in the constitution for that purpose and for the resolution of difficulties in the application of the doctrine. It was further agreed that the Cabinet Mission's Plan should proceed on the basis of the autonomy of each State in regard to its internal structure and constitution.

The lapse of paramountcy on the coming into existence of the new constitution was also taken for granted and there was no claim that paramountcy as such will be exercised by anybody after British paramountcy disappeared. The powers of the Union centre in the future would not partake of the nature of paramountcy but would be conferred by the Union constitution.

Bihar Assembly Debate on Disturbances

In the Bihar Assembly, the Premier Mr. S. K. Sinha has announced the Government's decision to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the recent outrages in the province. He stated that Pandit Nehru had suggested that there should be a joint commission to inquire into the Noakhali and Bihar disturbances and a letter had been sent to the Bengal Government asking for their opinion. But no reply had been received. The Bihar Government, therefore, announced their decision to appoint a separate Commission of inquiry. This announcement was made in the course of a debate initiated by the Muslim League Party in the Bihar Legislature on a motion of no-confidence against the Ministry. Five League members spoke in support of the motion, demanding the appointment of an impartial tribunal to enquire into the recent disturbances. Mr. S. M. Ismail, leader of the League Party, levelling the charges against the Ministry blamed the Government and its officers for not taking steps in time for preventing what he characterized as "the Great Bihar Killing" and narrated the history of the communal trouble in the province. Soon after the Congress Government was formed, the Ramnavami festivals were marked in some parts of the province by minor communal riots. Mr. Jaiprakash Narain was taken out in a procession in Patna City, in which, the member alleged, slogans inciting the people against the minority community were raised.

Riots in a certain village in Bihar Sharif followed which formed the subject of an adjournment motion in the last session of the Assembly. The first major communal trouble occurred in the Benibad area, in Muzaffarpur district, in September, 1946, and culminated in the series of communal disturbances which had no parallel in history.

Mr. S. K. Sinha, in a three-hour speech, delivered the Government reply against the allegations made against the Ministry. Tracing the genesis of the trouble, Mr. Sinha stated that even before the direct action decision of the Muslim League, the relationship between the two communities had become far from happy. Direct action was bound to react unfavourably on the minds of the people which, he maintained, had nothing to do with the British Cabinet Mission's Plan. The fateful August 16. To all these were added the declarations of the Bengal and Sind

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Premiers that Bengal and Sind would declare independence if need be. Statements were openly made that Muslims would shed the blood of non-Muslims and wage a war of extermination in the sacred month of Ramzan. It was given out that it was in this month that *jehad* was launched. On August 16, most irresponsible speeches were made in the province. During the Id, provocative speeches and statements were made. The Congress, he said, was dubbed by the Muslim League as an organisation dominated by the Caste Hindus who wanted to keep the Muslims under subjection and the acceptance of office in the new Central Government by Congress on September 2 was described as another move towards that end and demonstrations were staged on that day. All these things, Mr. Sinha said, had a cumulative effect on the minds of the people which evoked reactions.

He had taken notice of these unfortunate things. Mr. Sinha said, as far back as August 21. He had told the district officers to take strongest measures to prevent untoward incidents and had asked them to keep a strict watch on the localities where refugees from Calcutta were lodged. He asked his officers to make use of the war emergency laws and detention ordinances for dealing with *goondas* who tried to create mischief. He had mobilized even during that time the armed police at his disposal and posted them to strategic places.

Mr. Sinha then gave in detail the drastic steps he had taken to quell the outrages. He said that the delay in getting military help occurred because he wanted them to go in batches of four or five to every village and to contact mobs, and if necessary to fire upon them. When the military actually arrived they rendered all possible help and he gave them much wider powers than was given even by Sec. 93. Mr. Sinha gave full details district by district of how the situation had been brought under control in the quickest possible time.

Recalling the Noakhali Day processions taken out and meetings held in the province, Mr. Sinha said that the intensity of feeling of the people was mounting and there was need for giving an outlet for those feelings. All the speeches made on the Noakhali Day emphasized that communal disturbances were the creations of the British and asked the people not to walk into the trap of the British. The Government, however, had taken precautions, and in Patna, *the arrangements made on the day by Government had the approval of a prominent member of the Muslim League.*

The League Members pressed the no-confidence motion to division and were defeated by 92 votes to 27. Seven members of the Opposition, not belonging to the Muslim League, remained neutral.

The League has sought to make much capital out of the Bihar outrages and claims that Noakhali pales into insignificance when compared to Bihar. But in reality the two can hardly be compared. Bihar was the outburst of reaction against continuous provocation of the incessant and irresponsible Pakistani propaganda of the League. Noakhali was a planned attack on the minority for the establishment of Pakistan. In Bihar, there have been few cases of forced conversion while in Noakhali, people were converted *en masse* on the point of the dagger. The Bihar outrage was completely brought under control within barely a week's time, while the planned oppression on the minorities in Noakhali continues to this day, five months after the outrage. In Bihar, the Congress Government and the Congress High Command used drastic force to stamp out lawlessness, in Noakhali, nothing similar has ever been done. Number of arrests in Noakhali are not even one-fifth of that in Bihar. In Bihar, the lawless elements have been treated as criminals and are being dealt with accordingly, in Noakhali, the sympathy of the entire League organisation goes out to the arrested criminals charged with the worst possible crimes like murder, arson, abduction, rape and loot. League leaders in Bengal have made statements which have served to lionise these criminals and have tended to put a premium on such crimes when they are committed against a particular community. In Bihar, rehabilitation has been so successful that the Bengal Government could not tempt away more than a lakh and a half of Biharees into this province, while in Noakhali even Mahatma Gandhi's village to village tour has failed to inspire confidence in the minds of the minority. They are still being intimidated and boycotted by the majority, and even Gandhiji said that such a boycott was not possible without Government support. He has been fully justified in his observation. The Noakhali and Tipperah ordinance, promulgated under great public pressure, had been excluded from the Omnibus Bill passed by the Bengal Legislature in the most surreptitious and sneakish fashion. Ten Ordinances, including it, and due to expire soon, were lumped together for converting them into a temporary Act. An amendment was moved at the last moment for excluding the Noakhali and Tipperah Ordinance from the Bill, and before the Opposition could understand what was going to be done, it was carried with the League's brute majority in the Legislature.

Primary Education in Bengal

Primary education is the only item of importance in the post-war reconstruction plan of Bengal which has been given the largest amount of attention. The scheme is being financed mainly out of money granted by the Central Government and is being worked almost solely in communal interest. A general picture of the Educational Authority in this province will be apparent from the following appointments. Needless to say that persons of far greater efficiency and experience could be found within the province, had the appointments been made on merits and not on communal considerations. The occupants of different posts in the Education Directorate are :

Director of Public Education : Hindu—holding the post temporarily.

Assistant Director : European. Disgusted with the working of the Department, is going on long leave and is being replaced by a Muslim superseding the claim of a number of competent Hindu officers.

Assistant Director for Muslim Education : Muslim.

Secretary, Text-Book Committee : Muslim.

Chief Inspector of Primary Education : Muslim.

Chief Inspector of Secondary Education : Muslim.

The latter two posts have very recently been created and filled up without reference to the Public

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Service Commission. The leave vacancy in the post of the A.D.P.I. is similarly being filled up with a junior Muslim without reference to that body.

Of the Inspectorate, 17 out of 28 Inspectors are Muslim, the rest Hindus. As regards posting, no Hindu School Inspector is posted to a Muslim majority district, but some Muslim officers are posted in Hindu districts. Under the Sec. 93 regime, a Hindu School Inspector had been posted in the Tipperah district who was promptly removed by the League Ministry in pursuance of a resolution in the local Muslim League.

Under the Primary Education Act, 1930, a School Board has been set up in each district excepting Darjeeling and Midnapore. Members of these school boards are partly elected indirectly by the Union Boards and partly nominated. They are thus constituted in a manner which makes a School Board—a replica of the local Muslim League and the District Board. The chairman is usually the chairman of the District Board. Very often these District Board Chairmen are the presidents of the local Muslim League. Thus the Boards are dominated by political and communal coteries. Yet they constitute the final authority entrusted with responsibilities of the education of the nation. For politically neutral men of education, entry into these Boards is a veritable impossibility. Local advisory boards for primary schools were in existence so long and local men of education could notice their opinions there. It is learnt now that the aforesaid system is going to be abolished leaving the school boards the sole and the only authority over administration of education. The school boards, however, are going to be subjected to a Central Advisory Committee. But the constitution of this Central Committee too will be communal. Thus only the evil is going to be rooted still deeper and more integrated. Even the teachers' representative on this body is going to be a person nominated by the government instead of being elected.

Under the provisions of the School Board Rules, there can be only one primary school in an area of two square miles. More than one institution within one area cannot exist. Thus the site of the school becomes an apple of discord amongst the village-folk. Usually, the schools are situated either within or very near the Muslim areas. Sites for the schools are fixed on the recommendation of Sub-Inspectors of Schools about three-fourths of whom are Muslims of no very high calibre. The rule against the establishment of more than one school within two square miles prevents the Hindus from starting schools for their own children.

The matter of selection of teachers is by no means fair. In the schools of East and North Bengal Muslim majority areas, teachers are appointed in conformity with respective communal ratios of population. Besides, the appointments are made by the School Boards controlled and ruled by the Muslim League. The Tipperah District School Board has recently passed a resolution prohibiting the appointment of Hindu teachers if Hindus constitute less than a fourth of the total pupils on the rolls. Thus in many of the East Bengal schools, Hindu teachers are being driven out. *But this is not the case in West Bengal where the minority means the Muslims. Almost half the appointments in that area is practically reserved for the minority Muslims there.* Similar is the story with the training of teachers. The Primary Teachers' Training Schools known as Guru-Training Schools, have been supplemented by Moallem training institutions exclusively for the training of Muslim teachers. The admission to the Guru-Training School, in addition, is governed by population percentage. Moallem Training Schools have been established and started even in the Hindu areas of West Bengal.

As far as the text-books are concerned, the Text-Book Committee selects books written by both Hindus and Muslims. The School Boards are entitled to make a supplementary list from books approved by the Text-Book Committee. The School Boards of Muslim League influence thus indulge in excluding Hindu writers from the supplementary list. The language used by the Muslim writers is not Bengali, it is a queer hybrid of Urdu and Bengali.

In the matter of religious education inequity is maximum. Religious education has been introduced as an examination subject since 1940. This decision of the Government was opposed by experts on Primary Education like Prof. Anath Nath Basu, the Head of the Teachers' Training Department, Calcutta University. But the protest was of no avail. Consequently in predominantly Muslim areas, where there are no Hindu teachers, Hindu boys have to learn Hinduism in a mutilated form from Muslim teachers.

A very large proportion of School Sub-Inspectors are Muslim. The situation in East Bengal is best reflected in Noakhali where 11 out of 12 Sub-Inspectors are Muslims. The Inspectors are according to rules, to be recruited by the Public Service Commission. But this regulation is dodged on various pretexts. Attempts are now being made to fill up some of the vacant posts by Muslim Headmasters of schools notwithstanding their inexperience in inspection.

The Central Government is making lavish grants for the spread of primary education in the country. But the picture above shows how that money is being misused for furthering the projects of the Muslim League.

League Agitation in the Punjab

The special correspondent of *Bharat Jyoti* has given a graphic description of the League Agitation in the Punjab. He reports that a part of the movement has gone underground and the *Voice of Islam*, the organ of the underground organisation running the movement, is circulated throughout the province. The movement which has sprung up all over the province, generally takes the form of processions and meetings in defiance of the ordinance. Processions mark the culmination of the day's activities. Some of the features of the movement are : Abuse of Malik Khizar Hyat Khan, exhibition of the banned League paper *Dawn* copies of which are tied to a bamboo-stick and held aloft, half-clad youths beating their breasts in mourning and raising slogan like *Pakistan le rahenge* (we will have Pakistan) or *Taza khabar, mar gaya Khizar* (latest news Khizar is dead). Muslim women also take out processions in Lahore daily and "raid" the Secretariat with *burqas* on. Men processionists are generally dispersed with tear gas after their leaders are arrested. In many cases, processionists melt away as soon as their leaders are taken into custody. In Lahore, the biggest procession so far seen consisted of 30,000 people.

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A curious feature of this movement unlike any other political movement, is the gentleness with which it is conducted by the League. Though arrests are made daily in Lahore, no imprisonment follows. A procession after it has wended its way round the city is eventually stopped as it approaches the Civil Lines. About 50 to 100 persons offer themselves for arrest. The offer is promptly accepted. A dozen lorries line up. Those who come forward get into them and the caravan starts. Ten or twenty miles from Lahore, after sunset, they are "dumped" on the road. The Lahore movement is orderly but mofussil reports say that processionists are generally unruly and raise provocative slogans against the Hindus and the Congress.

The report then gives the following account of the Communist influence in the movement :

> When the inside story of the genesis of this movement comes to be written, the League may be sorry that they got involved in a Communist trap. It has meant a victory for the Communist element for whose expulsion a resolution is pending in the Provincial League Council.
>
> The leader of this group is Mian Iftikharuddin, 38-year old Oxford graduate, fondly called 'Ifty' by his Communist comrades.
>
> When the police arrived at the office of the Muslim League National Guards, telephone calls brought to the scene all the first-rank League leaders, among whom were the Khan of Mamdot, Malik Feroz Khan Noon and Mian Iftikharuddin.
>
> The first two were for allowing the searches to proceed unhampered. Not so 'Ifty,' who has always wanted to use the League organisation for a revolutionary end.
>
> Hustled into the decision to resist the search, the League leaders' first slogan on going to jail was "Down with the ban." On their release and when the ban was withdrawn, they announced they had won their first victory and raised their demand to "Down with the Ministry." The Communist influence was clear. A constitutionally-formed Government was to be broken up by direct action.
>
> The choice before the Government then was capitulation or concerted action to put down the 'rebellion.'
>
> Reports are circulating that some of the Communist-trained Muslim men and women are guiding League movement and at certain places Communist workers are actively participating to keep the movement alive. After the failure of the Harsa Chima Kisam Morcha and the raid of Communist Party offices, Communists in the Punjab were in search of an opportunity to come to grips with the Government. The League movement has given them an opportunity to take revenge and they are making full use of it.
>
> In Communist quarters this allegation is denied. But every evening Communist workers are seen rushing about in excitement, leading the people to think that they are guiding the underground activity of the League. League circles though dominated by many ex-Communists neither confirm nor deny such reports.
>
> The press is openly unsympathetic to the Ministry. Whereas the League press is tacitly advocating the movement, opinion is expressed in other newspapers that it is no use running a government without a strong hand. They say that friends and foes should be distinguished between by the Ministry and the whole press should not have been gagged indiscriminately.
>
> The League has taken full advantage of the hesitating policy of the Premier but Master Tara Singh's warning to the Leaguers not to defy the law has gone home. The correspondent says that League quarters are tremendously perturbed over his statement and feel that if there is any check on their law-defying activities, it will be exercised by the Sikhs. Sikh leaders are in general critical of the Government for adopting ineffective measures in meeting the present situation and are mobilising forces to rise to the occasion whenever demanded.
>
> The correspondent concludes :
>
> It cannot totally be denied that a gradual decline in the movement is noticeable. Fewer League sympathisers now join the daily round of processions, composed mainly of college students and the artisan community. Seeing that annual examinations are drawing near, parents are pressing their sons to concentrate on study rather than waste time in a political adventure. Poor workers have to earn their daily living.
>
> Authorities feel, the agitation gradually losing momentum, will not last long. At one time fear was entertained that the Punjab police, manned largely by Muslims, might not play the game. The present movement has dispelled this fear. There has been no instance of dereliction of duty by any public servant.

Withdrawal of the Punjab Agitation

A compromise between the Punjab Government and the Muslim League has been announced and the League agitation there has been called off. The following are the terms of compromise : (1) The ban on public meetings to be removed, (2) Government to bring forward such legislation as may be considered necessary to preserve peace and public order in place of the present Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, (3) Release of all prisoners detained, under trial or convicted in connection with the movement other than those accused or convicted of offences under Sec. 325 or of more serious offences under the Indian Penal Code, and (4) Ban on processions to continue.

A close examination of the Punjab Premier's Statement bringing the agitation to an end, made by the correspondent of the *Statesman*, reveals that the Government have retained all the vital powers conferred upon them by the Ordinance. Although the Government have withdrawn the ban against meetings for the time being the power to reimpose it remains, and District Magistrates can reimpose it "whenever and wherever public safety so demands." The League has agreed to the retention of the ban on processions. The extraordinary powers acquired by the Government thus remain unimpaired and in addition the League has promised support to facilitate their conversion into an Act of the Legislature after mutual consultation. All the provisions may not be retained, but the League does recognise that, as in most other provinces, there is need for unusual powers if communal peace is to be maintained. The League has

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further conceded a point by not insisting upon the release of those accused or convicted of offences involving violence. On the ground that these persons have violated League instructions, they have been disowned by the League.

Mr. Fazlul Huq's Latest

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, ex-Premier of Bengal, is widely known for his capacity to change colours. Many a time in his life he has been a Leaguer and on many occasions a violent anti-Leaguer. His latest entry into the League for the *X*th time has been in August last, after the Calcutta carnage, when his house was attacked and he was threatened with death unless he came back to the League-fold. He did so, and now he aspires to the Presidentship of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Council. In his attempt to rise to this position against strong opposition from the Suhrawardy group, he is now out to exploit the cheap anti-Gandhi sentiment to meet his object. All decent people were shocked with the statement he made at Comilla on February 12 last. Here is a portion of it as published in the *Hindustan Standard*.

In the course of his speech Mr. Huq said that after Gandhiji's return from South Africa in 1915 he had asked Gandhiji to embrace Islam whereupon the latter said that he was a Moslem in the true sense of the term. Mr. Huq said he requested him to declare it publicly but Gandhiji refused to do so.

Gandhiji's presence in Noakhali had done a great harm to Islam, Mr. Huq said. As a non-Moslem he should not preach the teachings of Islam. According to Mr. Huq, instead of Hindu-Muslim unity, he was creating bitterness between the two communities. He declared that had Gandhiji gone to Barisal, he would have driven him into the *khal* (canal). He wondered how could the Moslems of Noakhali and Tipperah tolerate Gandhiji's presence so long. Mr. Huq said, if Gandhiji quits Bengal he would help to carry his goat beyond the borders of Bengal and also would be glad to present him with another goat. Mr. Huq compared Gandhiji with an insect known in Bengal as *gandhipoka*, which emits an obnoxious smell. He exhorted the audience to launch a tearing campaign to make it impossible for Gandhiji to remain in Bengal.

We refrain from making any comment on this statement made by a person who had once occupied so high a position in Bengal. We content ourselves by quoting what the *Dawn*, the League's official organ, remarks, referring to Mr. Huq's claim for Presidentship of the Bengal Muslim League. It says that "the rival claimant in embryo, whom we need not name, is far too dangerous an alternative—many times tried and every time found unreliable."

Congress Constitution

Forecast of the main recommendations of a committee which had been considering revision of the Congress constitution, has been published. It begins with the statement: "Almost all members of the Sub-Committee are reported to have agreed that the morale has gone down in the Congress elections due principally to the operation of power-politics, parties and groups." The Committee proposes various devices for restoring the lost morale and maintaining it. Some of them are:

(1) The four-anna membership to remain mainly for considerations of finance; but beyond selecting a primary Congress Committee, the four-anna members are not to take part in any further elections.

(2) Only "active members," who are more qualified, will be voters for the election of all Congress Committees other than primary ones.

(3) Only "workers" in terms of the Congress constitution can offer themselves as candidates for the elective posts in the Congress Committees.

(4) There will be credentials and supervising committees to supervise elections so that disputes may be minimised. Elections will be triennial and the Congress session also.

(5) Henceforth, only Praja Mandals will work in the States.

(6) No organised party or parties with specific membership and constitution shall exist within the Congress, nor shall it use the Congress name for functioning as a party within the Congress.

(7) The number of A.-I. C. C. members has been raised by one-fourth of its present strength.

(8) Working Committees will consist of 21 members, including the President, it being considered necessary for that body to represent as far as practicable all provincial and other interests.

(9) No Congress constituencies shall be formed in the State areas, and no quota of delegates shall be assigned to them for the purpose of any Congress election.

All primary delegates who are habitual wearers of Khaddar for one year before their enrolment, who have renounced untouchability and who are not dealers in foreign cloth or intoxicants nor are given to the use of any intoxicant shall be considered "active members," provided they register themselves as such by a written application to a district worker (for the purposes of the Congress constitution) who devotes whole or part of his time wholly or partly for constructive work, organisational Congress work, parliamentary work or any national work.

No person, who in the Working Committee's opinion is anti-national or in conflict with the Congress, shall be eligible to membership or to an office of any elective Congress Committee.

The condition that no one who is addicted to drink or drugs shall be eligible for election to any Congress organisation is welcomed. We would have been more happy if blackmarketeers and racketeers were similarly excluded. "Capturing" of a provincial or district Congress organisation for party or individual ends should be made impossible. Any such allegation ought to be strictly investigated and remedied by the Working Committee. Neglect of this measure will help factions even if parties are wiped out. A successful working of the Constitution depends mainly on the personnel at the helm of affairs. Honesty, sincerety and integrity are essential qualities but so is fitness. An efficient captain of volunteer corps may not make a good legislator or an administrator. Positions of power and trust should not be made pawns for party purposes as is done too frequently today. There is no doubt the Congress has been demoralised to a very large extent specially since 1937. The moral stature of the Congress must be lifted up.

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Sardar Patel's Anti-Corruption Bill

On February 3, the Central Legislative Assembly passed Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's Bill for the more effective prevention of bribery and corruption. Speaking on the Bill, the Home Member referred to the unanimity of opinion in favour of effective measures to eradicate corruption and bribery and said that the extent to which the evils existed had been disclosed by the work of the special police. By the end of December last they had investigated nearly 1,100 cases and 700 officers and servants had been either departmentally or judicially dealt with. Of these, as many as 30 were gazetted officers and 16 commissioned officers. The total amount involved was Rs. 5 crores 65 lakhs. Typical instances were conspiracy to cheat government, criminal breach of trust and acceptance of illegal gratification. These statistics demonstrated the real need for the measures contemplated in the Bill. The Home Member had to confess regretfully that even the end of the war had brought no decline in these offences. So long as the after-effects of the war continued and the controls and licensing system had to be maintained, many opportunities and temptations came in the way of officers and it was, therefore, necessary for some time to come to continue the existing machinery for detection and prevention of corruption.

The Bill received general support from all sides of the House. Mr. Griffiths, leader of the European Group, said: "We in this group must always be reluctant to consent to a measure which at first sight may seem to depart from the ordinary principles of criminal law as they are known to us and which may indeed in one sense be said to tip the scales of justice in favour of the prosecution, but the hard practical experience of the last few years has 'forced upon us the conviction that the powers contained in this Bill are the very minimum with which any government in this country today can hope to stem the tide of corruption."

A number of speakers stressed the need for confiscating fortunes made illegally during war-time. Only a Muslim League spokesman struck a jarring note by suggesting that more time should be given to them to bring in amendments. He apparently forgot that the Bill was introduced in the last session. The pact arrived at between the Ministers and the members of the Congress Party helped to expedite the disposal of the Bill.

The Railway Budget

The first Railway Budget of the Interim Government of India was presented in the Central Assembly on February 17 by Dr. John Mathai, Transport Member, when he placed the estimates of revenues and expenditure for the year 1947-48. An increase in railway rates and fares estimated to yield Rs. 10½ crores was announced by the Transport Member. The passenger fares will be increased by a surcharge of one anna per rupee; the minimum fare of one anna will, however, remain. The increase will take effect from March 1 next and it is estimated to yield Rs. 4¾ crores. The increase in rates will affect a number of commodities, but its incidence will not exceed one pie per seer of food-grains or per yard of cloth. The freight rates will take effect from April 1 next and are estimated to yield Rs. 5¾ crores.

In the budget for 1945-46, the actual figures show a surplus of Rs. 38·20 crores as against the revised estimates of Rs. 32·07 crores. Revised estimates for 1946-47 show a surplus of Rs. 8·64 crores against the budgeted surplus of Rs. 12·22 crores. Budget estimates for 1947-48 show a gap of Rs. 10½ crores to be made up by the proposed increase in rates and fares.

Gross traffic receipts for the budget year are estimated at Rs. 183 crores and expenditure at 193 crores. The estimates include a contribution to general revenues of Rs. 7½ crores and allotment of Rs. 5 crores for the Betterment Fund and Rs. 5 crores to be put in the Reserve Fund. At the end of the budget year, the Betterment Fund will stand at Rs. 14·56 crores, the Depreciation Fund at Rs. 101·92 crores and the Railway Reserve Fund at Rs. 26·45 crores.

A prominent feature in the Budget is the works programme of Rs. 50 crores, the largest on record which provides, *inter alia* for the beginning of the construction of the Kanchrapara manufacture plant, a large number of staff quarters, the remodelling of a number of large stations and a substantial increase in the lower class coaching stocks.

The demands for grants have been rationalised and re-arranged to secure a better legislative and treasury control of expenditure. The development of a new technique of financial control better suited to a commercial department like the railway, is foreshadowed, and ways and means of improvement in net earnings, both by a reduction of expenditure and by introduction on new schemes likely to yield net gains, are to be investigated by the Indian Railway Inquiry Commitiee which will commence to function early in the budget year.

A total of 1,046 train services covering daily over 67,000 miles have been restored since the end of war. The present passenger mileage ranges from 80 to 90 per cent of the pre-war service of most of the railways. 927 stations were closed for goods and 515 for passenger traffic during the war up to December, 1946, 360 stations had been reopened for goods traffic and 146 for passenger traffic. As a result of these measures civilian passenger traffic has, in the words of Dr. Mathai, shown "a remarkable upsurge." Further resolution of passenger sevices is hampered by the shortage of coaching stock, some of which is still under the control of the Defence Department.

In addition to the renovating stock subjected to intensive usage during the war, Railway workshops are building new stock to the limit of their capacity though production has been halved by many strikes and go slow attitude. More stock is to be constructed in the budget year by outside firms on under frames now on order so that a large increase in the broad-gauge stock is expected to be achieved by the end of 1947-48. Pending the preparation of new designs for the special light weight vehicles of 11 feet and 8 inches width, now approved for the future, stock is being built to existing designs with such improvements in amenities as the supply of materials will permit.

Twenty per cent more broad-gauge wagons than in 1939 are expected to be in service by the end of 1947-48. All the goods type locomotives ordered during the war are expected to be in service by the end of the current year and orders for 400 passenger type locomotives have been placed, of which 100 will be in service in 1948-49, and the balance in 1950. The

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budget contains provision for an entirely new plant for the manufacture of locomotives at Kanchrapara estimated to cost Rs. 11½ crores and designed to produce 120 to 150 locomotives and 50 boilers annually. Production of completed locomotives is expected from 1950.

The Transport Member recapitulated the relations between the Government and organised Railway labour in the current year and recalled the strike notice served by the All-India Railwaymen's Federation on June 1, 1946, and the negotiations after which it was rescinded on June 21. He spoke of the grant of interim relief to railway staff, the reference of certain questions regarding hours of work, periodic rest and leave rules to an adjudicator and the embargo on retrenchment pending his award.

He pointed out that strikes, stoppages of work and "go slow" policies react detrimentally on the workers as well as on the country's economy, and he gave a firm assurance that decisions on pay and conditions of service will be taken by the government as rapidly as possible after the reports of the Pay Commission and the Adjudicator are received.

He sounded a note of caution, however, that substantial increases in pay bills might involve substantial increases in freight rates which in turn react on commodity prices. The result may well be that the worker find himself no better off and inflation has received a fillip. The greater the height reached by the inflationary spiral the greater the subsequent retrocession and consequent suffering.

Railways while having to spend heavily at present on rehabilitation will endeavour to adjust expenditure on development so as to be able to spend at a maximum when retrocession threatens.

The budget includes a provision of about 2½ crores for the construction of new lines and restoration of branches dismantled during the war and the programme of projects has been referred again to provincial governments for review.

Work on the revision of the rates structure is proceeding and the experiment of telescopic class rates on manures, oilcakes, and bone-meal (for manure), which is to run for six months from the first of this month, is expected to provide valuable data for the general revision contemplated. The complexity of the problem of adjusting the equities in the new system as between Railways and the public as well as between railways intersee precludes more rapid progress.

The coal situation has continued to cause anxiety. Considerable savings have been effected by the fuel economy campaign on railways. As a temporary measure, increasing use is made of oil and other alternative fuels, and as regards long-term policy, the introduction of higher rolling stock and the electrification of 1,500 miles of railway are being investigated, while the development of diesel electric and other forms of traction is also under examination.

A Central Transport Board has been set up and is expected in due course to develop an integrated machinery to co-ordinate all forms of transport so as to provide the best possible service for the least real cost to the community.

A provision of Rs. 1½ crores is included in the budget for investment in joint road-rail companies on the basis of decisions of the ministerial governments in provinces.

The Transport Member also stated that exhaustive investigations into the adequacy of the Railway Depreciation Fund have now been practically completed and when the effect on the Railway pay bill of the decisions on the recommendations of the Adjudicator and the Pay Commission becomes known, sufficient data would be available to enable a committee to take up the review of the Railway Separation Convention. A motion will, therefore, be brought forward in the current session for election by the Legislature of members to the Committee.

Dr. Mathai concluded with a reference to the progress made in the first full year of peace now drawing to a close along the return path from war to peace conditions and the difficult problems thrown up in the course of the change-over. He expressed the view that "given goodwill and exercise of a little patience by the staff and the public alike, which I think the House will agree this government is entitled to expect, the major difficulties will be smoothed out in the near future and we can apply ourselves to the rehabilitation and development which we all so earnestly desire."

Special Committee Recommendations on Grouping of States

The Special States Committee, consisting of Sir Manubhai Mehta, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Sir Ganga Kaula, Sardar D. K. Sen and others, appointed by the Chamber of Princes to formulate schemes for the grouping of Indian States, has submitted its Report and have made a number of specific recommendations. The Committee is of the opinion that the terms and constitution of these groups must be settled among the States desiring to form the groups subject to the units conforming to the criteria which may be agreed to in the negotiations for adherence to the All-India constitution at the Union level. The group concerned may consider the question of having a group executive, a legislature and economic self-sufficiency as far as possible. The legislature of the group should ordinarily be empowered to deal with matters of policy and legislation in regard to the subjects entrusted to the group, administrative power being decentralised to the fullest extent possible to the States in the group. A second chamber of the group legislature may be advisable but it has not been considered desirable to bring the Rulers as members of Upper Chambers. The Committee considers it permissible for such a State or group of States as may so desire to be affiliated to a confederation *inter se* on such terms and for such purposes as may be agreed upon. Provision may, however, be made that on all questions of common interest to the region, the States joining the proposed confederation will be free to enter into suitable arrangements with the adjoining provinces and/or States for the furtherance of those common regional interests on agreed terms.

The following criteria of a State's Unit which may adhere to All-India structure at the Union level have been recommended by the Committee. The Committee maintain that the criteria will have to be settled by the Negotiating Committee of the States

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in consultation with the corresponding committee set up by the British Indian members of the Constituent Assembly.

The Committee has suggested the following points as an initial basis of discussion on this question by the Negotiating Committee :

Population, resources and standard of administration would presumably constitute the main factors to be taken into account. The analogy of Provincial Units could not be rigidly applied to the States. The practical consideration and the advisability of laying the foundation of an agreed and stable constitution should outweigh any desire to apply rigidly uniform criteria to unite throughout India. Though the Committee considered it inadvisable to record any definite recommendations of this question, still having regard to all relevant factors the Committee unanimously decided that the criteria for a States Unit to adhere to the All-India structure at the Union level might be : (*a*) Revenue—about Rs. 1 crore ; (*b*) *Population*—at least equal to a Unit of population which may be allotted one seat in the Union Legislature ; (*c*) Minimum standard of administration—the implementation of the declaration on internal reforms made by the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes with the setablishment of representative government under the aegis of the Ruler.

The recommendations of the Committee with regard to the basic principles to be kept in view in framing schemes of grouping of States are as follows :

(1) Though no uniform pattern can be suggested to suit the varying conditions of different groups certain isolated States not big enough to stand by shemselves, which are surrounded by British Indian territory or by the territory of the Indian States would presumably find it convenient to affiliate with the neighbouring province or State on terms which may preserve the entity of the State and the continuance of the reigning dynasty. Other States may enter into suitable arrangements with a big State or a group of small states to constitute an effective administrative unit with the requisite size and resources.

(2) Geographical proximity, economic consideration and ethnic, cultural and linguistic affinity should be kept in view of land homogeneity and a common purpose to the group in order to make it an effective administrative unit.

(3) The Committee has suggested two alternatives for the grouping of States.

The First Alternative : (*a*) The setting up of composite units each with a board of Rulers, a group legislature and a group executive comprising states with a minimum aggregate revenue of Rs. 1 crore and conform to the other criteria prescribed for a Unit. (*b*) The establishment of a regional group consisting of such individual States and composite units in a region as may fulfil the requisite criteria of eligibility to adhere to the Union level and agree to join the Regional Group. The regional group will have a Board of Rulers and a Regional Council consisting of representatives of all full-powered States in the Regional Group. Neither Legislature nor Regional Executive is contemplated under the alternative.

The Second Alternative :1. The full-powered States in each group establishing local representative institutions within their states which may ensure such genuine association of the people with the administration and legislation as may encourage local patriotism. 2. Suitable arrangements for joint services within the group by such States as cannot provide the requisite standard of administration with their individual resources. 3. The setting up of regional groups on agreed terms by such full-powered States within the region as may so desire including these States whose individual revenues and populations may be above or below the criteria suggested above. The regional group under this alternative will have a Board of Rulers, a Regional Legislature and a Regional Committee to aid and advise the Board of Rulers if so desired.

Right of Divorce to Hindu Women.

On February 21, the Bombay Legislative Assembly commenced consideration of the Bill to provide for a right of divorce among all communities of Hindus. This bill is the result of a promise given in this behalf by the Government at the last session of the Assembly. When the Bill to forbid polygamy among Hindus was passed, an undertaking was given that it would soon be followed by a Divorce Bill.

Although divorce is prevalent as a matter of custom among certain communities, divorce under the law is unknown to the Hindus. The present Bill is, therefore, the first of its kind in this country. The Bill provides that a husband or a wife can sue for a divorce on the ground that the defendant is impotent, is a lunatic or an idiot or is suffering from leprosy or has deserted the plaintiff or has not been heard of. There is also a special provision which allows a first wife to sue for divorce on the ground of her husband's remarriage, a sort of retrospective benefit of the monogamy Act.

Moving the first reading of the Bill Mr. Morarji Desai said that the Bill was of a revolutionary nature as among Hindus there had been so long no legislative provision allowing divorce. Though in the past there were authorities who advocated the right of divorce, it was stoutly opposed by the conservative section among the Hindus. The present bill was drawn up in consonance with the ideals of Hindu society and also keeping the interests of Hindu women in the forefront. In the society as it is constituted today, observed Mr. Desai, it is women who require more protection than men. If the law of divorce was made more easy, advantage would be taken more often by men than women. It would be more difficult for a divorced woman to get a husband than for a divorced man to get a wife. So, the provisions of the Bill was drawn up with great caution and many persons may call this measure conservative compared to similar legislation obtaining in countries outside India. Mr. Desai also announced that the Bill would be referred to a Select Committee and due consideration would be given to the suggestions put forth by members of the House during the debate.

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The Bill for Consolidation of Holdings in Bombay

The Bill for the prevention of Fragmentation and for the Consolidation of Agricultural Holdings, introduced by the Revenue Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai in the Bombay Legislative Assembly, is a great measure of land reform. It is designed to remedy the evil of cutting up agricultural land into tiny holdings each bounded by elaborate bunds and fences, which is the bane of agricultural activity in this country.

The Bill makes provision for the determination and declaration of a standard size of a plot of land. Those plots of land which are less in size than the standard so determined will be entered in the Record of Rights. Whenever the holder of any such fragment seeks to sell or alienate it in any other way, he will have to offer it to the holder of an adjacent holding of standard area. In cases, the owners of such adjacent plots do not buy it, the Bill provides for Government acquiring the land after due compensation. Further, the Bill provides that whenever an estate is partitioned, the partition shall be so carried out that no fragments beyond the standard size are created.

The Bill also makes provision for the preparation and publication of a scheme of consolidation for any village, mahal, or taluka ; for the amalgamation, where necessary of roads and streets with holdings in the scheme of consolidation ; for the equitable adjustments of small differences of area and quality by the award of compensation ; for the prohibition of the alienation of land so consolidated and for various other incidental and procedural matters.

A Bill of this kind had been brought up before the old Legislative Council by Sir Chunilal Mehta in 1927 and was finally dropped due to the opposition it evoked.

There are certain differences, however, between the old Bill and the present one. The old Bill provided that the determination of a standard area should be made by a committee containing representatives of local boards. Under the present Bill such a determination is to be made by Government after such inquiry as it deems fit. Secondly, under the old Bill the holder of the neighbouring area was given the right of pre-emption with regard to the fragment. That would make it possible for the holders of the neighbouring fields to form a combine to push down the price of the fragment. The present Bill, therefore, provides for the taking over by Government of such a fragment after payment of due compensation. Thirdly, under the old Bill, no scheme of consolidation could be carried out unless the holder of one-third of the area of the land in the village or one-quarter of the number of owners consented to such a scheme. The present Bill has no such provision.

There is no question of expropriation in the Bill. As far as fragmentation is concerned, no man is to be deprived of his fragment. It is only when he voluntarily attempts to sell or alienate his holding that the Government steps in. The question of deprivation of land might be supposed to arise only when a number of people inherits a single standard area. The Bill makes its division among them impossible. That is really not of much consequence, because if the land was divided between them they would get pieces so small that none of them would be able to make a living out of it. Even in the matter of consolidation there is no question of deprivation of land, because the scheme for consolidation would only amount to a re-distribution of land. In fact, a man with many small and scattered holdings would come into possession of one consolidated plot and might thus be able to plan his cultivation better.

It may be noted here that the standard plot envisaged under the Bill is not, however, the same thing as an Economic holding. An Economic holding is an area of land which one peasant and his family can cultivate with a pair of bullocks and which gives them enough to live on. The standard area contemplated in the Bill is merely an individual plot of land which can be profitably cultivated. This plot is to be determined with due regard for the ratio of the area with regard to boundaries, fencing, and availability of water.

Some of the critics of the Bill hold that it goes too far ; but others object that it does not go far enough. It is true that it does not go far enough, for it does not propose to abolish the system of private property in land.

The Gaon Hukumat Bill in U. P.

Very valuable pieces of legislation like the Removal of Social Disabilities of certain classes among the Hindus, Control of Supplies, amendment of the U.P. Tenancy Act, the Home Guards Bill, the Gaon Panchayat Bill, the Provincialisation of Hospitals Bill, and the U.P. Courts of Wards Amendment Bill, are on the anvil in the United Provinces and will soon be permanent features of the law. Some of them, for instance, the Gaon Hukumat Bill and the Removal of Social Disabilities Bill will be of far-reaching character inasmuch as they would revolutionise the entire social structure.

The Gaon Hukumat Bill seeks to revive village swaraj and aims at restoring the status and dignity of the peasants. One of the main features of the Bill is the provision made for Adalati Panchayats which would serve as Courts of Law for petty civil suits and criminal cases. Not every village but a circle comprising several villages is to have an Adalati Panchayat, a district being broken into circles for the purpose, and every constituent unit shall elect five adults as Panches in the Adalati Panchayat of the circle of which it is a part. The Panches so elected will form a panel and five Panches from the panel shall form the Bench of the Adalati Panchayat. In a single village Panchayat, the decisions of the Panches might be biased for mutual rivalry and factional prejudices. A composite body as envisaged in the Bill avoids such a pitfall and has the additional merit of being more economical inasmuch as the financial burden on an individual village would be much less than otherwise.

The principle of election governs the appointment of the Sarpanch who is to preside over the deliberations of the Adalats. This would ensure universal confidence in the chief in sharp contrast to recruitment by official nomination, which was the bane of the Panchayats constituted under the Village Panchayat Act, 1920. The limitation of the term of every Panch to three years rules out the possibility of the creation of vested interests and growth of prejudices and favouritism.

Every bench is to include at least one Panch, who lives in the Gaon Sabha local area, *i.e.*, the village,

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in which any one of the parties to a dispute resides and at least three Panches who live in villages to which none of the disputants belong. It has been specified that no Panch or Sarpanch shall take part in any proceedings to which he or any near relation of his is a party or in which they are in any way interested. A Panch from the village of a particular party must necessarily be on the panel of judges to assist the Bench with his intimate knowledge of the scene of the crime. He is very likely to be conversant with the peculiarities of habit, idiosyncracies and foibles of his co-villagers, which would tend to smoothen the course of justice. The majority of the Panches being drawn from villages other than those of the parties, there is no likelihood of decisions being warped by personal and party bias.

Unlike the Panchayats constituted under the Act of 1920, the new Panchayats would have more powers and an extended jurisdiction, bringing home to the people, the real importance of the bodies and the seriousness of the duty devolving on them to work them successfully.

The Bill does not allow the appearance of lawyers or touts in village *adalats*. The aim of the Bill being the provision of cheap and speedy justice, the appearance of lawyers would have defeated its very purpose.

The right to appear in person or by a representative has been accorded to any party to a suit or case, while the Panchayat is empowered to call for any evidence deemed necessary and relevant to the dispute and to issue summons to the defendant or accused and to witnesses to attend the proceedings for producing evidence. The Panchayat can even issue a warrant against an evader.

In view of the fact that the rural justices of the peace, led by squeamishness and an exaggerated sense of self-importance may set a standard of condign punishment ridiculously out of proportion to the nature of an offence, specific limitations have been imposed on the powers of the *adalats* in respect of infliction of penalties. No Panchayat is competent to pass a sentence of imprisonment exceeding ten days, nor can it impose fines beyond the limit of fifty rupees.

Lest the understanding and sagacity of the amateur judges prove inadequate on occasions calling for a higher calibre, the sub-divisional magistrate has been given the option of withdrawing any case awaiting a decision before an Adalati Panchayat and deciding the same personally or transferring it to some other magistrate for disposal, if he finds the matter too complicated for the Panches.

It has been provided that the decisions of the Adalati Panchayat organisation shall be final, subject to no appeal or revision. It has, however, been also provided that within 60 days from the date of a decree or order or during the pendency of a suit or case before an Adalati Panchayat, the Munsif or the Sub-divisional Magistrate of the area may quash the proceedings and order fresh hearing in his court should there be an apprehension of miscarriage of justice. This will serve as a check on arbitrariness and a guarantee of impartial justice.

Select Committee Report on Banking Bill

The Select Committee's Report on the Banking Bill has been presented to the Central Legislature. Changes suggested by the Committee include restrictions on the formation of subsidiary companies by banks, limiting the voting rights of any shareholder to one-tenth of the total voting rights and debarring a banking company, incorporated in India, from taking on its board a person who is a Director of any other banking company. The powers and functions of the Reserve Bank, in relation to other banks have been widened and certain provisions of this Bill will be applicable to the Imperial Bank of India. Some members of the Committee, in a minute of dissent, have suggested that all banks should be nationalised and that as a first step, the Reserve Bank and the Imperial Bank should be nationalised. They also suggest that there should be a statutory maximum for the dividend at nine per cent for all banks or for at least such of the banks as would come into existence after January 1, 1947. The Bill as drawn, the Select Committee says, is applicable only to banking companies and there are constitutional difficulties in extending its provisions to partnerships or even to individuals carrying on banking business. A new clause has been added to the Bill which would prevent a banking company from declaring dividends, before it has written off initial capital expenditure.

The provisions of the Bill gives the Reserve Bank free discretion to inspect a banking company at any time, so that the public may have no ground for drawing any pessimistic inference from the fact that the bank has been inspected. It is suggested that the Reserve Bank should employ its own officers to make these inspections and that a copy of the inspection report should, in all cases, be sent to the Company.

The Select Committee considers that side by side with the regulation of banking, the Reserve Bank should be brought into closer contact with banking companies. While many clauses of the Bill gave new powers to the Reserve Bank, it was found necessary by the Select Committee to have a clause, which empowered the Reserve Bank to secure full information about the working of banks and have the authority to be able to render timely and adequate help when necessary to banks.

The decision of the majority members of the Select Committee against nationalisation at this stage has no doubt been wise. The development of a socialist spirit and sterling honesty among the citizens and the attainment of a high degree of efficiency in the administration must precede nationalism. Without them, nationalisation would mean concentration of complete power in the hands of the few on whom the administration is entrusted and with a permanency of the tenure of service will promote a feeling of false security which would reduce dutifulness. Nationalisation is good but it may become an engine of oppression if done at an inopportune time. Indian Railways and the Indian Telephone services are good illustrations. The example of coal nationalisation in Britain has been no better.

A person, who is a Director of one banking company, would henceforth be prohibited from joining the board of any other bank, and restrictions have been made on the formation of subsidiary companies by banks. This provision ought to be made more rigid and any Director of a non-banking company should be debarred from holding the office of either the Chairman or the Managing Director of a banking company. Speculative activity of a bank on

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the Stock Exchange should be completely prohibited. Grant of overdrafts to constituents for such purposes without a deposit of collaterals should be stopped. Fixation of a maximum dividend ought to have been made because this would have reduced the speculative tendency of banks to a very great extent.

Inspection clauses should be made more rigid. There may be compulsory inspection every month and the inspection reports may be published in a bulletin issued by the Reserve Bank. This would prevent any possibility of corrupt practices in inspection. There ought to have been a declaratory provision in the Bill that the Reserve Bank would meet any run on any bank. Rigid inspection of *all* banks would reduce probability of loss which, if incurred, ought to be met out of the profits of the Reserve Bank. This provision would maintain the entire banking structure of the country at a very stable level.

1948 will be a year of a great political change. It is also likely to be a year of great economic depression. Foreign goods are likely to flow in knocking out Indian industries with high cost of production: Failure of industries would pull down banks, and bank failures becoming contagious will pull down other industries near the margin. Only a rigid Banking Act and permanent Tariff Board with full powers to grant discriminatory protection to Indian industries can prevent this danger. If the Bretton-Woods Agreement stands in the way of the formation of such a Tariff Board, India must withdraw from the International Monetary Fund. 1948 was a year of great political changes and a world economic depression, the same history may repeat itself in 1948. India must arm herself in time.

Is it Inflation ?

The prevailing economic malady of the present-day life is being attributed to inflation. This opinion is shared by both the academicians and the lay public. It is true, circulation of money has increased four times. From the pre-war level of Rs. 172·44 crores on the 1st of September, 1939, the note circulation has mounted to a level of Rs. 1,202·02 crores. This marks almost a five-fold increase. Similarly, the average increase in the price-level also ranges four to five times higher than that prevailing rate before the war. Inflation, therefore, must have occurred.

A conclusion like this, however, is rather sweeping. It ignores relative rise in the standard of living, which necessitates a higher flow of goods and money. It ignores too the higher level of employment which calls for a higher flow of goods and money. Thirdly, higher price indicates inflation only when the point of full employment is crossed. Lastly, there is the question of the idle reserves which could be profitably released, but unfortunately are being kept closed in the vaults of the Banks.

The rise in the cost of living has been immensely acute. The war-time employments distributed fair incomes to some of the lower income groups. In this lower income groups there were the chronically unemployed urban people and also some of the landless cultivators of the villages. Flow of money into their pockets has led to the overcrowding of the towns and suburbs and increased desertion of villages. The limitless expansion in cinemas and other luxury trades bears another testimony to the fact of a rise in the standard of living of some people. Such a development had the concentrated effect of a pull on the consumers' goods, supply of which would not rise in volume as the occasion warranted. So, the price rose and with it rose the circulation of money giving a fillip to prices to rise still further. The rise in the standard of living of a section of people and an expansion of economic activities together with a physical shortage of consumer goods have led to the inflationary spiral of a cumulative rise in circulation of money and prices.

Could not this rise in the cost of living be met by effecting a rise in the flow of goods ? Was the point of full employment crossed already ? If the point of full employment was not reached, there could be endless scope for the flow of goods to rise. The measures adopted by the government indicate that according to them the point was reached. The government promulgated price-controls and rationing to cope with the situation instead of taking corresponding measures to increase production. Measures like these are, of course, conducive to curb any inflationary trend. But these measures are sufficient by themselves only when the point of full employment is reached. It is so, because after the point of full employment, the economic system cannot effect any increase in the supply of goods. Control and rationing are real solutions only at this stage.

It is superfluous to point out to the fact of undeveloped economy of India. There are scopes for expansion for industries both heavy and cottage. This two-fold lag in the Indian economy has been pointed out long ago and reiterated since then. An industrial expansion increases the price-level till the optimum is reached. Such an increase in price-level serves as a stimulus for the expansion of industries producing consumers' goods. Now, taking the rise in the price-level as a precedent, we could have experienced an expansion in rural and small industries producing the consumers' goods and this in its turn could give the primary industries an occasion for expansion. But nothing of the kind was done or is still being done. Therefore, evils of inflation have begun to appear long before the economy reached the point of full employment and long before there is actual inflation.

A look at the position of idle reserves of banks will offer a further proof. Thus, the position of total deposit liabilities of the scheduled banks before the war figured at Rs. 236·61 crores, while the total advances stood at Rs. 105·09 crores. Now, after the war, total liabilities stand at Rs. 1,097·45 crores and the total advances amount to Rs. 437·20 crores. Thus the ratio of idle balances to total deposits is now higher. But the marginal efficiency of capital is now more prospective because of higher price-level and higher standard of living. So under such position money should not sit idle, far less if there is inflation.

Can this idle money be not utilised for increasing the supply in the market ? Surely it can. But controls have to be relaxed to facilitate fuller investment. Absence of controls would induce the producers to invest. Besides, controls have so far been corrupt and piecemeal. This has to be changed in favour of a planned co-ordination. The government has been loud in its promises. But none of those is being implemented. This failure of the government

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is making the situation inflationary. The Banks, who primarily stood on supplying government contracts during the war, are now on the verge of a crash for want of safe and profitable avenues of investment.

The attitude of the government towards the small banks' crisis is conservative. The government seems to be bent on deflation. There has been no comprehensive guarantee by the Reserve Bank of India to the small banks. But once the Reserve Bank gives its support, public confidence upon these banks will be restored. The trades, in that case, can be spared a crisis.

Even such a banking policy, however, will not be sufficient by itself. With the dissolution of dollar pool, the Indian market will be thrown open to the American exports. In that case Indian industries will suffer a stiff competition under the free trade arrangement of the International Monetary Fund. Besides the price-boom in India would burst soon after foreign consumption goods begin to pour into the country. Thus the prospect of Indian industries to expand under the cover of higher prices will disappear. Tariff protection is the only way out of this danger. If there is a permanent Tariff Board with powers to make discriminatory protection over import-market, adequate protection can be granted to the Indian industries. An integrated government policy, linking Tariff with relaxation of controls, and these two with an all-embracing expansion in the jurisdiction of the Reserve Bank, can settle the present distress. On the other hand, if the government suffers the banks to crash and American exports to come in freely, the country will be subject to a monetary deflation and an industrial slump. In that case, measures to combat the supposed inflation of the present day may lead the country to the nadir of depression overnight. It will not mean stabilisation of full employment but invitation to unemployment.

Control of Capital Movements

A bill has been introduced by the Finance Member to control the movements of capital by controlling the free flow of foreign exchange. The Report of the Joint Select Committee on foreign exchange recommended adoption of such a measure.

Under the Anglo-American financial arrangement, sterling will be multilaterally convertible from July 15, of this year. In other words, the holder of the sterling might exchange that for any other foreign currency. Accordingly, it is proposed to continue the existing practice of free payments to imports provided they are licensed and covered by exports. The same facility will also be given to imports which are in the free list. Foreign exchange will be freely available for transfer payments and establishment charges of the overseas branches of the Indian concerns.

It is clear then, that there will be no restrictions other than those on the movements of capital. It is further, to be noted that the bill is not concerned with the volume of imports as such. Only it wants utilisation of the foreign currency for the purpose of imports only. Control is proposed to be extended to that sector of imports only which have scarce foreign currency corresponding.

Now, the multilateral convertibility of sterling and provision for free payments to import necessiate an abundant flow of sterling. But needs of repatriation of British investments might warrant interference in the free availability of sterling. As such, some sort of control is proposed to be effected on the sectors of large investment. Thus the principle of free convertibility with a limitation of control on capital movements remains quite unimpaired.

The International Monetary Fund of which India is a member, stands for absolute free mobility of foreign exchange. In the interest of controlling the movements of capital, India cannot undertake the full obligations of her membership. But India does not go against the provisions of the International Monetary Fund as the principle of multilateral convertibility is adhered to. The control of capital movements in the transitional period is allowed even by the Monetary Fund. Moreover, there will be no rigid definition of the sterling area and the Reserve Bank will be given powers to exclude currencies and countries from the scope of the control. Thus there will be control no doubt, but that will not mean bilateralism and the Indian rupee will gain its freedom to a great extent.

The Question of Sterling-balances

In a Press Note issued on December 24 last, the Government of India announced that a delegation from the United Kingdom would pay a visit to India during January for preliminary talks with offices of the Finance Department and the Reserve Bank of India on the subject of India's sterling balances. This gave an occasion for reviewing, firstly, the divergent views on the question of repayment of the balance and, secondly, to study the history of the accumulation in the light of the conflicting views on repayment.

On the question of repayment of the sterling balances, the British view has undergone a considerable change. Lord Keynes speaking in the Bretton-Woods Conference in July, 1944, observed, "We are grateful to our Allies, particularly to our Indian friends, who put their resources at our disposal without stint and themselves suffered from privation as a result. . . . When the end is reached and we can see the daylight we shall take it up without any delay to settle honourably, what was honourably and generously given." More or less a similar intonation is audible in Lord Wavell's speech at the Associated Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, on December 14, last. Referring to the post-war negotiations on the settlement of sterling balances he observed, "I am quite confident that in these negotiations, the value and magnitude of India's contribution to the Allied war-effort will be recognised; that her needs will be considered; and that the manner of liquidation will be arranged to meet her planned development. I do not see that political considerations need affect the settlement." These are the views expressed by British spokesmen during the war. But with the end of the war, in December, 1945, came the conflicting view of Mr. Churchill who said in the House of Commons, "Are we not entitled to say, 'here is our counter-charge, we having defended you from the Axis powers?' The same applies to the Government of India. I, specially, referred to these matters in the Cabinet in 1942, when I saw with disquietude these immense debits amounting against us." Thus Mr. Churchill sets in a trend of opinion quite contrary to that suggested by Lord Keynes. A section of British opinion has already started a campaign for

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a scaling down of balances on the strength of Mr. Churchill's logic.

The Indian opinion, as expressed unequivocally in quarters both official and unofficial, stands for repayment in full and no scaling down. Sterling balances form the major item in financing the Indian planning in all the schemes that have been so far put forward. Only the other day Dr. John Mathai, then Member for Industries and Supplies, observed in the Central Assembly on October 28, 1946, "On behalf of the Government I can give the assurance that we would do all that lies in our power to see that fullest justice is done to Indian rights. It would be our aim to see that as large a portion of these balances as possible is released as freely convertible currency in the shortest possible period and that whatever balance is left should be funded over for as short a period as possible at a rate of interest which could be regarded as reasonable. It is my considered opinion on such data as I have been able to examine that by no conceivable process of reasoning can there be a demand for the scaling down of sterling balances."

The gulf, then, existing between the British and Indian opinions is very wide. Negotiations have not reached any concrete conclusion as yet. Only a very rough outline has been envisaged in the Anglo-American agreement. No other concrete data can be had at our disposal for the present. Clause 10 of the agreement stands for early settlement of the sterling balances and dissolution of the Empire dollar pool of the sterling area countries. For instance, it is provided therein, that the settlement of the balance will be made on a classification of the balances into three categories : (*a*) balance to be released at once and convertible into any currency for current transactions ; (*b*) balances to be similarly released by instalments over a period of years beginning in 1951 ; and (*c*) balances to be adjusted as a contribution to the settlement of war and post-war indebtedness and in recognition of the benefits which the countries concerned might be expected to gain from such a settlement.

Thus an undefined portion of the balances is earmarked for scaling down. It is more or less on lines of the above conclusions that the British Government is working in its attempt to settle the balances. Mr. Churchill's task has been to turn the undefined portion of the balances to be scaled down into a major portion of the total balances outstanding. But India is not ready to tolerate any scaling down even if the Anglo-American agreement may provide that. First, India's contributions to the war-effort has been more than her due. This fact is upheld by the Bengal famine during the war. Nothing of the kind happened in any other country of the Commonwealth. The example of the Dominions foregoing a part of the balance as a contribution to the war effort, does not apply in the Indian instance as the Dominions had themselves industrialised during the war at the expense of India as a result of the Eastern Group Conference. Secondly, the sterling balances are, as emphasised by Sir Archibald Rowlands in his budget speech on February 28, 1946, 'a matter of bilateral settlement between India and U. K.' Therefore, the Anglo-American agreement has got no direct bearing. The present Finance Member observed by way of clarifying the position *vis-a-vis* the Anglo-American agreement on October 28 last : "We were not a party to it and if it is mentioned as one of the terms that there shall be a scaling down of balances, India is not certainly bound by it and we do not accept that proposition."

The Anglo-American agreement has not been able to reconcile the divergent views on the settlement of the sterling balances.

This situation of unreconciled conflict of views warrants a study into the history of the accumulation of the balances. The sterling balances grew out of the following two main sources : (1) India's favourable balance of trade, and (2) War expenditures in India. These two main sources can further be subdivided into favourable balances of trade in the sterling area and outside the sterling area. Similarly, war expenditures in India also can be subdivided between the portion spent by the H. M. G. and that spent by U. S. A. and other Dominions.

The following figures can be forwarded to show the course of accumulation on the above lines, *e.g.* :

(In lakhs of rupees)

	1940-41	1943-44	1945-46
Favourable balance in sterling area	80·27	168·33	61·51
With U. S. A.	—1·11	+21·89	—5·77
(In crores of rupees)			
H. M. G.'s war exp.	40	385	376

As to the volume of American expenditure in India, the amount of 405 crores of rupees as India's dollar earnings kept frozen so far in the Empire dollar pool bears testimony to the role of dollar pool in the accumulation of the balances.

Nothing in the above course of accumulation of the balances calls for scaling down. It shows that the balances are India's legitimate earnings kept more or less as a fund of deferred credit. On the other hand, this blocking of India's exchange surplus prevented Indian industries from importing capital equipment. Consequently, flow of goods fell below the flow of money issued on the security of sterling deposits. Shortage of essential commodities and high prices in India took a toll of millions of human lives as its victims. Can there be anything so benign in this tragedy which may urge India to forego her due credits today ?

The I.C.S. and I.P.

Mr. Henderson, Under-Secretary of State for India, came and went. It was reported that he came with the specific object of settling the terms for winding up the Imperial Services in India. It was expected that immediate decisions would be reached and announced. Weeks have elapsed but nothing so far has been communicated to the public. The solution is not only important but very urgent, specially in view of the declaration for a liquidation of the Indian "Empire" by June 1948.

The problems are mainly two : Whether, and if so, when, these services are to be wound up and secondly, what should be the terms on which they are to be wound up. Public opinion has expressed itself in unequivocal terms that these services should be wound up and that immediately. Indian self-government would be a mirage if the administrative machinery in the main was to continue in the hands of men who are foreigners. The first and the elementary step for a self-governing India in prospect is to establish and run its administrative machinery with men who would be appointed, controlled, guided,

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directed and if necessary removed by the Government of India. So long as any uncertainty on these questions lasts, men in the services would hardly function to a purpose and the government of the country can hardly use them to the full to work out its programme. If the main machinery is in a state of flux, nothing is done or can be done and the uncertainty dominates the entire administration. The tax-payer does not get any proportionate return for the bill he is called upon to pay and his hard-earned money is wasted in financing a service from which he derives no benefit.

The services must be liquidated and that at once. Sir William Wedderburn, an Englishman with the background of a long intimate association with India and its affairs, stated in 1889, "The professional interests of our administrators in India are *in antagonism* with the interests of the Indian taxpayers whose affairs they administer." In 1904, Sir Henry Cotton, a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service with long and varied experience of administration, stated that the Indian Civil Service "is a form of administration both bureaucratic and autocratic and is an organisation suited only to a *Government by foreigners*. It has been perceptibly weakening from its inherent inapplicability to an environment where changes are becoming rapid." In 1917, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report described the Indian Civil Service as a "ruling corporation." Indian leaders from Pandit Nehru down to the Provincial Ministers have found them thoroughly unsuited for modern conditions and often obstructive. It is crystal clear that the Indian Civil Service with its "ruling corporation" tradition and with its heritage of a "government by foreigners" must completely disappear with the approach of self-government for India. In fact, the I.C.S. should have disappeared long ago and its continuance has unfortunately made the task of the making of a free India more and more complicated. The genius of the services have been utilised to thwart and obstruct India's road to freedom. It is hardly possible for these men, with their past traditions, to adapt themselves with changed conditions of today. Few amongst them have shown any indication of such adaptability. The I.C.S. and with it the I.P. and all other services with contracts with the Secretary of State for India must disappear and the sooner the better. Let free India begin with a clean state.

As regards compensation, the members of whatever seniority may be allowed the pension to which they are entitled under the existing rules. No further claim for compensation should be entertained. If they have any claim at all, that may be presented to the British Home Secretary and paid by the British Exchequer for running the government by foreigners in the foreigners' interest. As regards their re-employment, there are objections. So far as the British members of the services are concerned it is argued that their sudden disappearance will cause a break in the continuity and a loss to India of men experienced in civil administration. This argument is not convincing. In Bengal, as we see it, their efficiency has been demonstrated to be zero. While most of the major problems of the province, *e.g.*, health, education, economic betterment, etc. have remained absolutely unsolved in spite of the fact that such officers have continued to remain at the helm, recent events, particularly since the last famine, have demonstrated that either they are hopelessly inefficient or that they are wilfully sabotaging the country's path to freedom and progress. The Bengal famine was man-made and the administrative officers of the services cannot escape from part of blame. No such food shortage occurred in Britain even in the thick of the submarine warfare. The British Food Department faced the problem bravely and solved it. In Bengal, when the famine took a toll of five millions of human lives, we had a British I.C.S. as Chief Secretary, a British I.C.S. as Member for the Board of Revenue, a British I.C.S. as Director-General of Food, a British I.C.S. as Secretary to a British Governor, and all the five Divisional Commissionerships were held by British members of the I.C.S. So far as law and order is concerned, Calcutta had a blood-bath on August 16-19, to be followed by others of less virulent character, while the capital was full of the same type of British officials, having in addition, a British member of the I.P. as Commissioner of Police of the City, with a dozen British I.P.'s as second in command and with a British I.P. in charge of the Investigation Department. A British I.P. was at the head of the Provincial Police while the Noakhali outrage happened. It was within the Division of a British I.C.S. Divisional Commissioner.

Quite an appreciable section of the British members of the I. C. S. and I. P. are suspected of developing communal and sectional problems to obstruct India's aspirations for freedom. To be just to these officers and to our own country, we must say that they should not remain a day longer in the Indian administration.

So far as the Indian members of the I.C.S. are concerned, the same arguments apply to some. Many such officers out-Heroded Herod and had attempted to play more royally than the king himself. Indian officers of the I.C.S. played their part in the Railway strike at Chandpur and in the various political movements since 1920 till 1942. Midnapore can alone provide a legion of instances of their out-Heroding competition. These have proved that self-interest had been dearer to them than a sense of duty to their own countrymen. There are numerous instances when even calls of humanity could rouse no sympathy in their hearts. The consciences of most of those Indian I.C.S., and I.P. men were not only mortgaged but sold to the foreigner. One of them went so far as to write pamphlets that 'Swadeshism' was a crime and created Hindu-Muslim conflicts. He had his reward.

World's Moral Crisis

In an article specially contributed to the *Bharat Jyoti*, Louis Fischer says that for the past 32 years since the beginning of the last World War, mankind has been floundering. The world is in the midst of constant crisis. According to him, the crisis is so constant and in fact so close to our eyes that we do not see it. When the first world war ended people began to talk about the second. When the second world war ended people started talking about the possibility of a third.

Dr. Charles F. Kettering, President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, said recently, "We have the scientific knowledge to

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provide an adequate diet for every one of the two billion inhabitants of the globe. But three-fourths of the world's population did not have enough proper food. The false barriers erected by man himself are responsible. The antiquated social systems, ignorance, stupidity, and fear prevent a large percentage of the people of the world from enjoying the most fundamental of the benefits of science." No social system of the present century, neither capitalism, nor fascism, nor socialism has supplied all the basic material needs of the people.

Louis Fischer points out two major facts in our lives: "The uncertainty of peace and the evil of man-made unnecessary poverty. Man has registered tremendous progress during the last generation. But it has been a progress without peace and without certain plenty. The result is insecurity. The earth and the men and women on it are enveloped in total insecurity." According to him:

> This manifests itself not merely in the antics of the united diplomats. Each individual reflects it in his desire to escape reality and in his yearning to achieve security. Those who are economically secure still feel the tenuousness of world peace. Sometimes subconsiously, but sometimes consciously, they feel the immorality of being secure when many others are insecure although the scientific means exist of making everybody secure.
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> Baffled by the seeming insolubility of big problems, unable to find the ultimate answers to big questions, the insecure seek refuge in something infallible, stable, confident, dynamic, and full of promises. It is the insecure person who accepts dictatorship over his body and mind. Insecurity breeds a need for absolutism and totalitarianism.

In one country after another, ever since 1922, disappointing peace treaties, economic distress and unrelieved oppression have driven millions into the arms of dictators and one party systems. This process still continues.

Declaring that the essence of our crisis is moral, Fischer writes:

> The most devastating phenomenon that accompanies the great world crisis is the readiness of people to sacrifice morality in the pursuit of security. Those who run the race for security often strip off such 'extras' as moral scruples. Mussolini made the trains run on time. What did it matter that he suppressed civil liberties and filled the prisons with the unorthodox? Hitler's own newspaper, the *Voelkischer Beobachter* boasted on New Year's Day, 1939, that Nazism had brought aid for mothers, children's insurance, classical music for German workers, full employment, etc. What did it matter, then, that it had enslaved a nation and engulfed a world in blood?
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> The strange aspect of all this is that the search for security destroys security and at the same time destroys morality. Nations in search of security cannot find it; they achieve partial security at the expense of others, smaller nations which are forced into a 'sphere of influence.' Later this sphere clashes with another sphere and there is war. Similarly, individuals may surrender scruples to gain wealth but this is not the road to happiness.

Essentially, the crisis of our era is moral. We live in an immoral world which has apparently lost its capacity for indignation. This, more than anything else, explains the failures of politicians.

The Sacco and Vanzetti trial and executions stirred America and the world. So did the trial of Tom Mooney. But tens of thousands of judicial murders now-a-days never even get into the news. The sins of the Czar's secret police in Siberia, the mistreatment of slaves in the Belgian Congo, anti-Jewish pogroms and Armenian massacres roused distant nations to feverish passion in the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. But the millions in concentration camps today rarely evoke a silent thought. At least one million persons died in the Bengal famine in 1942-43, millions are starving in China, India and Europe at this moment. Tito, Franco, Salazar, Peron, and a dozen other dictators have extinguished the rights of their subjects. Racial discrimination grows everywhere with the intensification of nationalism.

So modern man prefers ignorance, indifference and disinterest. He escapes into his personal life. Self-interest is his only interest. Outside of it he is too aware of his impotence and insignificance. The war millionaire tries to establish himself in society but the consciousness of his black acts is there. Hence, Fischer believes the widespread disinclination to be active politically or to participate fully in organisations dedicated to the alleviation of suffering and the correction of evil. We contribute a little money or an hour. That is very little compared to the magnitude of the task. The greater the passivity the worse the problems become and the more scope there is for the blandishments and dynamism of a gangster dictator or of a political charlatan.

Suggesting a way out, Fischer says:

> The key to the dissipation of the world crisis would seem to lie in the knowledge—which ought to be obvious but isn't—that no nation and no person can be free, secure or happy if any nation or person is enslaved, insecure or unhappy. Selfishness, therefore, defeats itself. To benefit self one must save others. The best realism is idealism.
>
> International politics and domestic politics are generally discussed in terms of conferences, treaties, resolutions, declarations, trade, oil concessions, votes, parties, etc. That is not incorrect, but it is incomplete without consideration of the spirit of man and his moral conduct. It has been argued that a social theory produces consistency. The recent history of flip-flopping opportunistic theorists proves this to be untrue. Adherence to moral principles, however, does create consistency and decency.
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> What humanity needs is an alliance between politics and principle. Usually, they are strangers, even enemies. *Mahatma Gandhi is an example of the union of statesmanship and spirit. Gandhi is scrupulous about means and methods. That is the essence of democracy.* The attainment of ends irrespective of means and methods is one of the clearest marks of anti-democracy. The rescue of democracy from the dangers besetting it is, above all, a moral undertaking which must start with each individual. Peace and democracy, like charity, begin at home—in the hearts of men.

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THE STRUGGLE OF VIET NAM AGAINST FRENCH IMPERIALISM

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

The deadly struggle of the Viet Nam Republic of Indo-China against French Imperialism, with almost its back to the wall, throws into sharp relief the fact that Asia is still fighting her major and probably the last battle to free herself from the thraldom of the European yoke.

A new alignment of forces shaped in the South-East Asia as a result of the collapse of Japan and the break-up of her Empire. This meant in particular a re-adjustment of the relations between the old colonies of Europe and their former rulers. In a way, the surrender of Japan far from restoring these colonies to their old master, actually paved the way for their liberation. For the interval between the Japanese collapse and the re-entry of the European forces was availed of by them to seize power and declare their independence. But subsequent events have proved that the question of colonial freedom is not to be so simply solved. In the first place, the economy of every Imperialist country is based on the resources of its colony or colonies. Deprived of this basic prop, the ruling country's economy would most certainly collapse unless an inner revolution at the same time transformed its own structure. In the absence of any such radical change, the ruling power is bound to exert its hardest to retain its colonial empire, modified no doubt to the extent the colonial struggle can bend it through its up-surging pressure. This is today being witnessed in Indo-China, Indonesia, the Philippines, India, Burma, etc. Of these revolts, the least known and probably the bloodiest was the Indo-Chinese struggle stemmed in the first instance by British troops aided by their Indian units, who tried to hold the imperialist fort until the arrival of the French who then resumed the battle against the brave Indo-Chinese patriots. Although the new-born and sturdy Republic of Indo-China comprising the Provinces of Annam, Tonkin and Cochin-China could not be destroyed, it is nevertheless sought to be softened up at least for the time being, by the imperialist armed forces, for otherwise such a prolonged and bitter war could not have been continued to be waged against the Indo-Chinese Republic by France.

What makes these struggles so significant in the present context is the changed face of Europe and the seeming transformation in the internal character of the old countries. For instance, France has today a definitely Left Government, dominated as it is by Socialists and Communists, guided by a new leadership that the debacle caused by the war and the militant elements thrown up by the resistance movement, had combined to create. The last general election clearly showed the mood of the country in the definite swing to the Left as demonstrated in the successes of the Socialist and Communist Parties. Yet whatever transformation may have taken place within France itself, as a result of the Leftward swerve, it is little reflected in its empire policy. A truly Socialist *cum* Communist Government's first act would have been the adoption of measures for the liquidation of its Empire. Far from doing so, one sees in the fierce war waged against Indo-China by France a stern determination to hold on to whatever it has. This has become all the more sinister as attempts are being made to create the impression that colonies have ceased to be paying propositions that they once were, and that on the contrary they have now become liabilities for the ruling countries. The question is of interest to every country similarly placed whether it be India, Indo-China or Burma. For, in the first instance, all empire economies are alike as is being increasingly realised. Even little islands like the Philippines which because of their diminutive size do not appear to occupy a prominent position in the economy of the United States, nevertheless had obviously a far more important bearing on the U.S. foreign economy than the world realised ; for they are now compelling the U.S. to enact such legislative measures through the U.S. Congress as will enable that country to still continue to retain its grip on these Islands in spite of the grant of political freedom to them. How much more so in the case of an enormously rich area like Indo-China which Albert Sarraut when he was Minister for Colonies before World War II, described as follows :

"Indo-China is from every point of view the most important, the most developed and the most prosperous of our colonies . . . What is to be the future of this rich and varied patrimony of ours which is the source of French political, intellectual and moral influence in the Pacific ? By what dangers is it threatened and how can we overcome them ?"

It is against this background that we must survey the problem of Indo-China to get a correct estimate of its position in France's scheme of things.

French advent into Far East and the development of its contacts in the Pacific dates further back than her territorial occupations in that area. French Jesuit Missionaries were said to have wielded some influence at the Chinese Court in Peking in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From the first France had arrogated to herself a special role amongst the Western powers as the only Catholic power and in virtue of that to be protector of Catholics and Catholic Missions, which only later came to be challenged by other European Catholics. On the basis of this claim under the Treaty between France and China, all Missionaries going into the interior of China had to have pass-ports issued by the French Diplomatic representation. Further privileges to these Catholic Missions were conceded in the shape of permits for the acquisition of land, a system which resulted in what came to be known as the "Protectorate of France in China." Henceforward, the French were allowed to lease or buy land or houses in any part of that country. After 1840, a period of commercial activity followed with the close of the Opium War, leading from 1860 onwards to the era of rapid conquest and penetration into Indo-China. It is well known that for a long time China like Japan resisted the efforts of the West to get her ports opened to Western trade, and that she yielded

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eventually only to the forceful measures taken by the Western powers to gain permission for their nationals to settle and trade in some parts of China. But undoubtedly as was admitted in 1936 by Albert Sarraut, it was Indo-China that played a vital role in determining the place of France in the Far East economy. That French private investments in Indo-China have all along been on an ascending scale is easily proved by figures. Between 1888 and 1918 they totalled 492 million francs; between 1924 and 1930, 2870 million francs; after 1936, a fresh influx of capital came in and rose to 3250 million francs. On the eve of World War II, the total investments of all kinds, private and Government, totalled more than 12 million francs. Moreover, Indo-China's trade with France at the time exceeded her trade with the countries of the Far East by almost double. The Indo-Chinese rubber exported to France was virtually equal to the net imports of crude rubber into that country. The French Armament industry was richly fed by the presence of Nickel and Iron ore (the latter having quadrupled production by the eve of World War II), Chrome, Tungsten, Manganese, Antimony, Bauxite and other minerals from Indo-China. Despite all this mineral wealth, the French economic policy had been to preserve this Colony and its resources of raw materials for its own exclusive exploitation and had therefore discouraged the establishment of any national industries. As in other colonies so in Indo-China, her wealth only went to build the armament industry of the ruling country, thus making France's Far Eastern possessions utterly helpless and vulnerable to attacks; for the necessary war equipment that might have made resistance to outside aggression practicable was too far off to be of any use, not to speak of the precarious condition of France itself making the chances of any such help unreal. For years the possibility of industrialising Indo-China to meet just such a situation, particularly after the experience of World War I, had been discussed many a time but the fear of French manufacturers that this might mean competition from that colony, had successfully torpedoed the very suggestion. There was also opposition from the French Army of occupation who feared urbanisation and the rise of a proletariat class with the possibility of its becoming the breeding ground for revolt and political discontentment. The impeding crisis of 1939 again brought this question to the forefront and the desirability of raising an Indo-Chinese Army under its own flag and staffed by its own officers was advocated by many as the only means of persuading that colony to offer effective resistance. It was also hoped that these measures would absorb the young unemployed of Indo-China and serve to divert the attention and energies of the political malcontents into defensive channels, give them a stake in the resistance and replace the prevailing indifference with the will to resist. But every such reasonable suggestion was met by the colonial reactionaries with the query, "Is France to lose her third empire?" The blind colonial militarists saw greater security in the doubtful supply of armaments from the home country than in local popular enthusiasm which to them was suspect. The only measures taken to meet the insecurity were new taxes—taxes on exports, imports, consumption, and on every conceivable thing, to add to the already existing burden.

The Soviet-German Pact followed by the Soviet [illegible] served to pose the Oriental fringe of the French Empire as a strategic element in the Far Eastern scene, particularly at a time when the fate of France itself was at stake, rendering the security of her empire increasingly problematical. In fact the intensification of Japanese aggressiveness from the advent of the Munich Agreement onwards, was finally determining the French Far Eastern policy. For each Japanese advance in the Sino-Japanese conflict had been emphasizing the importance of the French-controlled routes from Indo-China into unoccupied China. But as in the West, so in the East, appeasement continued to hold sway, and as in the Spanish and the Czechoslovakian crisis, so in the Chinese, France chose to steer clear of a strong policy of resistance. In fact, the spirit of Munich came to pervade the Far East, and France readily chose to close the Indo-China border to supplies to China as the British did with the Burma Road, failing to realise once again that continued Chinese resistance was the best defence of France's own interests. But the vested interests of France read more danger into a victorious China and the possibilities of revolutionary elements coming to the top thereby, than in a dominating Japan.

The ever-deepening international crisis in Europe forcing France along with other European countries to bear the brunt of the revisionist offensive, sharpened still further the contradictions within imperialism. The six-thousand-mile ocean dividing France from its Eastern outskirts threw into bold relief the general sense of insecurity and the absence of adequate defence, especially the highly vulnerable eighteen-hundred-mile Indo-China sea-coast with a single fortified point—a state of affairs brought about by the Colonial Military Authorities by fearing to arm the Indo-Chinese and allowing themselves to be ruled by the belief that the 600-mile China frontier was a greater menace to French rule in Indo-China than a totally unfortified undefended eighteen-hundred-mile coast line open to the wide ocean-ways of the world! It was also one of the basic tenets of the Daladier Government's Far Eastern policy, that in these regions it was more the responsibility of Britain and America to assume the initiative. At the same time every spurt of nationalism was sought to be severely suppressed. Several men were arrested in 1937 for reading an Annamite translation of a pamphlet by Leon Blum, the then French Premier; while Ngayen Phu who read it was given a sentence of three years in prison and three under surveillance, while the listeners in the audience received anything from six months to a year! So much for the popular front, so highly propagandised by the Communists at the time as an anti-Fascist Front!

The policy of continued appeasement towards the Axis powers served to gradually take the initiative away from the French in the Pacific. Efforts to rouse and rally Indo-Chinese support in the war effort brought but lukewarm response except from vested interests under French protection like the Emperor of Annam and similar dignataries. The capitulation of Europe served to inflame Japanese expansionist dreams and in this hour they saw Japan's opportunity to expand her sphere of influence in South-East Asia and overcome her dependence on foreign raw material. She realised that Indo-China's rice, iron, coal, rubber, and other wealth could supply a sizeable part of her own pressing economic needs. Equally important was this colony's strategic position, enhanced by the

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cellent harbour at Camrauh Bay, and with this in hand the whole of Eastern Asia up to India seemed within command. Moreover, Indo-China hardly had any armed force worth the name.

Indo-China, it was now obvious, was going to play an important role in the Japanese New Order. On June 17th, the day Marshal Petain sued for peace, the Japanese Foreign office called on France to stop armaments' shipments into China through Indo-China and as an earnest of their seriousness moved units of the army and navy on to the Indo-China border, and later established Control stations within that country in all important cities and ports. These Japanese military missions in Indo-China though ostensibly to stop supplies to China, enabled Japan to obtain *de facto* control of that country and through the Asia Development Board plan the re-orientation of the Indo-Chinese economic life within the Yen block orbit. A new trade pact was drawn up under which Indo-China's raw materials were to be exchanged for Japanese manufactures, and certain military privileges granted to Japan. Needless to say, all these negotiations were concluded between Vichy and Tokyo, the Indo-Chinese not figuring anywhere. Thus Indo-China like so many other colonies became just a victim in the web of international manoeuvring. For as the Axis powers gained ground, Japan's pressure on France and therefore on Indo-China strengthened, at times by diplomatic action, at other times through military pressure, the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo alliance ultimately giving the leadership in Asia to Japan. The Japanese installed themselves in northern Tonkin as a foothold from which to launch further economic, military and territorial expansion, in the shape of outright cession of provinces, additional military and air-bases, installation of puppet governments under Japanese protection for Annam and Cambodia, and last but not the least, credit loans to finance the Japanese military plans.

The rapid deterioration in Japan's internal food situation coupled with the external politico-economic pressure Japan was being subjected to, was reflected in the rapidity of Japan's drive to absorb Indo-China's economy. Japan's first move was her decision to make the entire rice supply of the South-Eastern countries which she now controlled, amounting to approximately 95 per cent of the World's rice exports, her virtual monopoly; the second, her persistent endeavour to obtain freedom to exploit Indo-China's mineral and raw materials and to utilise her strategic position for war-bases. The air-bases were, of course, used for bombing the Burma Road. Ironically enough, at this stage the decadent French Government by a series of decrees conceded to Indo-China, what she had resisted doing all along, an economic and customs autonomy, but for the unholy purpose of enabling that hapless country to make every and any concession that Japan may demand of her! The Japanese on their part showed their intention of making their occupation of certain strategic parts such as Northern Tonkin, permanent; in pursuance of this Japanese vested interests soon began to arrive to settle in Indo-China. Externally, in addition to Japanese military pressure, the much-harried Colony was beset by the revisionist offensive of Thailand claiming territories it had previously held in Laos and Cambodia. This demand ultimately took the form of Military Action which Japan utilised very successfully, by first offering its mediation and later like the monkey in Aesop's fable holding the scales, exploiting the role to strengthen its own position in the Pacific. The French were thus forced to agree to Japan's award and concede 25,000 square miles of territory to Thailand.

Internally all the while Indo-China was going through convulsions of its own. On the one hand, the De Gaullist French Section was fostering revolt and resistance against the continued encroachment of Japan. On the other, Vichy under Axis pressure launched a general offensive in Indo-China against the De Gaulle followers and in a shattering shake up, effected the arrest of several important officials, chief among them the Governor of Cochin-China, the Inspector-General, Resident Superior of Laos, Chief of the Financial Administration and the like, all on suspicion of treason. In fact, this suspicion of alleged anti-Japanese activities was made one of the excuses by Japan for demanding her right of landing Japanese troops in Saigon, said to be the centre of these conspiracies.

Nor was the unrest confined to the French elements alone. The general deterioration in the situation had led to a ferment amongst the people of Indo-China too. The crisis engendered by economic dislocation brought on by war, leading to shortage of food and other essentials, were adding to the general smouldering in the country. By November 1941, fresh reports were appearing of rioting by armed Annamites, the most militant of the Indo-Chinese, as a result of which 200 were said to have been lined up and shot. But the tide did not abate by any means. For, this was followed by a series of such serious uprisings that Domei, the Japanese News Agency, reported that the situation was so grave that every day planes left Saigon to bomb centres of trouble. Guerillas operated to stall and obstruct Japanese Military manoeuvres. On December 12, the Vichy Government found it necessary to issue a communique on these disturbances and to admit that the help of the Military and Navy had become necessary to suppress them. On December 14, an Indo-Chinese communique confessed to having arrested over a thousand people in the Saigon area alone, and that the jails had become so overcrowded that hundreds had to be lodged in ships, pending military trials which presupposes that martial law must have been already in force.

The British army was the first to march, ostensibly to supervise the Japanese surrender, but in reality to hold the fort for the French until the latters' troops could move in and take over the old control. For the British commander far from disarming the Japanese got busy utilising them to overthrow the newly formed Viet Nam Republic. But the Viet Namese were able to resist not only the British assaults but also the French efforts to re-establish themselves. Even in the midst of this conflict, popular elections were held by the Viet Nam to form a representative government.

After six months of bitter warfare, France seemed to reconcile herself to an agreement with this her rebel colony. But she had obviously far from abandoned her ambitions to hold on to Indo-China. Resorting to the age-old imperialist game, France too began canalising on what she termed her "responsibilities" to the other States of Indo-China, and the Chinese and Indian minorities, by insisting on the French having a hand in the running of the Federal Government. In truth it is only a cover for France to maintain her old economic grip on South-East Asia of which Indo-China

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forms the base and whose 23 millions form 1/3 of France's empire. France holds today 97 per cent of the £100,000,000 foreign business investments and the whole of the £1,000,000 rentiers of Indo-China. Up to World War II, France accounted for 53·3 per cent of Indo-China's imports and 50 per cent of its exports. This was partly effected by maintaining a policy of tariff "assimilation" under which free trade existed between France and Indo-China, with the latter levying protective tariff rates on goods from other countries on the same basis as France itself. This offered the French commercial interests the same privileged position in the colony as in their own country.

The French had tied their colonial possessions to France to even a greater extent than the English did theirs, and French Capital controlled Indo-Chinese economy rigidly through its hold over the latter's raw materials. The French now feel that if they can only separate the rich territory of Cochin-China from the hinterland of Annam and Tonkin, the Viet Nam will sooner or later become dependent on them, and that free state can be reduced to a mockery by economic emasculation. For this purpose, on the one hand, France played for time delaying an agreement with the Viet Nam in order to bring military reinforcements into Cochin-China ; and on the other, through her High Commissioner rallying together Indo-Chinese vested interests such as the big landlords who have become French stooges because they are given to understand that their privileged position is tied up with French Imperialism on the basis of their common interest as against that of the Viet Nam, very much like the Princes' block in India. For under the previous feudal regime under the puppet Emperor, virtually all power was in French hands. Viet Nam is making a desperate bid to maintain the free Republic which she has at such a cost established and which the French Imperialist power is seeking to destroy by military force. For while France recognised the Viet Nam on March 6th as a Free State, it stipulated at the same time that it was to be part of a federation of the five states of Indo-China, each with its own constitution, the federation to be presided over by a Governor-General and Council consisting of Indo-Chinese ministers from all the states, and *French representatives* to control the federal budget, foreign relations and commercial treaties. The Viet Nam naturally resents this and insists on its rights to control and regulate all Indo-Chinese affairs at home and abroad.

The separatist movement France is organising in the other States is meant to politically and economically disrupt the Republic of which they form an integral part, even as territorial disruption is being encouraged in India under a sinister caption of "special responsibilities" of the British towards the minorities, tribal peoples and the Indian Princes, etc.

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INDIA'S INTERNATIONAL OPIUM POLICY

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

I

In the West, the employment of opium and its derivatives for medical purposes led, in time, to their regular consumption for euphoric purposes. With ever expanding knowledge of the injurious results of their habitual use, these countries attempted to meet the situation by the treatment of addicts in public or semi-public institutions. Experience showed the frequency of relapses as also the inadequacy of public arrangements taking into account the number of addicts who stood in need of help.

The next step was the adoption of a more drastic programme in the form of controlling the distribution and the use of the drugs under proper safeguards. But even this was found unsatisfactory partly because of smuggling and partly because of abuse, in many cases, of their powers by the agencies employed for reaching the drugs to the public. Ultimately, it dawned upon the leaders of the countries interested in checking the drug menace that the problem had assumed such proportions that the only way to solve it was to take action ... the international level.

American Leadership in the International Approach to the Drug Problem

When the United States assumed control of the Philippines, it was found that opium addiction had grown into such a serious evil that it felt compelled to undertake an investigation of the problem in the Far East. The scope of the enquiry had to be enlarged as the drug was coming to these islands through both legal and illegal channels from different countries in this part of the world. To that end, a Commission was appointed in 1903. Its report recommending the total prohibition of importing opium into the Philippines except for medical purposes was accepted and given effect to through suitable legislation. This report once more brought into prominence the evils of drug addiction and the necessity of checking it.

If the interest taken by the United States in the opium problem so far as the Philippines were concerned is regarded as of a domestic character, it was idealism mainly which induced its Government to assist China when in August, 1906, under circumstances described elsewhere, it determined to end opium smoking among its people.

The remarkable progress made in China in extirpating opium smoking was noted by many. One of them, Bishop Charles H. Brent, a member of the Philippine Commission, called President Roosevelt's attention to the anti-opium movement suggesting that the United States Government should take the leadership in "calling for some international action in regard to the opium traffic." Bishop Brent stated that this would not only assist China, a friendly country, to improve itself and put an end to the smuggling of opium into the Philippines but also considerably reduce addiction to drugs in western countries.

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Shanghai Opium Commission of 1909

This suggestion was accepted and the American Ambassador to Great Britain enquired from its Foreign Minister whether his country would participate in a Commission for investigaton of the opium habit and the opium trade in the Far East along with the United States, France, the Netherlands, Germany, China and Japan—countries with territorial possessions in that area.

After considerable correspondence, the co-operation of other countries was also sought because, in the language of the report submitted by the Commission :

"It was also seen that as Turkey and Persia were large producers of opium it would be necessary to invite them into the commission if the subject was to be thoroughly ventilated. Portugal was also a factor in the situation, through the possession of her colony of Macao, on the China coast, where considerable quantities of crude opium were annually imported from India, converted into smoking opium, and shipped to United States, Canada, and Mexico ; Siam, though having no treaty relations with China, was nevertheless a factor in the problem on account of her long established government monopoly for the manufacture and distribution of smoking opium ; Russia also, because of her contiguity in China. Although neither Austria-Hungary nor Italy had territorial possessions, except concessions in the Far East, yet it was thought desirable that they should enter the commission."

As a result of the broadening of the Commission, thirteen nations participated in the International Commission which met at Shanghai on the 1st February, finishing its work on the 26th February, 1909.

Without any fear of contradiction, it may be said here that when President Roosevelt took the initiative, the world at large, specially in the west, knew little about the opium evil and that only a handful of people held strong views about the drug menace. This Commission may, therefore, be regarded as an indication of the first stirrings of international opinion on the subject of opium and other habit-forming drugs. The nine resolutions adopted at Shanghai, to some of which reference has been made elsewhere, are too long to be quoted here. These, it can be asserted safely, constitute the basis for nearly all the steps taken subsequently to cope with the drug problem on an international scale.

Dr. Hamilton Wright, member of the American delegation to the Shanghai Commission, commented on the work done there in the following terms :

"The International Opium Commission was a credit to this Government and a success, and it will be recorded as the first great step taken by the powers together to put an end to an evil—no longer a Chinese or far eastern evil, but one that has made its appearance in, and threatens the social fabric of, many Western nations."

The two inferences which may be drawn from the facts stated above, as well as from the resolutions accepted at Shanghai are first, that it was primarily the desire to discuss and to solve the drug menace in the west which explains the summoning of the Commission and second, that so far as the Far Eastern countries were concerned, the form of addiction which was sought to be put down was opium smoking.

First Hague Conference of 1912

After the receipt of the report of this the first international attempt at combating the drug menace, the United States Government issued on the 1st September, 1909, its invitation to those nations which had participated in the Shanghai Opium Commission to meet at the Hague with the object of arriving at some kind of international agreement in regard to "controlling the use of opium and other habit-forming drugs when used for medicinal purposes" and "suppressing their use for non-medicinal purposes." It was also suggested that to ensure that any arrangement entered into there might be binding on all countries, it was desirable that the delegates representing them should have "full powers to coventionalise the resolutions adopted at Shanghai and their necessary consequences."

By the middle of May, 1910, the American proposals were generally accepted. Great Britain, however, took one year to consider them offering its co-operation in September, 1910, that is one year after the invitation had been issued, provided that before the conference met at the Hague, the participating Powers should agree

> "to study the question of the production of and traffic in morphine and cocaine, and pledge themselves beforehand to the principle of drastic legislation against such production and traffic."

The British Government advanced two reasons for the conditions under which only it was prepared to co-operate with the other Powers. The first was that large quantities of these two drugs were being smuggled to India from the Western countries where they were then being manufactured. The second was that while India was gradually reducing opium exports to China thereby suffering loss of revenue, these drugs were being smuggled into China where they were replacing Indian opium. It was urged that it would be folly to suffer loss of revenue by reductions in opium exports and in the international consumption if raw opium was substituted by morphine and cocaine which, it was contended, inflicted more serious damage than the crude Indian drug.

This condition precedent demanded by the British Government had the effect of delaying the meeting of the conference which was to have assembled early in 1911 as, in the language of the American official report,

> "it required the grave consideration of several of the Governments whose subjects were heavily interested in the manufacture of and traffic in these drugs."

Germany was one of their largest producers and it was contended that the drugs were sold in the normal way by the manufacturers and it was not its fault if they were smuggled to India and China, the Governments of which could, by the entertainment of an efficient preventive service, easily stop smuggling.

Hague Opium Convention of 1912

The meeting proposed took place at the Hague and led to the international agreement known as the Hague Opium Convention signed on the 23rd January, 1912, by the following 12 countries : China, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Italy,

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Japan, Persia, Portugal, Russia, Siam and the United States.

The more important provisions of the Hague Convention have been summarised as follows in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Fourteenth Edition, Vol. XVI, p. 812):

"1. The distribution of raw opium to be controlled and the use of prepared opium to be gradually suppressed.

"2. The export of raw opium to countries prohibiting its entry to be stopped and its export to countries restricting its import to be controlled.

"3. The export and import of prepared opium to be prohibited except to those countries not yet ready to suppress its use.

"4. The use of alkaloids of opium and its derivatives to be confined to medical and legitimate purposes; a Government license to be obtained by all persons engaged in the manufacture, sale, distribution, import and export of the drugs."

The signing of the Hague Convention made it clear that at long last some of the most powerful nations of the world had come to realise that an evil like the opium evil is never altogether a national evil, that it can never be successfully fought by a small number of nations, however strong, by themselves, that its appearance in one country is a concomitant, a reflex, of a similar evil in other countries being thus international in its moral, social, economic and even diplomatic effects and that it can be eradicated only through the co-operation of all the States interested, directly or indirectly, in the problem. That was why when the drive against the opium evil was initiated by holding the Shanghai Commission in 1909, the number of invitees had to be increased from the original seven to thirteen in the First Hague Conference and, as shown below, the co-operation of many other Powers was sought in the Second and Third Hague Conferences.

We shall now proceed to examine the Convention in some detail in order to ascertain to what extent it was calculated to combat the drug evil which had gradually developed into a world problem.

The First Five Articles of the Hague Convention

Almost every standard work of reference gives the 25 articles of the Hague Opium Convention together with the reservations made by four of the signatories, France, Great Britain, Persia and Siam.

The first five articles, concerned with raw opium and constituting the first chapter of the Convention provided for the control of the production and distribution of raw opium which is eaten and is also used for the manufacture of prepared opium in the form of *madak* and *chandu* and of opium derivatives, such as morphine, heroin, the use of which for non-medicinal purposes is prevalent specially in the West.

The first of these articles said that effective laws or regulations should be passed by the signatories unless such "are already in existence." It need hardly be added that though there were such laws, they were far from effective.

The second article said that the contracting Powers should limit the number of outlets, such as ports, etc., through which export or import of raw opium would be permitted. But to this was added the qualification that "due regard" should be paid "to the differences in their commercial conditions." In actual working, this loophole destroyed the utility of this article in checking the opium traffic, a fact referred to by the First Deputy Commissioner, Department of Narcotic Drug Control, New York State, who observed that

"Obvious neglect of this agreement has been demonstrated by illicit smuggling of (raw) opium and by evasions of the law in trans-shipping opium cargoes through ports where opium is prohibited, to ports where it was not prohibited."

In support of this view, this officer after quoting official statistics stated that

"Raw opium has been bought and delivered in the United States and other countries for manufacturing purposes (*i.e.*, for the production of morphine, heroin and kindred drugs), far in excess of the amounts needed medicinally."

Without going into details which have no immediate bearing on the matter under discussion, it has to be stated here that this contraband raw opium turned into morphine, heroin, etc., was not only supplied to Western addicts but was imported back to the East, so that, millions of addicts were and are created all over the world. According to this authority, the number of drug addicts in the United States only was estimated in 1926 at three millions. Only 110,000 among them had registered themselves. It is clear that the balance got their supplies of these drugs from illicit sources.

Under the third article, the signatories agreed first, to take measures to prevent the export of raw opium to such countries as prohibited its entry and secondly, to control export to countries which permitted restricted opium imports. That the checks imposed on imports of raw opium by countries which totally prohibit its entry and those which permit restricted import, proved futile to a large extent is clearly evident from the illicit opium traffic of the U.S.A., in the past. It is merely lack of space as well as apprehensions of trying the patience of the reader too far which stand in the way of giving further information on this aspect of the opium problem. As regards the export of raw opium by poppy-cultivating countries, it has to be stated that the American official referred to above was merely repeating world Temperance opinion when stating:

"The exports of raw opium are not governed by any definite knowledge of the normal requirements of countries which permit imports."

By the fourth article, the contracting Powers pledged themelves to pass laws or promulgate regulations providing that every package containing raw opium for export shall be marked in such a manner as to indicate its contents in case the shipment exceeded five kilograms. While good enough in its way, this made evasion possible provided it was sent in smaller amounts.

Under the fifth article, only duly authorised persons would be permitted to import and export raw opium which implies that it would be incumbent on them to receive Government authorisation. It need hardly be added that the success of this measure would largely depend on the care exercised in their selection. That this was not always the case has been shown elsewhere.

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The Second Three Articles of the Hague Convention

Passing on to the second chapter of the Hague Opium Convention which deals with prepared opium, we find that the first of the articles forming the sixth in serial order reads as follows :

"The contracting Powers shall take measures for the gradual and effective suppression of the manufacture of, internal trade in, and the use of prepared opium, with due regard to the varying circumstances of each country concerned, unless regulations on the subject are already in existence."

The comment of E. N. La Motte on page 176 of *The Ethics of Opium* on this Article is worth our attention. The author says :

"This is vague to a degree. No time-limit is set in which to bring about this 'gradual and effective suppression' of the use of prepared or smoking opium. A time-limit of five or ten years would have put teeth into this clause, but that time-limit was carefully omitted. Furthermore, a reduction at the rate of a pound a year might be construed by some countries as marking 'gradual and effective suppression'; a slow business if, as in some countries (like China for instance), the annual consumption runs to hundreds of tons."

The seventh Article says :

"The contracting Powers shall prohibit the import and export of prepared opium ; those Powers, however, which are not yet ready to prohibit immediately the export of prepared opium shall prohibit it as soon as possible."

A criticism as applicable to this as to the sixth article is the studied vagueness as regards the time within which there will be total prohibition of the import and export of prepared opium. In addition, there is the fact that though, later on, public opinion did stop the export of prepared opium, its place was taken by raw opium which, when received by the importing country, is, in the language of an official report, "immediately 'prepared' on the premises." By way of elucidation it is added that

"There are factories for this purpose in Hong-Kong, Signapore, Saigon, Macao, all over the Far East, wherever opium is smoked. By means of this dodge, . . . Article 7 of the Hague Convention is not being violated."

Under Article 8, the contracting Powers not yet prepared to prohibit the export of smoking opium were pledged to restrict the number of places through which it could be exported, to prohibit its export to countries which then or thereafter might prohibit its import ; in the meantime to ban its shipment to any country that wished to restrict its admission unless the exporter complied with the regulations of the importing country ; to see that each package exported bore a special mark indicating the nature of its contents and to permit none but specially authorised persons to export it.

In this connection, it is worth remembering that large quantities of smoking opium were manufactured both for consumption as well as for export in Macao, the Portuguese possession on the China coast. The major quantity of the illicit smoking opium was intended for the Chinese and other consumers in the United States, the Philippines, Canada, Mexico, Chile, etc.

The criticism directed against this Article which, on the whole, may be regarded as not quite unreasonable was that it indirectly sanctioned a general international traffic in smoking opium.

The Third Six Articles of the Hague Convention

After more or less zealous efforts for the suppression of the opium vice in China and other Far Eastern countries, it was found that the deliberate attempt made by the manufacturers of morphine and cocaine to introduce them in replacement of opium had proved successful. The world viewed with dismay the nations of some so-called civilised countries pressing these drugs into the hands of certain Eastern people bent on the abandonment of addiction to opium. The Articles now dealt with which constitute the third chapter of the Hague Opium Convention represent a compromise of conflicting interests and, as such, cannot by any means be regarded as ideal.

The ninth Article reads as follows :

"The contracting Powers shall enact pharmacy laws or regulations to confine to medical and legitimate purpose the manufacture, sale and use of morphine, cocaine, and their respective salts unless laws or regulations on the subject are already in existence. They shall co-operate with one another to prevent the use of these drugs for any other purpose."

It is obvious that this Article contemplated the taking of measures by the participating countries for preventing the use of the above-mentioned drugs for euphoric purposes among their own people and, as such, it imposed little, if any, direct international obligation on them.

Under the tenth Article, the contracting Powers agreed "to use their best endeavours to control, or to cause to be controlled," all those who manufacture, import, sell, distribute, or export morphine, cocaine, and their respective salts, and the buildings in which such persons carry on that industry or trade. After this, the Article lays down the specific manner in which this object is to be accomplished.

It need hardly be pointed out that a mere pledge to put forth their best efforts for the above purposes is, on the face of it, something quite different from the strictness implied in the Articles dealing with raw and prepared opium. It is understood that while delegates from countries which did not manufacture the above drugs were quite willing to formulate this Article as strictly as those dealing with raw and smoking opium, those representing nations financially interested in their traffic created such difficulties that a compromise became inevitable largely because it was felt that unbending faithfulness to the principles generally underlying the first eight Articles might lead to a breakdown. A study of the proceedings of the conference preceding the Hague Convention will show that, in this particular instance, Germany was the greatest among the sinners.

Under the eleventh Article, the contracting Powers were to adopt measures to prohibit in their internal trade any delivery of morphine, cocaine, and their respective salts to any but authorised persons, and by

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the twelfth Article the importing of these drugs was restricted to persons authorised by the Governments.

Under the thirteenth Article, the participating nations did not guarantee to adopt, but merely to use, their best efforts to adopt or cause to be adopted measures to prevent the export of the previously mentioned drugs from "their countries, possessions, colonies and leased territories to the countries, possessions, colonies and leased territories" of the other contracting Powers "except when consigned to persons furnished with the licenses or permits provided for by the laws or regulations of the importing country." It then goes on to say:

> "With this object each Government may communicate from time to time to the Governments of the exporting countries lists of the persons to whom licenses or permits for the import of morphine, cocaine, and their respective salts have been granted."

When we consider what has appeared above, we cannot but feel that the criticism urged against the tenth Article is equally applicable here and that it was nothing but greed which stood in the way of the acceptance of a stricter policy. In this connection, attention may be drawn to the following extract from the report on the Conference which preceded the acceptance of the Convention submitted to the Senate of the United States by the American delegation :

> "It was the hope of the American delegation that a distinct pledge be made by the interested Governments to enact legislation to prevent the exportation of these drugs except by authorized persons in one country to authorized importers in another. But it was not found possible to secure this."

Under the fourteenth Article, the contracting Powers pledged themselves to extend the application of their laws and regulations governing the manufacture, import, sale and export of the previously mentioned drugs to medicinal opium and to all preparations of opium "containing more than 0·2 per cent of morphine or more than 0·1 per cent of cocaine, or of their respective salts, and to every other alkaloid of opium, which might be shown by scientific research" to occasion similar abuses and lead to similar noxious effects. In this connection, the attention of the reader should be drawn to the following extract from the report of the American delegation :

> "The American and other delegations pressed to have the exception in this Article as to percentages of morphine, cocaine and heroin deleted, and failed to accomplish their purpose."

Under these circumstances, it does not seem incorrect to assume that so far as the second half of the fourteenth Article is concerned, we have still another instance of compromise which must have been due to pressure coming from countries whose people were engaged in the manufacture and marketing of these habit-forming drugs and which refused to give up this particular outlet for them.

The Last Eleven Articles of the Hague Convention

The next five Articles (Nos. 15 to 19) forming the fourth chapter of the Convention consist of pledges, on the part of the nations represented at the Conference, aimed at assisting China in solving its opium problem while the twentieth and the twenty-first Articles, constituting its fifth chapter, relate to possible laws as regards illegal possession of opium and the international exchange of documents and statistics. These do not need any detailed treatment for purposes of the present discussion.

The last four Articles with final provisions on supplementary signature, ratification, effectuation and arbitration constituting the sixth chapter of the Convention are, in effect, a recognition of the futility of any endeavour on the part of a minority of the nations of the world to control international traffic in any substance including opium and other habit-forming drugs and an attempt to solve the difficulty.

In addition to the Convention, the delegates signed a Final Protocol drawing the attention of the Universal Postal Union :

(1) To the urgency of regulating the transmission through the post of raw opium ;

(2) To the urgency of regulating as far as possible the transmission through the post of morphine, cocaine, and their respective salts and other substances referred to in Article 14 of the Convention ;

(3) To the necessity of prohibiting the transmission of prepared opium through the post.

It also expressed the advisability of the study of the problem of the Indian hemp drugs from the statistical and scientific standpoint with a view to regulating their misuse should the necessity thereof make itself felt "by internal legislation or by an international agreement."

While it has been deemed necessary to draw attention to the shortcomings of the Hague Opium Convention, what has to be remembered is that it is impossible to altogether eliminate loopholes from documents however carefully drafted. The defects pointed out would not have stood in the way of the successful working of the Convention if only the signatories had possessed the intention and the determination to achieve success. In this connection we should remember that when the United States acquired the Philippines. it found a flourishing opium trade in them but no Hague Convention was required to stamp it out utterly within the short space of three years only.

(To be continued)

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CABINET MISSION AND AFTER

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II

With this review of the original document we may now pass on to the Statement of His Majesty's Government of December 6, 1946. The circumstances which led to this Statement are quite well-known and need not be recounted here.

The main points in the Statement are as follows :

(1) With regard to the interpretation of Paragraph 19, sub-paras (5) and (8) of the White Paper relating to the meetings of Sections and the formation of Groups, they held that decisions of the Sections should be taken by a simple majority vote of the representatives in the Sections, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary. This view was also confirmed by legal advice obtained on the point.

(2) This interpretation of the clause in question would form an essential part of the scheme of May 16.

(3) His Majesty's Government would be prepared to submit to Parliament a constitution formulated within the framework of the instrument of May 16, of which the interpretation now given would form an essential part. By implication a constitution made on the basis of non-acceptance of this interpretation would not be submitted by the British Government to Parliament.

(4) Besides the above point, other questions of interpretation of the plan also might arise in future. In that event the Federal Court should be asked to decide matters of interpretation that may be referred to them by either side, such decisions being binding on both sides. In this way uniformity of procedure both in the Union Constituent Assembly and in the Sectional Assemblies which would also be in accord with the Mission's plan would be secured.

(5) Should the constitution be framed by a Constituent Assembly—meaning perhaps both of the Union and the Sections—in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented, the British Government would not be prepared to force such a constitution on the unwilling parts of the country.

(6) If in spite of the re-affirmation of the intention of the Cabinet Mission regarding the Grouping clause the Constituent Assembly desires that it should be referred for a decision to the Federal Court, such a reference should be made at a very early date and in that case the meetings of the Sections should be postponed until the decision of the Federal Court is given.

It may be pointed out that this last provision in the Statement has been rendered infructuous by the statements of both Mr. Jinnah and Lord Pethick Lawrence refuting the obligatory character of any decision of the Federal Court on the point which ran counter to the interpretation given by His Majesty's Government. Lord Pethick Lawrence categorically stated in course of the debates in the House of Lords :

> "I wish to make it quite clear that His Majesty's Government stand by their interpretation of the Statement of May 16, as set out in that statement and that they will by no means depart from it even if the Federal Court should be appealed to."

Although the Congress was always ready to refer the matter to the Federal Court, in the face of this statement and also Mr. Jinnah's unwillingness to abide by the decision of the court a reference would be simply meaningless and the decision of the Congress Working Committee to drop the idea of such reference has been quite right and proper.

Before examining the propriety or otherwise of the provision as to the interpretation of the Grouping Clause given in the Statement it may be stated that it has introduced some altogether new principles over and above those in the State Paper of May 16, 1946. In the first place the interpretation itself is a new addition in the guise of an interpretation, in so far as it takes away in effect the freedom of the Provinces to form Groups or not as conceded to them in Para 15(5) of the State Paper and makes this principle of compulsory grouping an essential part of the Mission's plan.

In the second place, it fetters the freedom of the Constituent Assembly by making the constitution drafted by it to depend on the sweet will of the British Government and the British Parliament for its coming into force. In the original document there was nothing to warrant such a procedure.

Thirdly, in the original document reference to the Federal Court was limited to only one matter *viz.*, the question as to whether any resolution of the Union Constituent Assembly raised 'a major communal issue' and this also when the Chairman was requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities to consult the Federal Court before giving his decision on the question. (Para. 19-vii). In terms of the present Statement, however, all matters of dispute arising out of the interpretation of any clause of the document may be referred to the Federal Court by either party, the decision of the court being binding on both sides. This will surely provide a good opportunity to any party, if it so chooses, to employ obstructionist tactics and to hold up indefinitely the proceedings of the Assembly. This is not a mere imaginary fear, but a very likely possibility in view of the declared attitude of the Muslim League, if it elects to join the Assembly.

Fourthly, there was nothing in the State Paper of May 16 to suggest that a constitution would not be valid if the representatives of a particular section of population chose to abstain from participating in the session of the Constituent Assembly, so far as those parts of the country which were unrepresented were concerned. This clearly amounts to giving the Muslim League which is boycotting the Assembly a veto on the progress of constitution-making at least so far as Section B and C are concerned or putting pressure

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upon the Congress to come to terms with the League at any cost. It goes also against the letter and spirit of the declaration made by Premier Attlee on the floor of the House of Commons on March 15, 1946 on the eve of the departure of the Cabinet Mission to India that no minority will be allowed to veto the progress of the majority. These additions to the original plan are absolutely without any justification and also impolitic in view, specially of the fact that they were issued when the stage was set for commencing the work of the Constituent Assembly constituted on the basis of certain understandings. It may tend to introduce a feeling of unreality about its operation, if there is no finality about the constitution and procedure and if changes are made in the plan whenever a difficulty is created by any section of representatives. What guarantee is there that new interpretations would not be forthcoming to settle some dispute about the meaning of this Statement and the process may not go on endlessly ?

A good deal of debate has taken place on the legal and constitutional aspect of the changes. Of course, the legal position is very simple. When the Constituent Assembly is being constituted on the basis of a plan formulated by the Cabinet Mission on behalf of the British Government, so long as that plan is adhered to, it is open to the authors of the plan to amend it as they like and such amendments like the plan itself are binding on the parties who agree to work the Assembly on the basis of the plan. Of course, that does not mean that it has been right and proper for the Mission and the British Government or helpful for the object they profess to have in view to introduce the changes under consideration.

It may be stated, however, that if any of the parties or the Assembly as a whole refuse to be bound by them or any provision of the original document itself that would clearly be a revolutionary act, but to say that it would be a revolutionary act is not to condemn it. In fact, the constitution of a country is more often effected through revolutionary means than constitutional and the Congress although exploring at present all possibilities of effecting the transfer of power peacefully and without unnecessary bloodshed in a constitutional way is not irrevocably committed to this means, as has been made clear by its leaders very often. For instance, Pandit Nehru observed in the Subjects Committee meeting of the last session of the Congress on November 4, 1946 :

> "I am not enamoured of this Constituent Assembly, but we have accepted it and we shall work it and get the fullest advantage out of it. I do not regard it as by any means the last Constituent Assembly."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad when elected as the permanent Chairman of the Assembly in his address hinted at the same thing. He said that though the Assembly was born with some limitations it could still overcome those limitations if it was firm in its resolve. Even the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy in a statement issued on May 25, in reply to certain points raised in the Congress Cabinet's resolution pointed out that once the Constituent Assembly starts its work, "there is no intention to interfere with its discretion." But whether there was such a statement or not the very fact that the British Government had declared their intention of transfer of power from their hands implies such a thing. Above all nothing can bind the free will of a people bent on independence to evolve its own instrument of government. If it cannot realise its objective through constitutional channels the revolutionary way is always open to it. But we must keep the distinction between these two methods clear in our mind, as the discussion on the Statement of December 6, has revealed a good deal of confusion on this point. We may quote some excerpts from a classic work of an authoritative writer on political science, *viz.*, Dr. W. W. Willoughby on the subject :

> "Sovereignty, upon which all legality depends, is itself a question of fact, and not of law.
>
> "All states, at the time of their first inception, necessarily have a popular form of Governmental organization, and from this popular governing body is derived the authority of particular persons or bodies of persons to frame definite and more permanent principles of government, and to declare the conditions according to which such principles shall be considered as legally adopted.
>
> "Whenever there is established a new government, whose powers are obtained through constitutional means, no new state is created, however much its powers may differ from those exercised under the old regime. There is only an amendment of the constitution of the old State. . . . In another instance a new State may be established by revolutionary means, whose powers and organization may differ only in the slightest degree from those of the old State. But the essentially different juristic natures of the two actions are not to be confounded."*

In the first case, juristically speaking it is simply continuation of the old State with a change in its constitution, in the second case a new State emerges on the liquidation of the old one. The framing of constitutions for Canada, Australia or South Africa are examples of the former while that of U.S.A., Soviet Russia, the Fourth Republic of France are examples of the second. Of course, the change of constitution through a revolution need not necessarily imply a bloodshed ; it may also be effected through a peaceful process if there are no forces of opposition against the change of any consequence. As Dr. Willoughby observes :

> *"It is indeed possible, and, in fact, is very generally the case in modern times, that in the establishment of a new State in the place of a formerly existing one, the old political forms and Governmental machinery are utilized by the people in* attaining the purposes of their new political life. Furthermore, *it is entirely possible that the establishment of the new State may be declared by the people in assemblies and through organs that have existed as a part of the machinery of the State that is destroyed* ; but in so acting, it is the People that act, and not the old State through whose mechanical organization they may have operated."

The underlined portions in the above passage are to be particularly noted in the Indian context. If Pandit Nehru's resolution in the Constituent Assembly regarding the objective of the Constituent Assembly being to establish a sovereign democratic Republic in India is adopted without any significant opposition to

* Willoughby, *The Nature of the State*, Ch. IX, pp. 217-218, 250.

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it from the people, the Assembly is converted into a revolutionary organ of the people and a new State would then emerge as a result of the efforts of the Assembly on the basis of the complete liquidation of the civic bonds that bound India to the British Empire system. The limitations under which the Constituent Assembly was born are then swept off and the Assembly becomes a perfectly sovereign body. All this is true, of course, on the assumption that the British Government is sincere in its professions and would not interpose its authority to put obstacles in the way of independence. In the alternative the country would have to pass through all the horrors of an open conflict and in the event of success, perhaps another constituent assembly consisting of the leaders of the revolution would be convened to draw up the constitution—a contingency which all well-wishers of the country would like to avoid. If the new constitution be formulated in a revolutionary way, whether peaceful or sanguinary, the British Government's interpretation is immaterial. It simply would not be binding on the Assembly if it does not choose to accept it of its own accord. But supposing the Assembly decides to tread the path of constitutionalism and evolve a constitution under the aegis of the British Government, the Constituent Assembly would have strictly to conform to the provisions of the White Paper and the Statement of the British Government of December 6, as also any subsequent changes that Government may choose to introduce. On this basis it becomes important to examine the implications of the Statement, how far it is consistent with the original document and the results that may follow from its application.

III

The most important part of the Statement of December 6, 1946 is that relating to the interpretation put by the British Government on the much debated Grouping clause, which states that the decision as to whether there should be any groups of Provinces in each Section and if so, what Provincial subjects should be allotted to such Groups would be taken by a simple majority vote in the Sections. The British Government have made no secret of their intention in setting up these Sections,—which is to give the Muslims or rather the Muslim League the controlling authority in these areas artificially carved out. Sir Stafford Cripps in opening the debate on India on December 12, 1946 observed in course of his speech :

"The object of the Cabinet Mission was to find means whereby they could balance the desire of the Congress for a strong unitary federation on the one hand with the Muslim League's desire for autonomy on the other. That balance was obtained by a limited centre, the constitution of which was to be worked out by a Constituent Assembly in which the Congress would have a clear majority on the basis of population on which it was constituted on the one side, and Sections B and C in which the Muslims would have their majority on the other hand ; and in which, of course, provincial constitution, and if so decided group constitutions could be worked out for the two groups of provinces. Thus each party had a majority where it was most deeply interested."

The old balance theory again! The Muslim majority in each of these Sections, however slight it may be, would have the power of imposing a constitution on unwilling provinces and coercing them into groups against their will and frame group constitutions to which they would not be willing parties. Even Lord Pethick Lawrence has taken note of such possibilities but he tries to lull himself and the world into the belief that such fears and suspicions would prove unfounded and the two communities would be able to come to an agreement. He observed in course of the India debate in the Lords : "There is anxiety in certain quarters whether the majority in a section may not impose a provincial constitution on a province contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants and of such a character as to prevent the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants prevailing in the decision whether or not to stand out of a group. I am sure that neither side has any wish that this should take place and I see no reason why the two major communities should not come to agreement between themselves which would avoid any danger of that happening." But Lord Pethick Lawrence should have realised that this very arrangement by keeping up the sense of separatism and arousing a sense of irritation and annoyance at being subjected to coercion would stand in the way of mutual agreement and accommodation. Besides it is quite clear that no agreement between two parties is possible so long as there is a third party to which either party can appeal for a decision in the absence of an agreement.

Even a level-headed politician like Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, who does not belong to the Congress has observed : "I regard the statement as embodying the essence, if not the form, of Pakistan." This conclusion is inescapable on a careful and impartial examination of the decision of the British Government. It, therefore, involves the British Government in a series of contradictions which detract from the value of the scheme.

(1) The Statement of May 16, 1946, rejects the scheme of Pakistan in any shape or form unequivocally. At the same time the procedure recommended in paragraph 19 read with the recent interpretation with regard to Sections and Groups has the effect of sowing the seeds which in course of time are bound to sprout forth into a mighty tree of Pakistan, the very thing it finds chimerical and impracticable on all grounds.

(2) Paragraph 15 of the Statement lays down the 'essential part' of the constitutional plan proposed by the Cabinet Mission on which the superstructure is to be raised by the Constituent Assembly and one of the basic features of the plan is Provincial Autonomy which is secured by sub-paras (3), (5) and (6) of the paragraph. In terms of these provisions, (*a*) all residuary powers are to vest in the Provinces ; (*b*) Provinces are to have complete freedom in the matter of formation of Groups ; and (*c*) it would be open to any province to demand a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution at the end of every ten years. The language of the sub-para (5) of paragraph 15 should be particularly noted. It runs as follows :

"Provinces should be free to form Groups with executives and legislatures."

It unequivocally conceeds to the Provinces the unfettered right to form or not to form groups. Read with paragraph 19(5) which states : "These sections . . . . shall . . . . decide whether any group constitution shall be set up for those provinces (*i.e.*, within the Section) and if so, with what provincial subjects the Group should deal, etc.", the

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position is rendered ambiguous. It vests in the Sections the power to decide whether there should be any groups at all, but it is not clear whether the decision is to be taken by a mere simple majority vote or a larger majority such as two-thirds or three-fourths so as to make it dependent on a clear concensus of opinion of the component provinces or whether any particular province would have the right not to join the group, even if the decision of the section as a whole goes against its will. Consistently with the maintenance of provincial autonomy some such provision should have been inserted in the plan itself. The absence of any such clear direction led to diverse interpretations which have been set at rest by the Statement of December 6 last. There it is clearly stated that "the decisions of the sections should, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, be taken by a simple majority vote of the representatives in the sections." The effect of this interpretation is clearly to throw overboard the principle of Provincial autonomy which is accepted as a corner-stone of the plan.

Now the Sections have been artificially carved out so as to give the Muslims a majority in the Section as a whole though they may be in a clear minority in a particular component province or a part thereof. To allow, therefore, a simple majority in the Section as a whole to prepare the constitutions of all the constituent Provinces and to decide whether they should form Groups and if so, what powers are to be exercised by such Groups without any right of veto even being given to an unwilling province is to give the Muslim majority the whip hand in all the component provinces and amounts to a clear denial of the principle of Provincial autonomy. To take, for instance, the case of Assam in Section C, in a house of seventy Assam would have only ten votes. On all questions, therefore, Bengal can easily impose her will on Assam, decisions being taken by simple majority. Community-wise also, even if all the twenty-seven non-Muslim members of Bengal pull together with those of Assam, still the will of the Muslim majority of the two provinces taken together would be binding on Assam, although non-Muslims in Assam outnumber the Muslims by about two to one. Assam's Constitution would thus practically be made for her by the Muslim majority of Bengal and she would be dragged into the Group against her declared will by the same majority. This is simply a travesty of the principle of Provincial autonomy which has been recognised as a basic feature of the Cabinet Mission's plan. From this angle the British Government's interpretation is wholly untenable, because an interpretation cannot be intended to nullify the basic principle of the original plan.

It may be replied that the autonomy of the constituent provinces is protected by the right to opt out conceded to them in terms of paragraph 19(8). This is, however, only a paper safeguard. As it comes into force after the constitution made presumably by the Muslim majority of the Group as a whole comes into operation, the constitution may have been so drafted and particularly the composition of the legislature of the Province so designed as to make the expression of the genuine will of the people of the province impossible. The plight of Bengal under the ill-famed 'Communal Award' of Macdonald should be an eye-opener to us.

The British Government is so keen on the acceptance of this interpretation that they have declared it to be 'an essential part of the scheme of May 16' and further, if not explicitly, at least by implication that they would not be prepared to submit a constitution, made in violation of this interpretation, to Parliament for necessary legislation. This is nothing short of a threat held out to unwilling Provinces to coerce them into submission.

The next point made in the Statement relates to the procedure for the resolution of any other future dispute about the meaning of provisions in the State Paper of May 16. The British Government says that such points should be referred to the Federal Court for decision which should be accepted by both parties. As we have already pointed out, this may very well be used as a weapon of obstruction by any party bent on making the Constituent Assembly infructious. In view of the fact that many Muslim League leaders have openly declared such intentions, this part of the Statement appears to be particularly unfortunate.

It may be noted here that the para in question represents the Congress as having already agreed to refer all matters of interpretation that might arise, to the Federal Court. But Pandit Nehru categorically denied in the last meeting of the A.I. C. C. on January 6, on behalf of the Congress any such commitment having been made by the Congress. He said that what happened was that on many occasions when any question of dispute arose the Congress leaders said in a general way that they were prepared to refer any specific matter of dispute to an impartial arbitrator such as the International Hague Court or any other Court of justice, once or twice they had also mentioned the Federal Court. But "these were general statements we made," observed Pandit Nehru, "and normally speaking we agree to abide by them. But the way in which it has been put in this statement, as if a formal statement was made to us and we agreed is completely wrong." He then continued that in view of recent developments and the Statement of December 6, which produced a new situation he was not prepared to admit that the Congress was committed to any future procedure about reference. He concluded,

> "We find that everything we say is being twisted and distorted and brought against us in the future. We are not going to commit ourselves at the present moment to any reference to the Federal Court or to any other authority. We shall decide—or the Constituent Assembly shall decide—as we think best in the circumstances."

So, so far as the Congress is concerned, Pandit Nehru's disclaimer practically renders the recommendation nugatory.

We come now to the last and perhaps the most interesting part of the Statement which runs :

> "Should the constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented, His Majesty's Government could not, of course, contemplate as the Congress have stated they would not contemplate—forcing such a constitution upon any unwilling part of the country."

This paragraph has created a very interesting and it is difficult to say if the British Government fully realised all the possible implications of this passage. The immediate object of

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this part was, of course, to put pressure on the Congress to accept the interpretation and thus enable the Muslim League to come into the Constituent Assembly. But as the language used is of a general character it cannot be limited in its operation only to the Muslim community. Any section of population, say Assam, or N.-W. F. P. or the Sikhs, by withdrawing from the Constituent Assembly can block the progress of the Assembly or at least make the constitution which may be made in the absence of their representatives inapplicable to them. It, therefore, clearly violates the spirit, if not the letter of Prime Minister Attlee's declaration of March 15, 1946 to the effect that no minority should be allowed to veto the progress of the majority. In terms of this part of the Statement, the Muslim League by continuing its non-participation in the work of the Constituent Assembly may frustrate the activities of the Assembly. But it may prove a double-edged weapon.

Supposing the interpretation is accepted by the Congress, as it has actually been, and the Congress Provinces joining the Sections are forced into groups against their will or constitutions are made for them which are unacceptable to them by the League majority vote, they or the Sikhs, an important community within the Punjab, would be perfectly within their right to place themselves outside the purview of the Constitutions so made. As a result of the operation of this part it is very likely that Assam and West Bengal may place themselves beyond the pale of the Group C constitution and N.-W. F.P., the districts of the Punjab with non-Muslim (Sikhs and Hindus combined) majority and possibly Beluchistan also may cut themselves off from Group B. Stripped of these parts Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan would simply melt into the thin air, because in this truncated form Pakistan would be too weak to stand by itself. The British Government's interpretation, therefore, may recoil on its own head and that of the League like a boomerang. This part may be viewed, although perhaps the British Government did not mean it to be so, as the best safeguard for the preservation of the autonomy of the provinces. It will be difficult for the British Government to withhold the advantage implied in this part from any large section of population like the people of Assam, N.-W. F. P. or the Sikhs of the Punjab or the Hindus of West Bengal if they choose to take their stand on this part of the Statement.

Apart from the practical difficulties and complications thus created by the Statement of December 6, which make the document one of very doubtful expediency and propriety, the interpretation it offers of the grouping provisions of the State Paper are also of questionable legal validity. Section 15(5) provides for absolute freedom of the Provinces and this falls within the essential part of the scheme. Paragraph 19 on which reliance is mainly placed by the Statement for the interpretation in question lays down the procedure for implementing the essential part. Now the procedural part cannot certainly override the principles laid down in the essential part. We may quote here the opinion of the *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, the learned law journal of Calcutta, on this question. It says*:

"In our opinion, paragraph 15(5) controls clauses (5) and (8) of paragraph 19, and paragraph (19) must not be construed independently of paragraph 15(5). We say that the language used in paragraph 15(5) is not a meaningless jargon and it must mean what it clearly states.

"In our considered opinion the effect of paragraph 15(5) asd paragraph 19(5) and (8), read together is as follows: Clause (5) of paragraph 15 gives each province an unfettered right to remain out of any of the groups enumerated in paragraph (19). In the event, however, of any province electing to participate in the proceedings of a group as contemplated by paragraph 19, the province so electing shall have the additional right of opting out of the group under paragraph 19(5) and (8)."

Principal Dr. Gadgil, a member of the Experts Committee appointed by the Congress to advise it on constitutional matters also takes the same view. In a statement issued on January 7 last, he observes† :

> "The provision in Section 15(5) of the State Paper has to be taken to lay down only a general principle when it says that the Provinces shall be free to form groups. Sections subsequent to that are procedural and lay down the ways and means of giving effect initially to the principles enunciated. In these procedural sections the powers of opting out of a group are vested in the provincial legislatures elected according to the new constitutions."

In the present case the procedural Section 19(5) of the State Paper read with the interpretation of December 6, clearly nullifies the basic principle of provincial freedom incorporated in paragraph 15(5) and should therefore be inoperative. The Congress Working Committee in its resolution of 22nd December last has also stated :

> "In any event a point of procedure could not override a basic principle . . . the right interrpetation should be one which did no violence to that principle."

It may also be pointed out that the function of interpretation properly belongs to an independent court and not to the law-makers themselves. It is open to them to change the law but not to interpret it, when there is a dispute between two parties about the meaning of particular sections and clauses.

Particularly when a political body is engaged in dealing with two or more political parties in bringing about a settlement it is difficult to expect impartial interpretation from them. It is, on the other hand, natural for them to issue interpretations to suit varying exigencies of politics, to please one party or another as the changing situation may demand. For this reason, it would have been well if the British Government accepted the offer of the Congress to refer the issue to the Federal Court.

Moreover, Lord Pethick Lawrence in reply to a letter from Master Tara Singh asking for clarification in regard to some matters practically stated that the Mission cannot issue any addition to or interpretation of the Statement of May 16. In spite of that the British Government thought fit to do that very thing.

IV

The latest resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress accepted by the A.-I. C. C. on January 6 last has made an already delicate situation still

* Quoted in *Hindusthan Standard*, (Dak Edition) of 24th December, 1946.

† Vide *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Dak Edition) of January 10, 1947.

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more delicate. We are constrained to observe that this latest move of the Congress has hardly been straightforward. If the analysis it made of the whole situation in its resolution of December 22, 1946 was correct the only straightforward course for the Congress would have been to reject the Statement of December 6. It was argued that as the Congress had accepted the State Paper of May 16 in its entirety, it was bound to accept the Statement of December 6 also, but this argument does not stand if the finding of the Congress Working Committee in its resolution of December 22 about it, is correct. According to them, the statement in question with others made in Parliament on behalf of British Government though made by way of interpretation and elucidation, are clearly "additions to and variations of the British Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16, 1946, on which the whole scheme of the Constituent Assembly was based." The Congress had, therefore, no obligation to accept what it declared as "addition to and variation of" the original State Paper. It is extremely difficult to reconcile the two sections of the operative part of the Resolution. In the first section it "advises action in accordance with the interpretation of the British Government in regard to the procedure to be followed in the Section." This advice is prompted by the anxiety of the Congress "that the Constituent Assembly should proceed with the work of framing a constitution for free India *with the goodwill of all parties concerned* and, with a view to removing the difficulties that have arisen owing to varying interpretations." In other words the Congress accepts the interpretation not because they agree with it, their attitude to it having been made sufficiently clear by the Working Committee's Resolution of December 22, but only because by accepting it the Muslim League may be induced to join the Constituent Assembly as it is desirable that the Assembly should proceed with its work with the goodwill of all parties concerned. Among these parties the Congress seems to have fixed their eye mainly on the League and ignored others to whom the acceptance of the interpretation meant incalculable harm and who had unequivocally expressed their inability to accept it. The direct consequences of this section would be, as we have already seen, the sacrifice of the basic principle of Provincial Autonomy and a virtual acceptance, in principle, of the Pakistan idea, as the League leaders are even now frankly declaring that they want to utilise the Groups as their springboard for achieving Pakistan. The Congress felt that if they stopped with this section they would sacrifice all that they have stood for so far, *viz.*, unity and freedom of India and so they added the second section :

> "It must be clearly understood, however, that this must not involve any compulsion of a province and that the rights of the Sikhs in the Punjab should not be jeopardised. In the event of any attempt at such compulsion, a province or part of a province has the right to take such action as may be deemed necessary in order to give effect to the wishes of the people concerned. . . ."

It passes one's comprehension how it is possible to act according to the interpretation of the British Government and at the same time to avoid compulsion on some provinces, the Sikhs in the Punjab or West Bengal and so on. It is like an attempt to make the two poles meet and we think the *Times* has not been far from wrong in its comment on this section as "a face-saving clause"—having been "introduced into the resolution maintaining that acceptance of the official interpretation does not involve any compulsion of a province'." The absurdity of the position would be clear if we analyse the effect of the acceptance of the advice in the resolution by a Province like Assam. It would mean that the representatives of Assam in the Constituent Assembly would have to join the session of Section C where they would be in a minority against the clear directive of the Assam Legislative Assembly. The constitution of Assam would be practically made at the dictation of the Muslim majority of Bengal and she would be forced into the Group also by the same majority. The scope of powers of the sub-federation would also be determined by them. If the terms of the first section of the operative part of the Congress Resolution of January 6 are sincerely adhered to, that is, the interpretation of December 6 is consistently acted upon, Assam should meekly accept all the decisions taken in the Section by a simple majority even if they are thoroughly odious to her.* Some think that with the consciousness of power the Muslim majority would be actuated by a spirit of accommodation and sweet reasonableness and would not force any unpalatable decisions upon the Provinces against their will, but even recent utterances of top-ranking leaders of the League belie such hopes. In such an event the Congress leaders would perhaps place reliance upon the second Section of their resolution of January 6, which gives freedom to a province or part of a province, in the event of any attempt at compulsion on them, 'to take such action as may be deemed necessary in order to give effect to the wishes of the people concerned.' What would happen at this stage, say in the context of the Assam situation again, is that her representaives in the Section would withdraw and take their stand upon the provision in the last paragraph of the Statement of December 6 making the Provincial or Group constitution inoperative so far as she is concerned and she would be free to frame her own constitution outside the Section or Group. It may be pointed out here that consistently with the acceptance of the British Government's Statement of December 6 this would be unjustified and would amount to nullification of the first Section which is the more important part of the operative clause.

If, however, the Province consistently follows out the advice in the first section of the recent Congress Resolution to its logical conclusion and abides by the decisions taken in the section in disregard of her wishes, it may be contended, still she would have the opportunity to assert her free will, in terms of Para 19(viii) of the original State Paper, through the Legislature set up as a result of the first elections under the new Constitution. But if throughout the Session of the Sectional Assembly her wishes have been consis-

* The Congress Working Committee itself in its resolution of December 22 refers to "the possibility of a dominating province framing a constitution for another province entirely against the wishes of the latter. This might result in the framing of rules, regulation of franchise, electorates, constituencies for elections to the composition of the Legislature which might seriously prejudice or even nullify the provision for a province subsequently to opt out of a Group."

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tently disregarded, as assumed, it is highly probable, as the Working Committee Resolution referred to above points out that franchise, electorates, constituencies for election, the composition of the Legislatures, etc., would be so shaped as to nullify the 'opting out' clause. In that case this safeguard for Provincial Autonomy becomes a mere paper safeguard. It follows therefore that if the first section of the operative clause is followed in its entirety the second section is nullified and *vice versa*.

It is extremely doubtful also if the object of the Congress, *viz.*, to induce the League to come into the Constituent Assembly and that in a spirit of goodwill and mutual co-operation would be successful from statements made by individual League leaders since the adoption of the Resolution by the A.-I. C.C.

It is very difficult and hazardous to predict the course of events in the future. We can only hope for the best and be prepared for the worst. If the best hoped for is realised, the Muslim League would appreciate the gesture made by the Congress against heavy odds even at the risk of alienating a considerable section of its following as revealed by the voting on the resolution and even seriously compromising some of its fundamental principles and they would enter the Constituent Assembly with a sincere desire to work it in a spirit of accommodation and for the good of the country as a whole realising that the best interests of the Muslim community do not lie apart from those of the country at large. That will open literally the most glorious chapter of Indian History and India would rapidly march forward to take a leading place not only among the countries of Asia but of the world to which she is entitled by virtue of her vast man-power, economic resources, her great spiritual and cultural heritage and her strategic position. If, on the contrary, the Muslim League persists in her policy of separatism India has still to trudge a long way through blood and tears, sufferings and tribulation of which she has had already more than enough before she can reach her goal. We can find consolation in the thought that freedom has always demanded a heavy price from every country that has aspired after it. Much will depend, however, on the attitude of the British Government who form, as it were, the base of the triangle of the Indian problem. If they play the game, there is still hope of a smooth and peaceful solution of the problem, but the part they have played so far does not raise great hopes.

January 12, 1947.

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THE A.-I.C.C. RESOLUTION, ITS IMPORTANCE AND IMPLICATIONS

By Prof. K. K. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), LL.M. (Lond.),
Barrister-at-Law, Reader in Law, Allahabad University

Considering the totality of circumstances, in my judgment, the A.-I.C.C. did well in accepting the resolution framed by the Congress Working Committee. There can be no doubt that the statement of December 6 issued by H.M.G. was an addition and a modification to the statement issued on the 16th of May, under the guise of interpretation of the statement of 16th of May. It is, indeed, lamentable that the three Cabinet Ministers who were the authors of the Cabinet Mission proposals of May 16 were also parties to the addition and modification introduced by the British Cabinet in the statement issued on the 6th of December. The Statement of the 6th of December made reference to the Federal Court absolutely infructuous, for it is categorically stated therein that if the decision of the Federal Court went against the Statement of the 6th of December, it would not be binding upon and operative against the British Government. Still the Congress was given the useless chance of referring the 16th of May Statement for interpretation to the Federal Court. It is indeed tragic that once a statement having been issued, should be subjected to interpretation by the same body with additions under the cloak of interpretation.

H. M. G.'s Statement of December 6 leaves no shadow of doubt that in between 16th of May and 6th of December much water had flown down the Thames, and the Socialist Government of Great Britain had conserved to a great extent to the acceptance of the reasonable demands of the Muslim League. The statement of H.M.G. on the 6th December has been left delightfully vague on certain points. It is in many respects also inconsistent with the Statement of the 16th of May embodying the Cabinet Mission proposals. The basic principle of the Provincial Autonomy and that the group alone in the 16th of May Statement cannot, however, be whittled down by the subsequent statement. If a subsequent interpretation be put by H.M.G. stating that there would be compulsion in grouping and that in the matter of framing the constitution of a province it will be a group and not a unit that will be entitled to frame its constitution, it would virtually mean the end of the Provincial Autonomy and the surrender of units specially the units like Assam and N.-W.F.P. to the sheer majority in sections 'C' and 'B' respectively. Furthermore, the Sikhs in the Punjab would also be in jeopardy. The Sikhs and the Hindus therein look upon compulsory grouping as suicidal to their vital interests and rightly so.

The entire grouping system is, in my judgment, artificial, unnecessary and retrograde. Nowhere in the world there is a Federal Constitution, the autonomy of the units composing the Federation is reduced to nullity. The Group Constitution is also unknown to law. The Cabinet Mission proposals and the subsequent modification and addition—all go to make up a novel, unique, unheard-of Federal structure, which has sprung up Minerva-like from the head of the British Cabinet. Culturally, socially, ethnologically and economically distant provinces with diversities of languages, religions, cultures and other interests cannot be forced to enter into the artificial groups made by the proposals of the 16th of May but the Statement of the 16th of May left sufficient option to the provinces to opt out of the groups and even not to join the groups at all from the very start. The Statement of the 6th of December, however, makes it doubtful if the reluctant provinces have any such right of not joining groups though going into sections. Indeed, if the British Government mean that the group alone is entitled to frame not merely the group constitution

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but also the constitution of each of the units notwithstanding the adverse will of any of the units or of any portion of the units, it must then be definitely stated that the unwilling part even when such a constitution whether of the group or of the unit has been framed, must be allowed to resist such imposition and the constitution in that case so far as that group and the unwilling unit or a part thereof is concerned, would not be binding upon that unit or that part of the unit.

The Statement of H. M. G. on the 6th of December had reduced the matter of reference to the Federal Court to a mockery. It would, indeed, have been a sign of good faith on the part of the British Government to have allowed the Congress or the Muslim League or both an opportunity of reference of the Statement of the 16th of May to the Federal Court and of ascertaining the real intentions from the Federal Court itself. It is a cardinal rule that the maker of the Statute cannot interpret it. The task of interpretation is left to the judges. Having issued the Statement of the 16th of May, it was *ultra vires*, on the part of the British Government to interpret it by a subsequent statement. Therefore, the Statement of the 6th of December is void, inoperative and its effect is nil. At any event the resolution framed by the Working Committee and accepted by the A.-I.C.C. under the circumstances is the best that could be imagined. If the Congress had rejected the Statement of December 6, the British Government would have to withdraw in its entirety the proposals of the 16th of May containing proposals for the Interim Government and for the Constituent Assembly. The Interim Government is in the saddle trying to do enormous work to uplift the country's fortune and clearing the Augean stable of the Central Government as far as can be done. The Constituent Assembly is in session and there is no doubt that the Constituent Assembly is a sovereign body subject, of course, to the limitations within which it is to work. Both the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly would then have vanished and thus there would have been in the Centre once again the rule of Maxwells, Conran Smiths, Srivastavas, Aneys and Sultan Ahmeds, and the Constituent Assembly might have to go out of the picture altogether. A great movement, of course, could have been started but the Britishers know full well that they have lined up against the Congress not merely the Muslim League but also the Princes. The reactionary elements would have again enthroned themselves in seats of power and thus would have tried to make mincemeat of the political destiny of the country for some time. Undoubtedly the Congress that has fought the Government so many times would still have dared to put forth its soldiers in the battle-field to 'Do or Die' but in the meantime while India would have been in the throes of a revolutionary fight with the Congress supported by the masses on the one hand against Britain assisted by the Princes and the Muslim League and many people with vested interests, India would have to bid adieu for some time to the conception of a Constituent Assembly through which she can seize supreme political power. And it would not have resembled the spectacle of Rome burning while the British Government, like Nero, fiddling with the Muslim League and the Princes dancing around. This position has been averted by the wise decision of the A.-I.C.C. Assam, N.-W.F.P., the Sikhs and the Hindus in the Punjab need not be unnecessarily dismayed. Thty cannot be jockeyed into groups against their will. Not all the power of the British bayonets can make an unwilling unit join a group or allow the group to dictate the constitution of the unwilling unit.

It is to be seen whether the Muslim League still join or even now boycott the Constituent Assembly. The Tory diehards must have counted upon the Congress rejecting in toto the Statement of December 6. How much they must be lying on uneasy beds to contemplate that their conceptions of the Congress taking that fatal course have not been translated into reality. They were probably hugging to their bosom the illusion that once the Congress decides to reject completely the Statement of December 6, they would persuade the Socialist Government to withdraw the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly and thereby introduce stalemate in Indian politics. But the Congress in its wisdom has belied their fond hopes. Now if the Muslim League still keeps out, what other artifice will the British Government which is dancing to the tune of the Conservatives in England resort to ? That is also an eventuality which they must be thinking very hard from now. Will they force the Muslim League out of the Government and allow the Constituent Assembly to proceed in its work and ratify the Constitution that emerges therefrom, or will they then put some other interpretation still more favourable to the Muslim League by virtue of which they would be persuaded to come in?

The attitude of the Congress in passing the resolution has been actuated by a very high desire to embark on the various matters of constitution-making through the agency of the Constituent Assembly with the united efforts of all parties and, therefore, there is clear indication therein that the Muslim League should come in but the hand of friendship extended by the Congress to the Muslim League does not mean that the Congress has departed from its fundamental principles, namely the voluntary nature of grouping and the settlement of the provincial constitutions by the delegates of respective provinces. It is for the Muslim League now to grasp the hand of friendship. If it does not do it unfortunately, will the British Government issue a further interpretative statement? The Congress has gone to its extreme length and can go no further. If the British Government want to raise a storm in India they can do it at their peril. The American War of Independence broke out and was successfully terminated with the help of a determined minority and the Congress here is not a determined minority, but represents the will of a decidedly determined majority. It is time enough for the British Government to realise that the apparent surrender by the A.-I.C.C. should not be construed as a sign of weakness of the Congress but as a sign of strength and strategy, and if the British Government be not wise betimes, there would not be an orderly transfer of power to Indian hands but Swaraj dom would then come as is envisaged by Mr. Prakash Narain and others through blood, sweat and tears. The determination of a nation to be free cannot be checkmated by all the weapons of destruction not even by deadly atom bombs. The central idea in the minds of many Indians to free the country will successfully annihilate those weapons and would conquer weapons, by virtue of which the freedom-fighters will ride the rough sea of trouble with equanimity to bring the tempest-tossed ship of Indian freedom to a safe haven. It is, however, left for the British statesmanship to realise that impediments in the path of free-

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which they may plant deliberately across the path would be uprooted with grim iron determination. The British statesmanship, therefore, should allow the provinces to frame their own constitution, and enter voluntarily into groups without any compulsion. A constitution based on force or coercion or fraud is not a constitution but a scrap of paper, and deserves to be relegated to the waste-paper basket.

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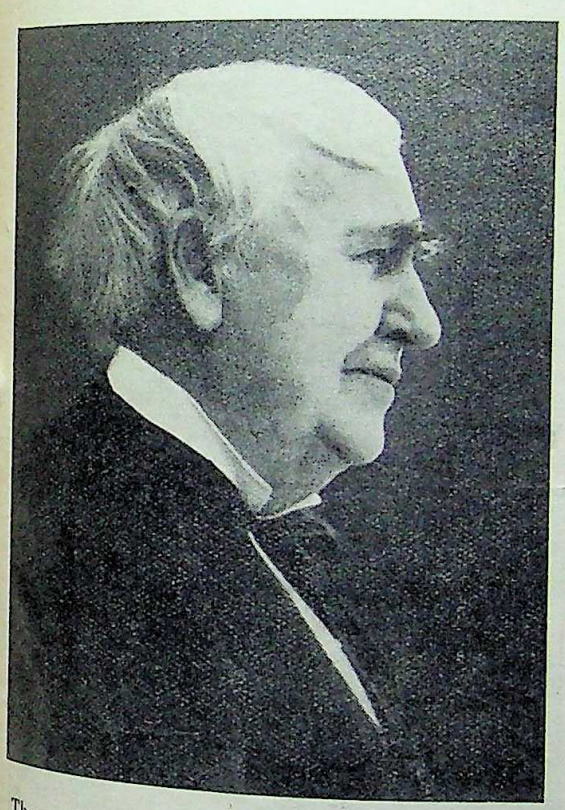
EDISON CENTENNIAL

The people of the United States will observe the 100th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Alva Edison, America's foremost inventor, on February 11, 1947. On that occasion they will pay homage to a man who, perhaps as much as any other person in the world, made the dream of the modern mechanical age a reality.

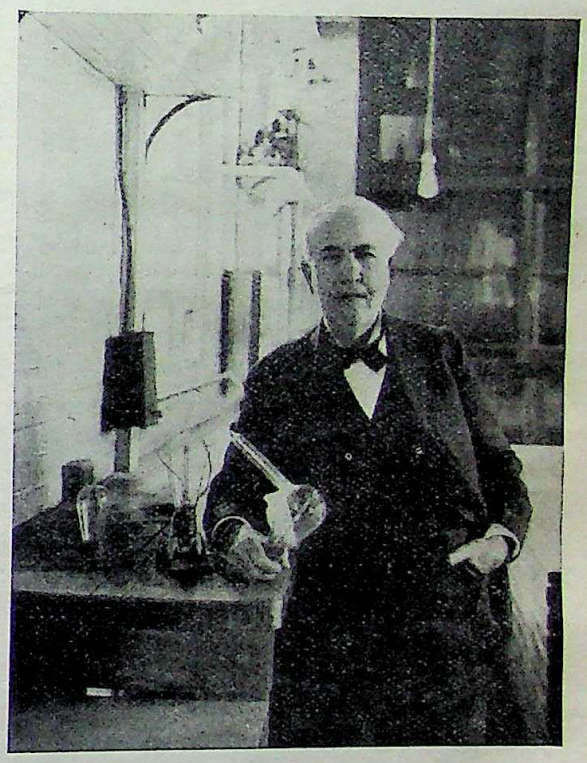


Thomas Alva Edison, the internationally famous U. S. inventor

During his 84 years, Edison witnessed the growth of the United States from a struggling infant to a man among the family of nations. The productivity of his genius helped to raise the American standard of living to its present high status. Everywhere, whether in the city or in a small hamlet, on great ocean liners, in swift-moving trains, in streaking airships or in undersea craft, the electric lamp gleams in tireless continuity where and when man wills it. Phonographs, motion pictures, telephony, telegraphy, the radio and an infinite host of related 20th-century comforts, conveniences and necessities pay tribute in whole or in part to Edison's tireless ingenuity which gave leisure as well as work to his fellowmen.

Conservative statisticians have estimated that Edison's inventions gave rise to industries that now have a capital valuation in excess of 20,000 million dollars and employ more than 4 million people. If the estimates were broadened to include industries not directly descended from Edison's inventions but which would have been impossible without his preceding contributions to knowledge and progress, the figures would reach almost astronomical proportions.

Thomas Alva Edison was born in Milan, Ohio, on February 11, 1847, of Dutch ancestry on his father's side and Scottish on his mother's. Although his formal education was limited to three months in a public school at Port Huron, Michigan, Edison showed an insatiable thirst for knowledge and a passion for work unusual in young people. At the age of 12 he sold newspapers on trains between Port Huron and Detroit, Michigan, and improvised a laboratory in the baggage car for his chemical studies. At 15 he became an itinerant telegraph operator, but continued studying chemistry and worked on inventions in his spare time. His first products were labor-saving devices for his own work.



Edison (1883) with "Edison effect" lamps

In 1868 he took out his first patent for an electrical vote-recorder for use in legislative bodies. He devised an improved stock ticker and the following year, after repairing a broken-down ticker in New York City, started a ticker service, putting up private telegraph lines between banking and brokerage establishments.

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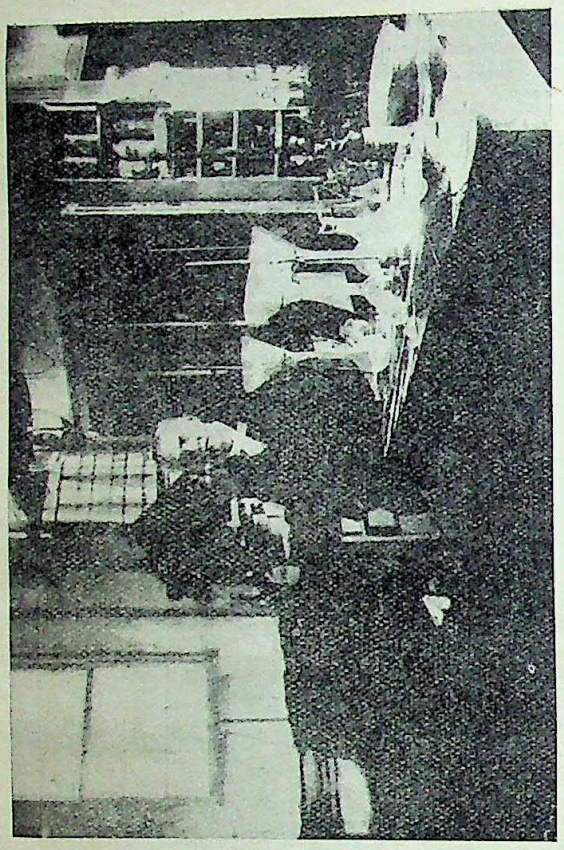
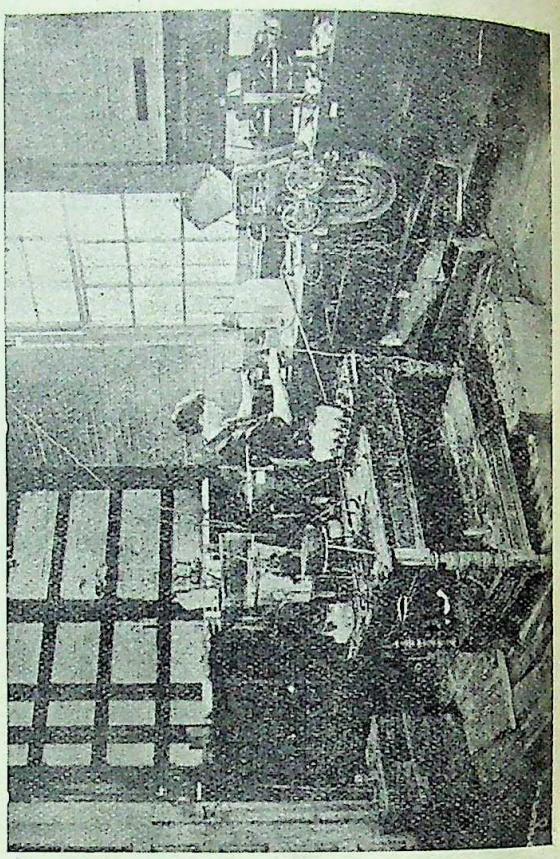
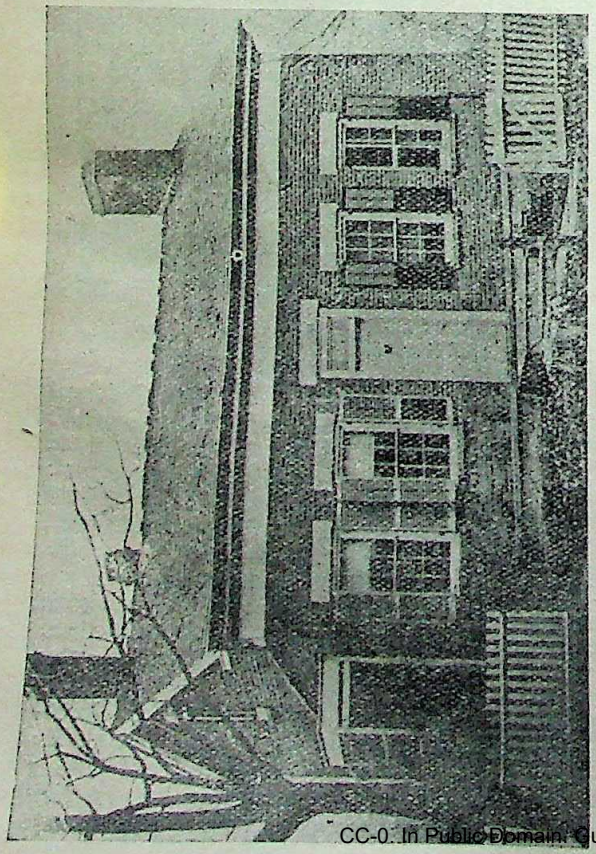
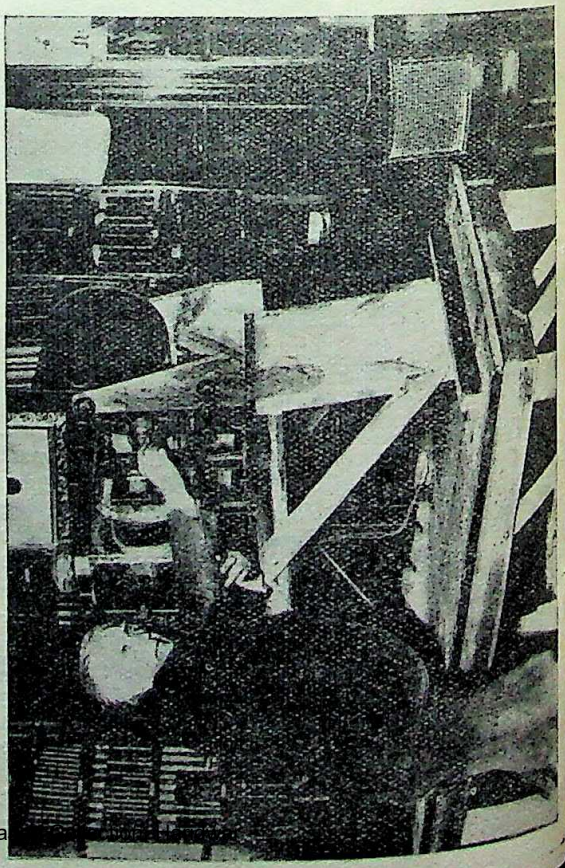


Edison in his chemistry laboratory at West Orange, New Jersey





The house in Milan, Ohio, where Edison was born on February 11, 1847



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In October, 1868 he opened his own laboratory at Newark, New Jersey, with a group of technicians many of whom later became famous in their own right. Among the 45 inventions developed during the next few years were the electric pen which later was developed into a mimeograph and a carbon transmitter which made possible the commercial use of the telephone. He devised improvements in the typewriter and in the field of telegraphy, including systems for sending multiple messages simultaneously over the same set of wires.

Edison at the age of 39 years, with the hand-cranked phonograph which he invented in 1877

Edison noticed that his automatic telegraph, which employed the use of a perforated piece of paper on a turntable, created a musical humming when it was revolved so swiftly that the dots and dashes blended together. This caused him to investigate the possibility of impounding sound for later reproduction at will and on August 12, 1877, the phonograph was born. The original model was a cylinder covered with tinfoil and turned with a hand crank. In 1887, a motor-driven machine with a cylindrical wax record was developed. Later Edison devised a disk record for music, using the cylindrical record for the Ediphone which is used for office dictation. The phonograph has become one of the most popular of Edison's inventions.

Best Remembered for the Electric Lamp

Edison is best remembered for his invention of the first practical incandescent electric lamp. He was 31 years old and already an established inventor when he became interested in lighting by electrical incandescence. On October 21, 1879, after testing hundreds of different metals and materials and having spent more than 40,000 dollars in fruitless experiments, Edison succeeded in making an incandescent lamp in which a loop of carbonized cotton thread glowed in a vacuum for over 40 hours.

Important though this lamp was, it constituted only a small part of Edison's electrical contributions. He devised and invented an entire generating and distributing system ranging from giant dynamos to conduits, insulators, fuses, meters and sockets. He improved dynamo efficiency from 40 to 90 per cent. More important he devised the multiple-arc system of distributing electric current. Until Edison accomplished

The model of Edison's first incandescent electric lamp

this, lighting with electricity was impractical as all lights on a circuit had to be either lit or turned off at the same time. The multiple-arc system made efficient and economical distribution possible.

On October 6, 1889, the world's first motion picture was demonstrated in a tar-papered building at a laboratory at West Orange, New Jersey. This pioneer motion picture was a talking picture as Edison had synchronized the film with his phonograph.

Received Many Honors

In 1928, the United States Congress awarded Edison a medal for "development and application of invention that have revolutionized civilization in the last century." He received many other honors: In 1889, he was made a Commander of the French Legion of Honor; in 1892, he received the Albert Medal of the Society of Arts in Great Britain; in 1908, he was awarded the John Fritz engineering medal from American Engineering Societies; and in 1914, he received the Rathenau (German) Medal. In 1927, he was elected to membership in the United States

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National Academy of Sciences. He received honorary degrees from Union College, Princeton University and New York University.

Edison produced some 1,100 patentable inventions, the greatest number of patents ever issued to an individual by the United States Patent Office.

Until he died on October 18, 1931, Edison exercised unceasing vigilance in devising means of improving the quality of his products and increasing the economy of their manufacture.

Of Thomas Alva Edison it has been truly said: his genius endowed all mankind.—*USIS.*

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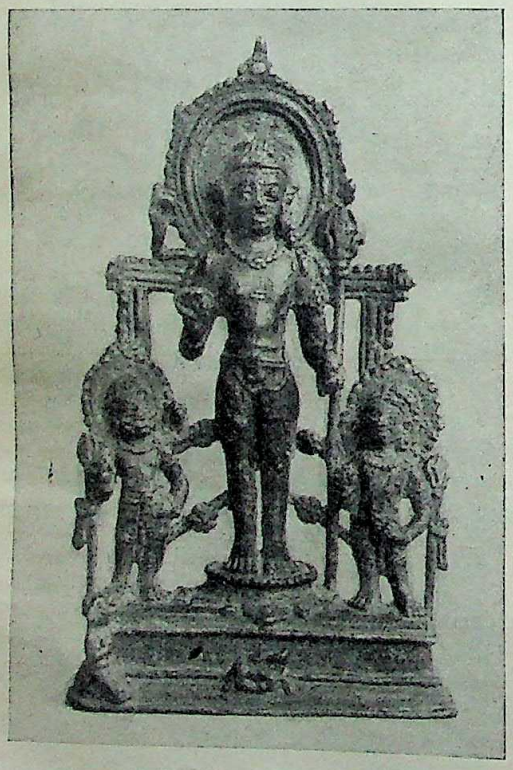
CHANDRASEKHARA SIVA : A NEW FIND FROM KARNASUVARNA

By BRAJA NATH GHATAK, M.A.

This interesting image of Siva Chandrasekhara was presented by the present writer to the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University. The image is of bronze and it was originally found in Rangamati in the district of Murshidabad. Rangamati was the ancient capital of Bengal, where Sasanka ruled, and which was, as known from the Records of Hiuen Tsang, one of the most flourishing states of



A bronze image of Chandrasekhara Siva

Eastern India. Its importance further enhanced when we consider the paucity of such images not only in Bengal, but even outside. The image is about six inches in height

The image represents Siva in the aspect of Chandrasekhara which implies that the God Siva wears a crown decorated by a crescent. The divinity is double handed, standing straight, with *aksamala* and *kamandalu* in his two hands. He shows the *urdhvalinga*, and the *trisula* is seen on the left side of the central figure. The figure stands on a lotus-pedestal (*padma-pitha*), and the two attendants of the God, Nandi and Bhringi, stand on the two sides. Siva's *vahana, i.e.,* the bull which is most exquisitely carved in bold relief, is placed below and is engaged in the act of looking at the God.

Siva in the aspect of Chandrasekhara *murti* has been described in South Indian texts, like the *Ansumkesvara-purana* describes two-handed images of Siva forms part of the Lingodbhavamurti. This image of our description is characteristically North Indian and as such varies in details. The North Indian text *Nandikesvarapurana* describes two-handed images of Siva Chandrasekhara. In other details too this image tallies with the North Indian text.*

The unique formation of the stella, and the studs binding the figures together, and the comparatively stunted physical forms are among some of the features that help us to place the image in the 7th or 8th century A.D., if not earlier in the post-Gupta period. On the other hand, the lines and slight depression near the knees may indicate a later. On general considerations, however, we will not be far from truth, if we include it as belonging to the Nalanda Group of metal images of Eastern India.

From the point of view of art, this image exhibits a unique development of the higher qualities in the field of bronzes in the Eastern part of India. In the fine and the swaying curves, in the unique balance of settings and in the modelling, this image of Chandrasekhara reveals the best qualities of contemporary plastic formulas and claims an important place in the art of Bengal. The two side figures, standing in slightly bent poses, give a well-balanced and harmonious presentation. The demoniac facial look of these two figures is a unique feature of this image. The faces set against the planes of the stella and the remaining portions seen through, give not only a scope for fine lines, but also a unique display of light and shade.

* An image of the similar type has been found by Mr. K. Dutta and presented to the Asutosh Museum.

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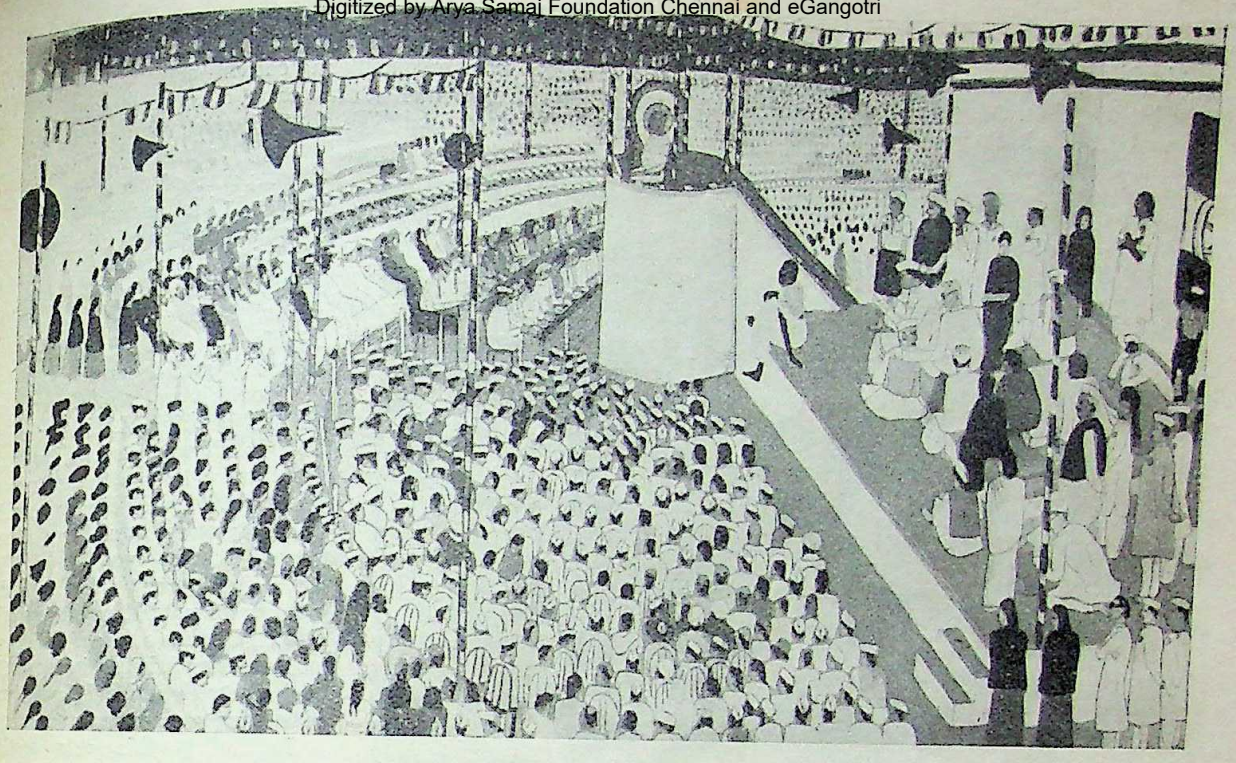

A.-I.C.C. meeting—August, 1942 *by* Surayya

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF MODERN ART IN PARIS

Unesco Month

By RAMENDRA NATH CHAKRAVORTY

The international exhibition of modern art was opened on the 18th November in Paris at the Musee d'Art at Avenue du President Wilson. The sections in the exhibition included about thirty countries of the world. It is for the first time that India is represented in such an exhibition outside India and we should be proud of the position we were offered and also for the admiration it attracted from the public. Our gallery was centrally situated on the second floor of the building and one would have been just in front of our gallery on reaching this floor. This Musee is a three-storied building and is one of the finest buildings of Paris, specially built for the purpose of housing the Museum of Modern Art and also for such exhibitions. This locality is one of the main attractions of Paris. The famous Eiffel Tower is just on the other side of the river and the imposing Chaillot Palace with the Musee Nationale Des Monuments Francais and Musee d'l'Homme are also quite close, standing on the same Avenue and forming a grand panorama. Thousands of people come from all over the world every day to enjoy this beauty spot. The selection of the place was unique and no one could expect a better place, or more international in atmosphere, than this.

The important countries taking part in the exhibition were France, Great Britain, America, Sweden, Holland, Turkey, Canada, China and India. Thousands of visitors poured in every day and, due to the Unesco Month celebrations, educationists, scientists, artists and writers, in fact, the cultured cream of almost all the nationalities of the world were in Paris at the time. So Paris had become more or less a real international city for the duration.

We were represented in the exhibition by fifty paintings from modern Indian artists, forty-five graphic art works (etchings, lithographs, wood-cuts) and seventy children's works selected from the different schools of India. All these arranged in one gallery created a real Indian atmosphere. Many visitors expressed their great satisfaction for the Indian section and I received some letters of appreciation as well. There were also encouraging reviews in the daily and weekly papers.

There was a special opening of the Indian section on the 27th November, organised by the Indian Delegation to the Unesco. After a few words of introduction by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the leader of the Indian Delegation, M. Rene Grousset, Conservateur en Chef at the Musee Guimet, gave an important account of rebirth of Indian Art forty years ago under the leadership of Abanindranath Tagore. He described how this school was nationalist in character and inspired by the various ancient traditions of India. Referring to the younger Indian artists today, he said that although fully alive to the different modern tendencies in Europe, nevertheless they remained still faithful to the eastern tradition.

The many distinguished visitors present at the private view included Andre Lhote, the famous French artist and critic, Professor Bhabha and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, members of the Indian Delegation to Unesco.

Rabindanath Tagore was represented by four of his latest works and there were four of Abanindranath's charming paintings in water colour done quite

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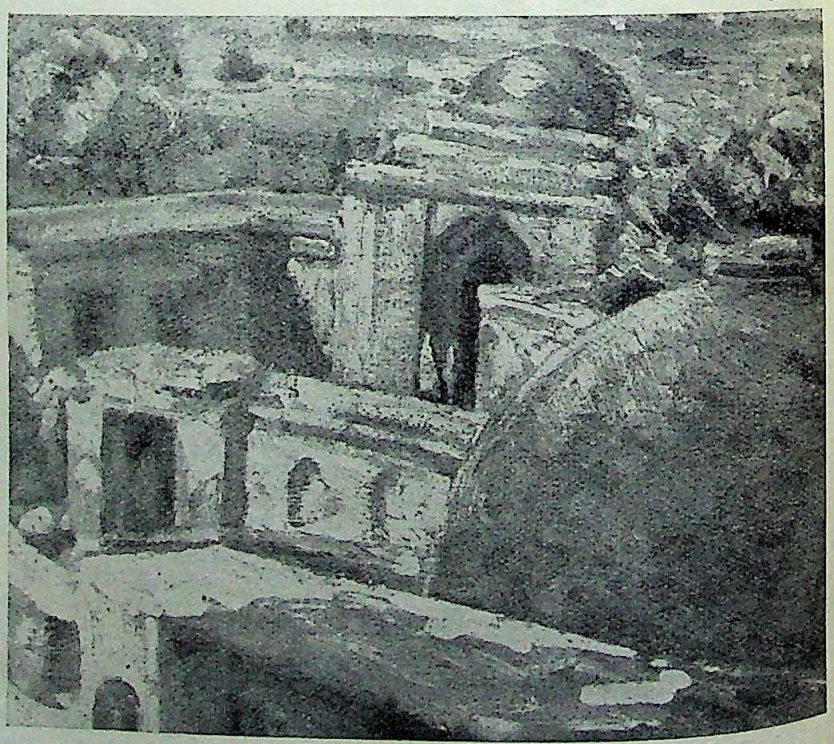
recently. Nandalal was represented by a few of his etchings, very vigorous and sensitive, with a few bold strongly beaten lines. Gogonendranath was represented by a beautiful black and white painting in which the tone value of shade and light forms the most decorative value with a touch of cubism so very originally handled by him. Devi Prasad's beautiful *Village Maid* with a typical East Bengal atmosphere of variations in greens shone like a precious emerald. The younger artists of today were also represented. Paintings of Manishi Dey, Kanwal Krishna, Mrs. Debajani, Bandre, Nagen Bhattacharya showed a remarkable sense of proportion and originality and they were also graceful and had that modern and progressive outlook through which we may expect to march forward.

Madonna with St. John *by* Jamini Roy

The French public is likely to be very much interested in the works of Jamini Roy who is more or less widely known in Europe today. His works, though they stand in great contrast to those of Tagore's, are derived from the local art of Bengal and they have achieved a position which is undisputed. Four of the paintings were in line and flat colour, highly decorative and pleasant to look at. His great power and freedom of expression can never be ignored by lovers of art. Amulya Gopal Sen, a very talented young artist who has followed the traditional style of the Bengal School of Art, had a charming painting which was subdued in colour and very rhythmic. Indra Dugar had a landscape of a very realistic subject, the *Rajgir Hills*, but it was very carefully and lovingly worked up with the finest point of the brush. Ramkinkar in his landscape of *Kopai* showed his power of expression with a few strokes of brush as a sculptor gets a shape through a few bold chisel cuts. V. A. Mali's portrait of *Sushila* was colourful and decorative, though the portrait was also characteristic and faithful. K. H. Ara in his *Village Corner* was at his best, the figures were full of movement and the colours were rich and attractive. Atul Bose represented a fine portrait of *Miss Debajani Bose* which shows the quality of an old master's work. Rani Chanda's *Radha-Krishna* was another painting in the traditional style, which I found was attracting a great many admirers.

In the graphic arts section Zainul Abedin's *Bengal 1943* (Lithograph) was considered by many to be one of the most powerful works in the graphic arts section. Safiuddin Ahmed's *Return Journey*, a dry point, was full of delicacy and depth. Woodcuts done by the students of Santiniketan were much admired for their decorative value and proper illustrative character. Niren Ghosh's *Wayside Well*, a woodcut, was bold



Maqbara-Hauz Khas *by* Nagen Bhattacharyya

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and original. Miss Usha Nandy, a student of the Delhi Polytechnic, had a beautiful colour woodcut of a *Bird*.

The children's section which was also on view was unanimously admired by the public. The young boys and girls of India have shown that they do not fall short of ideas and imagination. Their colour compositions are meaningful and harmonious. The children's work from the Fellowship School, Bombay, the Besant School, Adyar, Santiniketan, Doon School, Higher Technical Institute, Delhi Polytechnic, were all represented in this section by many interesting exhibits.

In view of the appreciations and demands for a large number of the British public visiting this exhibition I hoped to organise another exhibition in London before we brought our paintings back to India after the Paris exhibition was over by the end of December. This, it has fortunately been possible to do.

[We append hereunder the introduction, written by Mr. Chakravorty to the Catalogue of the Exhibition of Contemporary Indian Art held in London.—Ed., *M. R.*]

Modern Indian Painting

During the last ten years or so Indian life as a whole has gone through many changes. This spirit of change is nowhere more evident than in what best reflects Indian life in its varied phases—India's art and literature. Indian art "holds the mirror up to" Indian life and faithfully reflects the psychology of contemporary India. Indian art stands at the present moment at the crossways and reveals a curious amalgam of orthodoxy and experimentation, of settled notions in sharp contrast with a bold desire for change and exploration.

Occidentals who approach modern Indian painting with preconceived notions of Indian-ness, or expect to meet in it only a pleasant exoticism, are bound to be disappointed. There was indeed a stage at which the school was distinguished by a pronounced mannerism in technique and rigid orthodoxy in doctrine. But that was only when it was young, when it was not very sure of its technique and inspiration, and when it was feeling its way forward as a revivalist art movement. The trends in Indian painting today are definitely more catholic. What was once *one* school of painting has become a *family* of schools, and this family is experimental and eclectic. It presents a wide variety of subjects from old Hindu mythology to scenes of contemporary life, and variety of technique, from paintings which are purely linear to those which aim at plasticity and atmosphere. Of this width of range, the present collection, though small, is a fair illustration.

Perhaps the best way of appreciating what modern Indian painting stands for is to take brief note of its evolution. The movement originated about forty years ago, when all the older art traditions of India, Mogul or Rajput, were virtually dead. What artistic activity there was in the country was an imitation of the European academic manner. Thus the emergence of a truly Indian school of painting in modern India was a wholly conscious, deliberate, and intellectual process.

In origin the movement was part of the nationalist revival, a revolt from European influences, and unmistakably archaistic. But it was neither well understood nor appreciated by the advocates of pure political nationalism, because the true originator of the idea of an Indian school of painting, Rabindranath Tagore, had a notion of nationalism which was far wider than political nationalism and embraced social and cultural activities as well. Thus it came about that the preliminary encouragement for the movement came from

Radha-Krishna *by* Mrs. Rani Chanda

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those Europeans who both in India and in Europe were taking a hand in popularizing Oriental art among the Western nations. But there were also a small number of discriminating Indians who encouraged and promoted the new school. Among these, the name of Ramananda Chatterji, one of the greatest journalists of modern India, who incurred considerable unpopularity by publishing reproductions of the old and modern Indian masters in his magazines, should never be overlooked.

River Kopai *by* Ram Kinkar

Rabindranath Tagore was the spiritual father of the school, and the artistic renaissance which he inspired, appropriately enough, had its birth in the Tagore family. The idea, adumbrated by Rabindranath, was put into execution by Abanindranath Tagore, a nephew of his. Abanindranath, happily, is still with us, and four of his recent works are in the exhibition. Abanindranath, his brother Gaganendranath (died 1938), are represented in the exhibition, and Nandalal Bose, who is still living and working, but whose work (except for a few etchings) unfortunately could not be procured.

The Black Mask *by* Mrs. Debayani Krishna

The first output of the new school was modelled entirely on the Mogul and Rajput miniatures. But very soon a more heroic element came into it with the study of the frescoes in the Buddhist caves of Ajanta, and in the next stage of evolution the school went beyond the limits of India to seek inspiration in the Chinese and Japanese schools. During the first twenty-five years or so of its existence the school remained, however, purely, Oriental in inspiration and technique. The great majority of the paintings of the school were illustrations of Indian mythology or history, or, at their widest, representative of the more traditional aspects of Indian life rendered in a stylized manner. In technique, all that was considered legitimate was a touch of Chinese or Japanese styles added to the strictly linear Indian one.

But such an artificial separation could not last long, more especially because young Indian painters had begun to come to Europe to learn their craft, and not only they but also those who never left the country were coming more and more under the influence of contemporary European, and more especially French, schools.

Apart from these general influences, it was also through a special channel that the new European influences began to infiltrate into modern Indian painting. Some young Indian artists wanted to learn the art of woodcut and etching, and since there was no indigenous style of wood engraving and etching they had to learn it in Europe or from Europeans. The adoption of these specifically European techniques of the graphic arts broke down the barriers in the field of subject and style as well.

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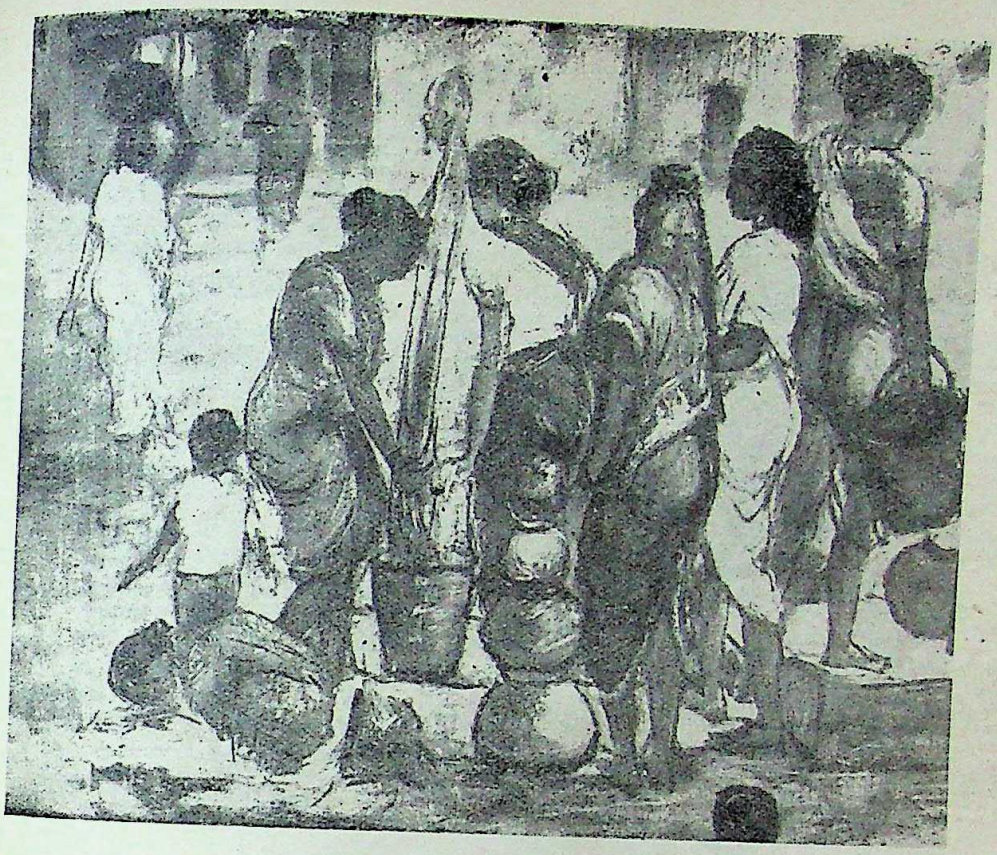
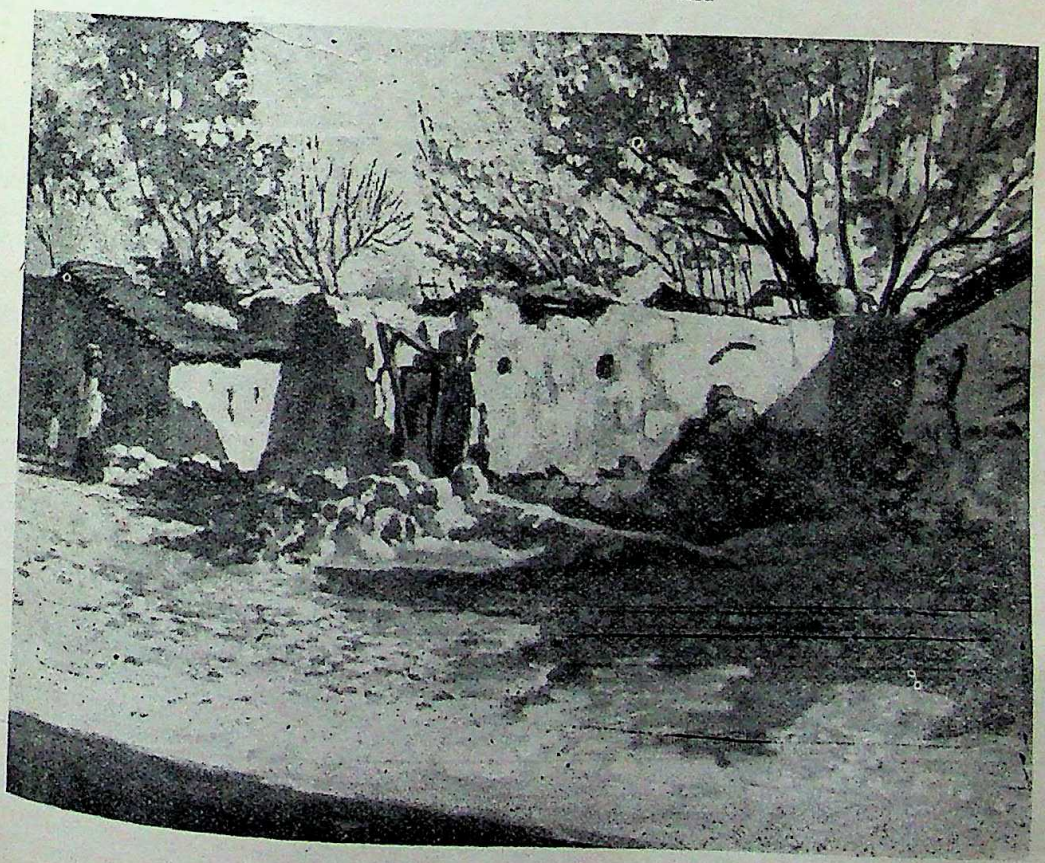


Village Corner *by* K. H. Ara



Village Decca *by* R. N. Chakravorty

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A 6th-century Sati stele from Sangsi, Kolhapur

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Today European art-trends are so acclimatized in India that even Jamini Roy, whose orthodox work is based on purely Bengal folk tradition, has not disdained in some of his latest works to model himself on the Impressionists and post-Impressionists. Thus contemporary Indian painting has a large element in it which is derived and adapted from contemporary European schools. The styles which even ten years ago were regarded as the only orthodox Indian styles have become more or less stagnant and stereotyped.

Of this moment in the development of modern Indian painting the selection presented at the exhibition is an illustration. It is hoped that the works shown adequately represent the inquisitive, searching, and still unsettled spirit of quest which is the keynote of contemporary Indian art.

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A UNIQUE VI CENTURY INSCRIBED SATI STELE
From Sangsi, Kolhapur State

By H. D. SANKALIA & M. G. DIKSHIT,
Deccan College Research Institute, Poona

The inscribed Sati Stele described here is at present located in a small *Sati temple*, about 2 miles east from Gagan Bavda, and 35 miles west from Kolhapur. The Stele is said to have been unearthed in a field at Sangsi about 5 miles from Bavda.[1]

The local tradition ascribed the sculpture to a woman who committed *sati* in remote antiquity, and was in consequence worshipped as a *devi*. Mr. N. G. Pandit Rao, the enthusiastic Public Relations Officer of the Kolhapur State, desired us to investigate into the truth of this tradition, and it is owing to his kindness and enthusiasm that we have been able to bring this sculpture to the notice of scholars.

As we stepped into the dark, desolate shrine (really a large one-room cottage) we were surprised to see before us an actual life-like representation of a Sati, and that too inscribed in old Brahmi characters.

Our subsequent study has shown that the local tradition was cent per cent based upon facts, which had happened over 1400 years ago, if not earlier.

The stele in its present damaged condition is about 6 feet high and 4 feet broad, and is carved out of a black slate like chlorite rock.[2] The figures and the inscription on the stele are so damaged that their full significance cannot be now determined, though their purport is obvious.

The Inscription

The Inscription is in two lines. It is inscribed in Brahmi characters, varying from ½ in. to 1½ in. in height, of the box-headed variety. The language is Sanskrit, and as pointed out so kindly by Dr. Chhabra, the Offg. Government Epigraphist for India, the inscription consists of a Sardulavikridita verse. The Brahmi of the box-headed variety, is first noticed in about 350 A.D.[3] and is then found prevalent with local variations in many parts of Central India, the Central Provinces, Orissa, and Karnataka (including Mysore). A detailed comparison with the records from these regions shows that palaeographically our record has a closer affinity with the Kadamba records, and among these also, particularly with the Talagunda Pillar Inscription of Kakusthavarman.[4]

In our inscription the 'boxes' are slightly hollowed out, and hence they do not appear like neat small squares as in many inscriptions of the Vakatakas.[5]

With regard to individual letters, it is found that the letters *pa, la, va, ya, sa, ha,* even *na* and *ta* of certain Vakataka plates[6] resemble corresponding letters of our inscriptions. But there is perfect identity between the letters *na, ba, bha, ma, ya, yya, ra, la, li, va, ha, ksa,* and *ha,* while there is a slight difference between the method of engraving *ta* and *na*. In the Talagunda inscription, *na* has a curved loop, while in the Sangsi inscription, the loop and the main vertical stroke which turns leftwards are separate, as in modern Devanagari. The same may be said of *ta*. In the Talagunda, the lower right stroke is more curved, while it is straight in the Sangsi, resembling the present Devanagari. The letter *tha* may be regarded as a test letter. Usually it has a dot or a circle in the centre of a rectangle or circle, but in our inscription this circle is on the right of the rectangle. This feature is also noticed in one of the two *thas* of the Talagunda inscription (cf. line 3 *atithi*, and *avasatham*).

Four letters, *pa, bha, ma, sa* of another Kadamba inscription on stone[7] resemble those of ours, but other letters *na, sa, ya* are dissimilar, while the letters have no clear boxes.

Palaeographically therefore the inscription may be assigned to the 5th-6th century A.D. Its location, almost on the northern border of Karnataka and its palaeographic as well as stylistic affinity with the Kadamba records (particularly the Kavadi inscription of Ravivarma which is also in Sanskrit verse) would suggest that it might be even a Kadamba record, probably of Ravivarma himself.

The Inscription which is in the Sardulavikridita *chhanda* opens with the invocation *Om*. Next it refers to the crest (*lanchhana*) of the king who got it inscribed (?). The second *pada* (quarter) of the verse then says, "(whose) wife, by good action (after) her husband, (committed . . . ?)." The third quarter mentions probably the cause in which the king or the hero or the

1. See Survey Map 1″=1 mile. No. 47 $\frac{H}{10 \times 14}$

2. As a sample of the rock was not possible to take without breaking it, its exact nature is not known at present.

3. Cf. Buhler *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 52.

4. *E.I.* VIII. 24.

5. Cf. for instance, *E.I.*, XXII, 207.

6. E.I., XXIII, 61; and E.I., XXII. 15; *E.I.*, XXIV, 52.

7. Kavadi Inscription, *E.C.*, VIII, ll, No. 523.

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Sati gave up his or her life. The last *pada* which is almost complete says that the stele (*sila*) was, placed (in this temple *Chaityake* ?) by the king himself (probably the Sati's son ?) out of affection (for his parents ?).

TEXT

Line 1.

Om *Srī'-u[2]-u[3]-[4] lanchhanasya[5] nrpater yyahalikh[6] - - teya tu -*[7] [I]* *bharyya saccaritena bhartur*[8] - - - [III]*

1. This letter is clearly visible on the estempage.
2. The curved stroke of *u* is clearly visible in the estempage, as well as part of the letter itself, which seems to be *pa* or *da* or *da*.
3. A vertical stroke below the square-like part of the letter suggests that the letter may be *bu*.
4. There is a vertical cut in the stone.
5. The letter is undoubtedly *la*, as identical vertical part is found in the 9th letter, *viz.*, *li* or moreover it enables us to reconstruct a suitable word also.
6. There is a vertical cut in the stone.
7. Two strokes visible in the estempage as well as in the photo would suggest that a letter was attempted. But a clear break is indicated between the *padas* at this place, and it seems to be intentional.
8. Broken from here.

Line 2.

punya[9] - - *mya ri raksanatrtham madara ntasya gataya*[10] - - *cam* [I]* *pritya sailamidam svayam nnrpati (na) sansthapitam caitya (ke)*[11] [III]*

9. The right half of the letter broken due to a vertical breakage in the stone.
10. Broken.
11. According to the suggestion of Dr. Chhabra.

FIGURES ON THE STELE

Besides the principal figure of the Sati, there were, it appears, originally at least six other figures in the composition. Two figures were right on the top, but they are badly mutilated. Only the right bent leg of the first, showing folds of the leg covering the thigh, and five anklets (*zhanzhars*) (or *manjira* with *kinkinis*), four closely fitting and the fifth slightly loose, resting on a seat of four tiers or steps is now left. Of the second figure, the left leg, almost similarly decorated is seen. Both the figures seem to be of women. The third figure is represented only by its bust, but whether it was so originally cannot be said for certain. From the facial features, it appears to be of a boy or young man. These as well as his huge richly decorated head-dress remind us of the Barhut busts.[8] However, an identical form of head-dress is not seen in any of the early Indian sculptures from Barhut, Sanchi, Mathura, Patna, Gandhara,[9] or Amaravati,[10] Nagarjunikonda[11] and other sites in South India. Nowadays such a huge turban is worn by certain Marathis.

What the relation of these figures was with the Sati is difficult to say now.

The remaining figures are all of women and intimately related. The principal figure—the Sati—is lying at full length on her right side, resting her head on her right arm which is bent and thus acts as a pillow, while the other arm lies along her body. Her thin *sari*, worn probably in *vikaccha* fashion, is shown by close, thin, oblique incised lines. It covers her completely from the neck to the foot[12] exactly as a Hindu dead body is covered. It no doubt suits the seriousness of the occasion and shows abundantly the sense of propriety of the Indian sculptor, who ordinarily loved to depict a woman with as little dress as possible. Nevertheless the thin dress allows us to have some idea of the artist's skill in modelling, particularly the way he has modelled the abdomen.

The Sati wears a *hara* of two strings or two *haras*, one having large beads, and a bracelet on the left wrist, and a *kailu* (a large ring-like ornament) on her right ankle. Her head is only partially covered, so that the hair, and a round *kundala* in the left ear are seen.

To the immediate left of the Sati stands a woman with her hand in *anjali mudra*. She wears a thin bodice, a beaded *valaya* on her left arm and a *hara* of one string (*ekavali*). Her face is disfigured, but her head does not seem to be covered by any dress, and her hair falls down loose on her back.

The figure behind her was that of a woman, probably nude, as no covering is seen on the breasts, as on the preceding figure. Her hands thrown up and wide open probably expressed wonder and astonishment. Of the last figure only the portion below the waist is seen. The dress just clothes the thighs. Probably the figure is that of a woman, who unlike the preceding figure was represented as running away from the sight of burning out of fear.

The only decorative sculpture is a *chaitya*-window ornament, at present seen almost in a line with the *asana* on which the first figure is seated. Stylistically this ornament is later than those sculptured in early caves of the Deccan, but seems to be earlier than the forms occurring on the early Chalukyan temples at Aihole. It lacks some of the wooden features of the former[13] and the ornamental designs of the latter.[14]

Artistically as well as from the point of view of the story depicted the sculpture is unique. MM. Kane has shown that the practice of committing *sati* is unknown to the Rigveda or other Vedas, ancient Grihyasutras and the Dharmasutras except Visnu. Even in the Mahabharata, there are very few references to this practice, and all these relate to the royal families. The Greeks noticed it in the Punjab. It is, therefore, thought that the practice arose sometime around the Christian era, and was confined at first to the Kshatriyas, spreading among the Brahmanas much later. *Gathasaptasati* and *Kamasutra* are the earliest works in the post-Christian period which refer to *anumarana*.

The earliest archaeological evidence, so far, is the Posthumous Stone Pillar inscription of Goparaja found at Eran[16] (Sagar Dist., C. P.). It is dated

8 Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. I, pl. 32; cf. also the figure from Sanchi, *ibid*, pl. 58.

9 See *Ibid*.

10 See *Sivaramamurti, Amaravati Sculptures, Madras Museum*, pl. VII.

11 See Naik, *Studies in Orissan History*, pp. 106-09.

12 Full *sari* is on a female figure—Hariti—from Mathura, perhaps originally from the N.-W.F. See *Bachhofer, op. cit.*, II, pl. 151.

13 Cf. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. II, pl. 66.

14 Cf. Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*.

15 Kane, *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol. II, i, p. 625.

16 Fleet, *CII* III, pp. 91-3, and Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, X, pl. xxiii.

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Gupta *samvat* A.D. 501, and is in some respects comparable to the Sangsi stele. It has a Sanskrit inscription in Indravajra *chhanda*, and sculptures of men and women, who are probably intended for the Goparaja of the inscription and his wife and friends; whereas the compartment above the centre of the inscription represents a man and woman sitting who must be Goparaja and his wife.

Unfortunately, the photograph of these sculptures is not published, so it is not possible to compare the sculptures. But from the description little doubt remains that there was no actual representation of the Sati.

Another almost temporary inscription comes from Kavadi,[17] Sorab taluka (Mysore). It is also in Sanskrit verse and belongs to the Kadamba king Ravivarma. The stone has no sculptures.

Numerous Sati stones of a later period are found in Karnataka[18] (where they are called *Mastikkal*), Kathiawar,[19] Rajputana, C.P.C.I.,[20] Bihar, U.P.[21] and other parts of India. But usually they are of a conventional type, showing the Sati's palm (*Satino panjo*) or an upraised arm, with the figures of the sun and the moon on either sides, and a group of stars, or the Sati riding in a chariot to meet her husband on the battlefield.

Sculptural data for the practice of Sati is thus not much. What little there is, is mostly of a conventional type. Hence this life-like representation of a woman immolating herself on a funeral pyre is indeed important for tracing the custom of the Sati in India.

The stele is also remarkable as a piece of art. Indian figure sculpture, both human and animal, is after a set fashion and thus becomes iconographic and stereotyped. This is true even of the early representations of the Jataka stories in sculptures and later of Jaina Kathanakas (stories) depicted in the ceilings at Delwara, Mt. Abu. In this stele, leaving apart the upper two figures which are badly mutilated, different *bhavas* and postures are exhibited by the rest. Infinite calm and inner happiness (*ananda*) characterize the Sati, whose posture is akin to that of the Buddha on his Nirvana.[22] Reverence is seen on the figure adjoining her, and astonishment and fear respectively on the third and fourth figures. These details of composition elevate the piece to a high place in the history of Indian Art.

17 *E.C.*, VIII, ii. No. 523.

18 See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXV, p. 129.

19 Cousens, *Somanatha and other Medieval Temples in Kathiawad*, p. 53-54 and pl. LX.

20 Cf. Cunningham, op. cit.

21 *IBORS*, XXIII, p. 435.

22 See *Cave Temples of India*, Ajanta Cave No. XXVI, pl. L.

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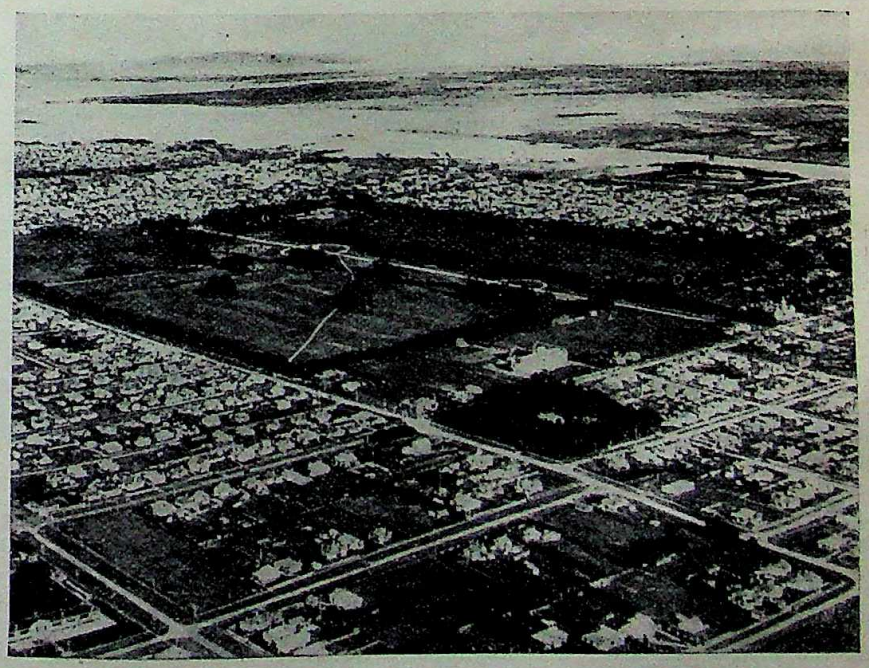
WINGS OVER THE WORLD

By LEO WHITE

In a far-flung empire, Invercargill, the capital of the Province of Southland in New Zealand, is the southernmost city, and it is 15,096 miles by air from London. This pretty southern city can be reached by catching a flying boat that leaves Poole. On arrival at Sydney in Australia, one can find a daily service operating across the Tasman, and at Auckland there is a daily service going to Invercargill. BOAC and its relations, Qantas Empire Airways and Tasman Empire Airways, have linked the southernmost city in the British Commonwealth of Nations with the rest of the world.

Invercargill is a symmetrical city. Its streets are wide and open. Like the rest of the province its buildings and monuments are characteristic of the solidness that was a feature of the work of the early pioneers. Not only its streets, but its highways are linked with substantial and handsome buildings; it has gardens in plenty and many recreational reserves. Invercargill is full of breathing space. The principal garden, Queen's Park, has an area of 240 acres, and there are other gardens right in the heart of the city. Only four miles away is Oreti Beach, which is a beautiful place,



Invercargill is a symmetrical city. It has gardens in plenty and many recreational reserves

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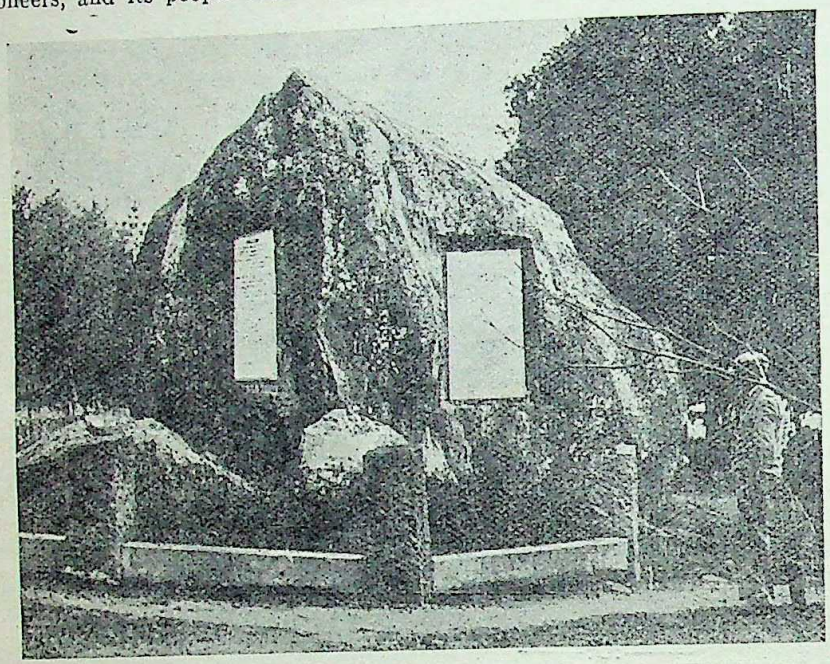
where bathers can swim in safety or just rest on gleaming sand.

Southland was first populated by hardy Scotch pioneers, and its people even today are a chip off the old block. Scottish and native place names intermingled, and away out on a country road, you will see homesteads that would almost convince you, that a scene in Britain lay before you. Ploughing matches with Scotch grooms and tinkling bells are still festivals, althohgh each year sees the roar of tractors silencing the old-time music of the bells. Progress might mar the quaint and beautiful, even though that progress is playing a great part in covering rich pastures with cows producing thousands of tons of butter and cheese, and sheep that rear some of New Zealand's best lambs and grow bags and bags of wool.

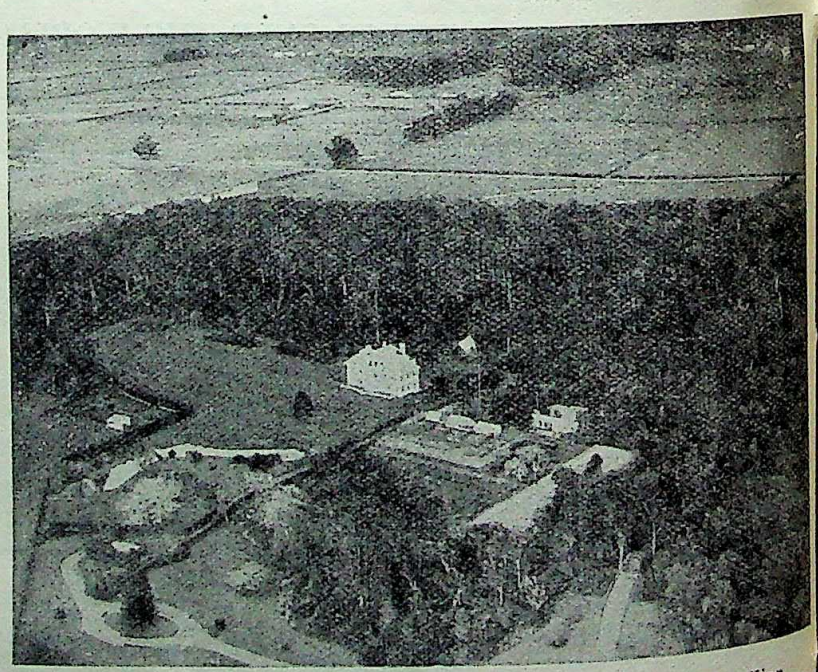


The monument to Scott at Queenstown a pleasure resort in the Province

New Zealand's first cross country flight was made at Invercargill—in a balloon. Away back in 1907 a man named Murie, who owned a cycle shop, decided to make the balloon. After several experiments, he eventually dragged his canvas bag along to the Gas Company and had it filled. The first passenger—and incidentally the first aerial passenger in New Zealand—was a young woman named Miss Ball, who climbed into the basket and made a successful ascent. At a shilling a time, many Southlanders made their first flight in that balloon. It caught the public imagination. In some quarters Murie had been regarded as a lunatic.

Murie, the balloonist, was ambitious, and with a favourable wind he went aloft and sailed inland for three and a half hours, covering 20 miles. That outstanding achievement nearly ended his career. A farmer looked up from his work and saw the floating pear-shaped apparition. "Give me my gun," he yelled, but before he got it, the wind had carried the balloonist out of range. Otherwise that farmer might have ranked as New Zealand's first anti-aircraft gunner. As for Murie, he left his aerial exploits and was last heard of managing a gold-mine in South Africa. One of his helpers, however, Bert Mercer, became a pioneer in New Zealand aviation, and a few years ago lost his life in a mishap when flying on a civil airline he had helped to start.

There are scholarships for flying in Southland. They are for instruction given by the Southland Aero Club which is now starting to resume activities curtailed by the war. Perhaps the grandeur of southern scenery from the air is an added encouragement to aviation enthusiasts. Anyway, the province fosters a progressive club. Another indication of the interest in aviation was the prolonged agitation for an airline connection to Invercargill. Southlanders were not satisfied until they obtained a daily service with Auckland, which is miles away as the crow flies.



Along the airways you will find in New Zealand many a familiar scene of Britain

This is how air travel has been opened up opening up interesting corners in a far-flung Commonwealth of Nations. A person from Britain, nay

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from India if he would, for India has also taken up the initiative in her Post-War Development schemes, can travel 15,000 miles in a matter of days, and at the end of his journey in Southland, find himself alongside much that is familiar—the hearth and home, for which not only would he feel at home, but also enjoy scenery and sport that he has never known before, and which he will find nowhere else.

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INTERNATIONAL HOUSES IN THE UNITED STATES AID FOREIGN STUDENTS

The exchange of students between different countries is one of the best methods of promoting mutual understanding among people, but mutual understanding involves something more than providing travel grants, tuition remissions, or annual stipends. It involves personal relationships—the opportunity for students of different countries to know fellow scholars from other lands and the students and people of the country to which they have come.

Four well-known centers in the United States that foster such contacts are the International Center at the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, and the three International Houses, one in New York City, one in Chicago, Illinois, and the third in Berkeley, California.

The International House idea grew from a chance encounter one autumn morning in 1910. While walking across the campus of Columbia University in New York City, Harry Edmonds, a student Young Men's Christian Association secretary, called out a casual "Good Morning" to a passing Chinese student. A small, spontaneous gesture, but one that was to have far-reaching consequences, because the Chinese youth stopped Edmonds and said: "Do you know that you are the first person who has greeted me in the three weeks I have been in New York?"

Struck by the young foreigner's loneliness, Edmonds promptly invited him to his house for supper the following Sunday. Mr. Edmonds also invited several other students whom he learned about through the university, and then and there began the Sunday Suppers that were to become a tradition at the Edmond's home and are today an integral part of the program of the three International Houses in the United States.

Mr. Edmonds became intensely interested in the problem of foreign students and, in conducting a local survey, found that there were over 600 students in New York City with little opportunity to become acquainted with each other or with Americans. Each week the Edmonds invited more students to their home until eventually the number outgrew the capacity of their house. The students then formed an organization called the International Cosmopolitan Club and began having their Sunday meetings in Earl Hall at Columbia University.

Idea Becomes Reality

Gradually the idea took hold of having a place that foreign students could use as a permanent meeting place and a home as well—an opportunity to live together under one roof sharing common experiences.

In John D. Rockefeller, well-known American financier and philanthropist, the group found the man who was to transform this nebulous idea into a reality. He became interested in the Club and in 1923 gave it a piece of land in New York City on Riverside Drive overlooking the Hudson River, together with three million dollars to build and equip a home. Completed in 1924, this became the first International House with Mr. Edmonds as its first director.

A survey of other possible locations for similar International Houses led Mr. Rockefeller in 1927 to donate 1,750,000 dollars to the University of California at Berkeley and three million dollars in 1930 to the University of Chicago to establish student centers.

International House at Berkeley was opened in 1930 with Mr. Allen Blaisdell, a former staff member of the New York House as its director, and the Chicago House opened in 1932 with Mr. Bruce Dickson as director. Mr. Dickson, like Mr. Edmonds, had been engaged in Y.M.C.A work with foreign students, and had built up an association of some 700 students, including those from other Chicago schools as well as from the University.

Houses are Self-sustaining

The Houses are self-sustaining, and although there is no formal relationship between them, they are bound together by close ties of common ideals and purpose. The New York House is a separate entity, governed by a Board of Trustees in the same manner as numerous other non-profit educational institutions, and accepts students not only from Columbia University, but from any other colleges and technical or professional schools in New York City.

The Chicago House is tied up administratively with the University of Chicago, although it likewise is open to students of all colleges and technical schools in that city. In Berkeley, International House, as a part of the University of California, has a separate Board of Trustees composed of local citizens and administrative officials and members of the faculty of the University.

The various governing boards of the Houses act for the most part as policy-forming bodies, the administrative responsibilities being carried out by a director and a staff assisted by an annually elected student council.

Not Mere Dormitories

The New York and Chicago Houses have accommodations for 525 each, and the Berkeley House for 425, but they are not by any means mere glorified dormitories. In addition to the resident members, each House has a large and active non-resident membership and a full dynamic program of educational and social activities. In addition to the Sunday Suppers which are traditional at all three Houses, each has added innumerable activities, such as language tables, discussion groups, musical programs, social dancing, national parties, and athletics.

Each House has its annual entertainment specialities. In New York City, it is the October 31st

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Hallowe'en Party, a combination of an old-fashioned American party and a miniature World's Fair. The Chicago House has an International Night when each group presents a performance typical of its own culture, and the event of the year in Berkeley is the Annual Folk Festival, centering around exhibitions of folk-dancing participated in by groups from each nation represented in the House.

In normal times the ratio of foreign students to Americans living in the Houses is about half and half. In New York, the membership is limited almost exclusively to graduate students, while in Chicago and Berkeley undergraduates of the upper-class levels are eligible. The Berkeley House is also open to freshmen and sophomore foreign students.

During the war, naturally the number of foreign students at the Houses was sharply curtailed, and the majority of those who did come to the United States were from the other American republics, the Near and Middle East, and China Both the Chicago and Berkeley Houses were taken over for a time by the armed forces and used as quarters for students in the United States Army or Navy, but the Chicago House has been returned, and, although the Berkeley House still carries on its programs in temporary quarters near its permanent home, it expects to be back in its own residence in the near future.

Swamped With Applications

All Houses are now being swamped with applications for students from all parts of the world who, since the war's end, are coming to the United States once again to continue their studies.

The University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, which has one of the largest enrolments of foreign students in the United States, has a very active International Center which, although it does not provide sleeping accommodations as do the three International Houses, does provide foreign students with a center for their social and educational activities and a focal point for establishing informal contacts with each other: with American students at the University and with local residents of Ann Arbor.

The Center, which opened in 1938, is an integral part of the University of Michigan, with a Board of Governors composed of various university officials and faculty members. It has a part-time student staff and offers foreign students not only social contacts but other important services. One of its main tasks is helping students to find living quarters. The Center's policy is to try to find foreign students' accommodations in quarters with American students, and it always keeps a list of available rooms for students in town.

How Students are Helped

The Ann Arbor Center also has a staff which counsels students on scholastic matters. If a student is failing in a subject, he is invited to have an informal talk with a counsellor in an effort to uncover the reasons and to help in any way possible. Causes for scholastic failures range from language difficulties to psychological situations arising from misunderstandings or inability to adjust to the new and strange customs of a foreign land, and often small suggestions put the stranger on the right track and settle the matter satisfactorily.

Financial difficulties are sometimes the cause of scholastic troubles, and the Ann Arbor Center has a small revolving fund from which it can make loans to students when necessary. Language difficulties are taken care of through English classes arranged to coincide with the students' free time. In these classes every effort is made to get together group studying for the same professions so that attention may be given to the specialized vocabularies necessary for the particular courses of study being pursued.

International Center at Ann Arbor has a very active recreational program, and its traditional Thursday afternoon teas are open, not only to the students and faculty of the University, but to the whole community of Ann Arbor as well, thus fostering contacts between the foreign students and the local residents.

Not only does this Center encourage relationships with the local community but, through its Speakers' Bureau, it promotes contacts, with groups all over the State. The system of providing foreign student speakers for study groups or meetings has become so popular that civic groups and other organizations from all over the state of Michigan ask the Bureau to send them speakers.

These four centers in the United States help to establish lasting personal contacts between the future citizens of countries all over the world, and foster a spirit of understanding, respect, and sympathy which is an essential element in promoting international goodwill.—*USIS.*

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"The Mystery of Cosmic Rays"

In the January issue of *The Modern Review* you have published a highly interesting and able article on the above subject by Swami Jagadiswarananda. While complimenting him on it, I cannot help observing that through some mis-apprehension he has made the remark in the last paragraph that "no Indian scientist has made so far any mentionable research" on Cosmic Rays. It is well-known that the eminent Parsi Scientist, Dr. Homi J. Bhabha, F.R.S., has become world-famous through his researches on Cosmic Rays. While he was lecturing in the Nagpur University J. N. Tata Convocation Hall in 1943, he was introduced to the audience by Sir C V. Raman, F.R.S., as the youngest Indian F.R.S. and paid him a glowing tribute by declaring that Dr. Bhabha was one of the hardly dozen world scientists who knew the intricacies of Cosmic Theory.

Dr. Bhabha is at present the Director of the Tata Science Institute of Fundamental Researches recently established in Bombay and he is carrying on his great researches with indefatigable zeal and devotion. Let us hope his efforts are crowned with still greater success and that in due course he sheds additional lustre on the fame of Indian scientists.

Karachi M. F. Soonawala

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A NOTE ON FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS

By Prof. D. N. BANERJEE

An eminent Indian leader had recently desired me to prepare a list of fundamental rights for Indians in general, and also a list of special constitutional safeguards for the Hindu minority in Bengal in particular. Both the lists were intended to be incorporated in the future Constitution of India. Accordingly, I prepared, as shown hereinafter, two tentative lists, and also indicated what should be done in certain circumstances, in the interest of the Hindu minority. The list of fundamental rights was drawn up on the basis of similar rights obtaining in a number of other countries (in Europe and America). There is also much useful material in the Report of what is popularly known as the Sapru Committee. The two lists as prepared by me, are not exhaustive and, therefore, certainly capable of improvement. But they are fairly comprehensive. Much will depend on whether we have in future an impartial and incorruptible judiciary in our country, and secondly, with a view to this, on the separation of the executive and judicial functions in the ordinary senses of the terms. As the questions of fundamental rights and constitutional safeguards are now before the Union Constituent Assembly and its Advisory Committee constituted for this purpose, I have thought it advisable to publish here the two lists as prepared by me, partly with a view to focusing public attention on the points raised by me therein, and partly with a view to provoking their further discussion by others. The two lists are as follows :

A. *Some "Typical" Fundamental Rights.*

"1. All citizens shall in all respects be equal before the law. There shall be no privilege on the ground of sex, birth, colour, creed, religion, or occupation. All citizens shall enjoy the same civil and political rights, without distinction of race, language, or religion.

2. There shall be full and absolute protection of life and liberty for all without any distinction on the ground of origin, nationality, language, race, or religion. Exceptions to this principle may be made only in cases recognized by international law.

3. The liberty of the person shall be inviolable and no person shall be deprived of his liberty except in accordance with law duly made and promulgated. Except when taken in the act of committing an offence, no person shall be arrested without a warrant issued by a magistrate, which must be shown at the time of arrest.

4. The dwelling of each citizen shall be inviolable and shall not be forcibly entered into except in accordance with law duly made and promulgated.

5. The right of free expression of opinions and ideas by speech, writing, print, picture or other similar means, as well as the right to assemble peacefully and without arms or weapons, and to form associations or unions, shall be guaranteed to all citizens for purposes not opposed to public morality or public order. Laws regulating the manner in which the right of forming associations and the right of free assembly may be exercised, shall contain no political, religious, or class distinction.

6. Public employments shall, without distinction, be open in the same degree to all citizens, under conditions prescribed by law.

7. Within the territory of the Union of India every citizen shall be free to choose his domicile or place of residence, to change his domicile or emigrate, to choose his profession or means of livelihood, and also to transfer his property. The exercise of these rights may, however, be made subject to limitations prescribed by law in special circumstances.

8. The liberty of the Press shall be guaranteed, subject to the requirements of any law duly made for the prevention of the abuse of this liberty. The Press shall not be subsidized by the State.

9. The secrecy of letters and other correspondence may be violated only in cases provided for by law.

10. No person shall be removed against his will from the jurisdiction of the Judge to whom the law assigns him. Exceptional Courts shall only be permissible in cases provided by laws promulgated before the commission of the offence.

11. No penalty shall be established or enforced except by virtue of a law.

12. No one shall be deprived of his property except for a public purpose, and in the cases and according to the forms established by law, and in consideration of a just compensation previously determined.

13. Subject to the requirements of law duly made in the interests of public morality, public safety, and public order, there shall be liberty of conscience, religious liberty, and freedom of public worship for all. No one shall be compelled to join in any manner whatever in the forms or ceremonies of any religious denomination. And all religions shall be equal before the law.

No person shall be permitted to refuse, on the ground of religious opinion, to fulfil any obligations of citizenship. Nor should religious beliefs be permitted to be pleaded as a reason for non-fulfilment of public duties.

14. There shall be no *ex post facto* legislation. This provision shall not, however, apply to Acts of Indemnity passed for the protection of the military men, police and others in respect of unlawful acts done by them, *bona fide* and in the service of the country, during a time of war or during serious internal disorder or disturbances.

15. Freedom of commerce and industry shall be guaranteed throughout the Indian Union, subject to such conditions and limitations as may be prescribed by law in respect of any specific commodity or article.

16. The freedom and secrecy of elections shall be guaranteed by law. Every person in the position of an employee or workman shall have a right to such free time as may be necessary for the exercise of his civic rights.

17. There shall be protection by law to the language, culture and traditions of all communities.

18. The sanctity and inviolability of the places of religious worship shall be guaranteed by law. Such places of religious worship shall not, however, be permitted to be used for the commission of any offence forbidden by law."

The above list of fundamental rights is not exhaustive, although fairly comprehensive. Our Constitution-makers should consider the extent to which the people of India should be allowed to keep and bear arms. In

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the United States of America there is no restriction in this regard, and this right is included within the Bill of Rights. Perhaps in the circumstances of India and in view of the complexity of its communal problem, there should not be any unrestricted right to keep and bear arms. At the same time, the present position in this country is not at all satisfactory. The issue of a licence for a gun or a revolver even to a highly respectable citizen often depends entirely on the whims or caprices of local officials. This must be stopped.

B. *Constitutional Safeguards for the Hindu Minority in Bengal, in case Bengal is not divided into two Bengals—East Bengal and West Bengal—within the Union of India.*

"1. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Bengal Legislature shall require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities in Bengal, namely, the Hindu and the Muslim, as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

(This provision has been copied, *mutatis mutandis*, from clause (2) of Paragraph 15 of the Cabinet Mission Declaration of 16th May, 1946. If such provision was considered necessary, obviously, in the interest of the Muslim minority in India, it is all the more necessary for the Hindu minority in Bengal).

2. There shall be joint electorates with proportional reservation of seats for different communities, in respect of elections to all legislative bodies, provincial, urban, and rural.

3. There shall be a statutory composite Cabinet for the Province of Bengal. Excluding the office of Prime Minister, the number of Hindu members (including the Scheduled Caste representatives) shall be equal to the number of Muslim members on the Cabinet. Portfolios shall be equitably distributed between the Hindu and Muslim members of the Cabinet. The portfolio of law and order shall be in the hands of a Hindu Minister.

4. Fitness, to be determined by the results of competitive examinations held by competent authorities, such as the Provincial Public Service Commission, etc., should alone be the criterion of eligibility for appointment to offices. If this principle is not accepted, then at least 50 per cent of the officers in every branch of public service under the Government of Bengal shall be reserved for the members of the Hindu community including the Scheduled Castes.

5. The Head of the Government of Bengal shall alternately be a Hindu and a Muslim. The Chief Minister shall be the leader of the Party, which will command a majority in the Lower House of the Bengal Legislature in case the Legislature is made bicameral, or in the Provincial Legislative Assembly if the Legislature is made unicameral."

As there is now a very serious threat to the sense of values, culture, language, religion, and economic and political interests—nay, to the very existence, with honour and self-respect,—of the Hindu community in Bengal, there should be started, as a regrettable necessity, an intensive agitation in the country for the partition of Bengal into two provinces within the Union of India, namely, East Bengal and West Bengal, unless the special constitutional safeguards for the Hindu community in Bengal as shown above, are agreed to by the Muslim community in Bengal, or in India, as the case may be. There is no other way out of the grave danger that now faces the Hindu community, but for whose incalculable sufferings and sacrifices during nearly, the last fifty years there would have been, people so easily forget this, no position for those who wield power today in this province. The course of legislation and Ministerial policy in the province during the last ten years has been generally disastrous for the Hindu minority in it, and their future course is likely to be still more disastrous for them. And it is practically useless to reason with people in a state of political intoxication. Hence arises the imperative necessity of the demand for the partition of Bengal into two provinces, as indicated above.

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Miss Suptimayee Sinha

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Suptimayee Sinha, M.A., D.T., Ph.D., is the first Indian lady on whom Doctorate in Pure Mathematics has been conferred in the recent convocation of the Benares Hindu University. She is the first and the only candidate to win this laurel from the Hindu University. She hails from Dehra Dun and is the only daughter of the well-known pleader, the late Sarat-chandra Sinha. Her student-career has all along been very brilliant.

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FURTHER NOTES ON PARTITION OF BENGAL

By AN F.R.S.S. & F.R.Econ.S. (Lond.)

Some friends have complained that in our "Notes on Partition of Bengal," appearing in *The Modern Review* for February, 1947, our figures for Bengal are not correct, and why we have not included the district of Dinajpur in Western Bengal. We shall give the facts, and the reader is asked to draw his own conclusions.

A. Contiguity

Many of the existing British provinces have discontinuous areas and districts. In the Punjab, the Bombay and the Madras Presidencies, there are patches of British territories surrounded entirely by the Native States. Ajmer-Merwara are two separate patches of territories. The province of Orissa is separated into three main blocks of territories by the intervening Native States. The total area of Orissa is 32,198 sq. miles. The coastal block stretching from Balasore to Ganjam is 25,098 sq. miles ; the former district of Angul (now incorporated in Cuttack) is 1681 sq. miles ; and the far away Sambalpur is 5,419 sq. miles. Compared with the coastal block Sambalpur has an area of about 22 per cent.

The area of Darjeeling (1,192 sq. miles) and Jalpaiguri (3,050 sq. miles) block is 14 per cent of the Burdwan and the Presidency Division combined, *i.e.*, of West Bengal main block. Dis-continuity of the provincial parts is, therefore, no argument against the formation of a separate province.

B. Dinajpur

The facts about Dinajpur are narrated below. The percentage of the Muhammadans in the district since 1881 has been as follows :

Year	Percentage	Inter-censal increase (+), or decrease (—) of Muhammadans
1881	52·55	..
1891	51·59	—0·96
1901	49·57	—2·02
1911	48·84	—0·73
1921	49·07	+0·23
1931	50·51	+1·44
1941	50·18	—0·33

The figures for 1881 to 1931 are taken from the Bengal Census Report, 1931 Pt. I p. 411; and that for 1941 has been calculated from the primary figures given in the 1941 Census Tables. The percentage of the Muhammadans was steadily getting less, so between 1921 and 1931, and again between 1931 and 1941, certain areas were added to the district to redress the percentage in favour of the Muhammadans. The areas of the district as given in the several Census Reports are as follows :

Census Report of	Area in sq. miles	Difference
1901	3,946	
1921	3,946	No charge during 20 years
1931	3,948	+2 sq. miles
1941	3,953	+5 sq. miles

According to the Census Report of 1941, the population of the present district of Dinajpur is 19,26,833 in 1941, and in 1931 it was 17,62,113. But according to the 1931 Census Report the population in 1931 was 17,55,432. Between 1931 and 1941 an area of 5 sq. miles with a population of 17,62,113—17,55,432=6,681 was added to it. Similarly according to the 1931 Census Report the population of the then area of Dinajpur was 17,11,895, in 1921; but according to the Census Report of 1921, the population was 17,05,353. Between 1921 and 1931 Dinajpur lost some area by transfer to Bogra, and gained some areas by transfer from Rangpur and Malda. The net gain was an area of 2 sq. miles with a population of 6,542.

In 1941, the number of Muslims in the district is given as 9,67,246 ; and their majority over the non-Muslims is 7,659. Had no addition been made between 1931 and 1941 of 6,681 persons, their majority would perhaps been wiped away or reduced to 7,659—[6,681+9·3% (the inter-censal increase) of 6,681]=357 only. In 1931, their majority was similarly 18,014. But for the addition of 6,542 between 1921 and 1931, their majority would have been less than 11,472 in 1931 ; and it would have been wiped away by 1941 ; and the Muslims would have been in a minority.

If we *assume* that the relative percentage of the Muhammadans has been changing *at the same rate* as between 1931 and 1941, they are now in 1947 in a minority of 49·98 per cent.

No wonder, therefore, if Suhrawardy and the Muslim League Ministry, tries to dump a few thousand Bihar Muslim 'refugees' or 'invited immigrants' into the district to restore the tottering Muhammadan majority.

C. Khulna

Dinajpur is not the only district, where territorial adjustments have been made with a view to restore Muhammadan majority. In Dinajpur they have succeeded ; in Khulna they have failed. The percentage of the Muhammadans in the district of Khulna since 1881 has been as follows :

Year	Percentage	Inter-censal increase (+), or decrease (—), of Muhammadans
1881	51·44	..
1891	51·29	—0·15
1901	50·46	—0·83
1911	50·22	—0·24
1921	49·75	—0·47
1931	49·50	—0·25
1941	49·36	—0·14

The decrease in the percentage of the Muhammadans has been a steady one during the last 60 years. From being in a majority, the Muhammadans are now in a minority. They became a minority for the first time in 1921. So in 1929 by Notification No. 408 political, dated the 22nd January, 1929, a population of 15,936 was transferred from the Nazirpore Police Station of the Bakarganj district to the Mollahat Police Station (where the recent several Namasudra-Muhammadan riots took place) of the Khulna district. The population of the district, according to the Census Report of 1921, was 14,53,034, of whom 7,22,887 were Muhammadans. The non-Muhammadan majority over the Muhammadans was 7,260 only. To wipe out this majority and to convert it into a minority the above transfer was made. The area transferred was included

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in the zamindary of the writer's father, and thus he had special means of knowledge to say that almost all the inhabitants, excepting his father's *tehsildars* and *durwans* and a few Namasudras, who were given lands for their services elsewhere, were Muhammadans. The writer's ancestors built a mosque there for the benefit of their tenantry as early as 1822.

Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta complained of this transfer in the pages of *The Modern Review* as "Communalism in the Bengal Administration" as early as January 1931 in these terms :

> "In the Nehru Report it (Khulna) has been described along with Dinajpur, which has a small Muhammadan majority of five per cent over the Hindus (leaving aside the Animists and others), as a neutral district. To convert this small Hindu majority into a small minority or to reduce it to practical nullity, in January 1929, the Government acting in its reserved department, has sliced out from the Nazirpore Police Station of Backerganj a large tract peopled mostly by Muhammadans and transferred it to Khulna to form an integral part thereof.
>
> "In the district of Backerganj as a whole the proportion of the Hindus to the Muhammadans is as 29 : 71; in the Pirojpur Sub-Division of which this portion formed part, it is 33 : 67. It is estimated and shrewedly suspected that the number of Muhammadans transferred from Backerganj to Khulna is sufficiently large to convert the small Hindu majority into a minority. Let us Hindus, hope that such is not the case !"*

This was penned before the Census of 1931 took place on the 26th February, 1931. In spite of Governmental machinations, the Hindus are in majority both in 1931 and in 1941.

D. Malda and Murshidabad

District boundaries have undergone radical changes between 1872 and 1881. There was no district of Khulna in 1872. Since 1881, the Muhammadans have become majority in the two districts of Malda and Murshidabad ; and from a majority they have become a minority in the district of Khulna. Their percentages in the two districts of Malda and Murshidabad at the several Censuses have been as follows :

Year of Census	Malda	Murshidabad
1881	46·38	48·09
1891	47·20	49·46
1901	48·07	50·77
1911	50·33	51·97
1921	51·51	53·57
1931	54·28	55·56
1941	56·76	56·55
Increase during 1881-1941	10·38	8·46

The figures are not strictly comparable with each other as they do not refer to the same area. A part of the increase is due to the alteration of the boundaries of the above two districts. Their respective areas have been as follows :

Year	Malda	Murshidabad
1901	1899	2143
1921	1833	2121
1931	1764	2091
1941	2004	2063

Sometimes they have gained from one district and lost to another ; the net loss or gain being reflected in the total area.

E. Will the Hindus Regain Their Majority in Bengal ? Yes

Discussing the question in the pages of *The Modern Review* for December, 1940, Mr. J. M. Datta showed on statistical and biological considerations that the non-Muhammadans will regain their majority in 66 years, *i.e.*, the Muhammadans will lose their majority by 1997 ; and that the Hindus alone will be in majority in course of another 150 years. His prediction that the Muhammadans are losing ground has been justified by the 1941 Census Results. The percentage of the Muhammadans in the population of Bengal has been as follows :

Year of Census	Percentage of Muhammadans	Relative increase + or decrease −
1872	48·5	..
1881	49·7	+1·2
1891	50·7	+1·0
1901	51·2	+0·5
1911	52·3	+1·1
1921	53·5	+1·2
1931	54·4	+0·9
1941	54·3	−0·1

The Muhammadans became majority in Bengal in 1891 for the first time. Their percentage in the population has begun to *decrease*—this is not a mere accident, or due to the alleged inflation of the Hindus at the time of last Census (1941). For the Hindus are increasing at a faster rate than the Muhammadans, as the following rates of increase obtained by deducting the respective recorded death-rates from the respective recorded birth-rates will show. The figures by communities or by religion earlier than 1933 are not available from the yearly Bengal Public Health Reports.

	Rates of increase of— Hindus	Muhammadans	Advantage +, or disadvantage − in favour of Hindus
1933	6·6	4·2	+
1934	5·5	5·7	−
1935	9·1	10·6	−
1936	9·1	8·7	+
1937	8·9	9·8	−
1933-37	39·2	39·0	+
1938	4·3	3·6	+
1939	8·7	11·1	−
1940	9·0	11·5	−
1941	9·0	7·5	+
1942	5·6	2·1	+
1938-42	36·6	35·8	+

It may be urged that in our country neither the births nor the deaths are always registered ; so

* *The Modern Review* for January, 1931, p. 7.

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above rates of increase do not represent the true state of affairs. That may be so ; but as the same errors of registration affect both the Hindus and the Muhammadans, the difference between their two rates do represent something which is very real and fundamental. During the first five years the advantage in favour of the Hindus was for 2 years ; in the next five years the advantage was for 3 years. Further the advantage in favour of the Hindus is rapidly increasing ; the advantage during the last five years is *four times* that during the previous five years.

F. All-India Distribution of Hindus and Muhammadans

What weight or influence the Bengali Hindu can pull either in the All-India Congress Councils or in the Constituent Assembly ; and what weight the Bengali Muhammadans pull in the All-India Muslim League circles depends partly upon their numerical strengths or proportions. Taking the Hindus and the Muhammadans of All-India to be represented by 100·0 each, we get their territorial distribution as follows :

	Hindus	*Muhammadans*
India	*100·0*	*100·0*
Native States	25·1	13·9
(Hyderabad)*	(5·2)	(2·3)
(Kashmir)*	(0·3)	(3·4)
British Provinces	74·9	86·1
1. Madras	16·8	4·2
2. Bombay	6·5	2·1
3. Bengal	9·8	35·8
4. U. P.	18·0	9·1
5. Punjab	3·0	17·6
6. Bihar	10·4	5·1
7. C. P.	5·1	0·8
8. Assam	1·6	3·7
9. N.-W. F. Prov.	·07	3·0
10. Orissa	2·7	0·1
11. Sind	0·5	3·5
Minor Administrations	0·4	1·1

Now taking the Hindus and the Muhammadans of the British Provinces to be represented by 100·0 each, we get the relative distribution to be as follows :

British Provinces	*Hindus*	*Muhammadans*
1. Madras	*100·0*	*100·0*
2. Bombay	22·4	4·9
3. Bengal	8·6	2·4
4. U. P.	13·1	41·6
5. Punjab	24·0	10·6
6. Bihar	4·0	20·4
7. C. P.	13·9	5·9
8. Assam	6·8	1·0
9. N.-W.F. Prov.	2·1	4·3
10. Orissa	0·1	3·4
11. Sind	3·6	0·1
Minor Administrations	0·8	4·1
	0·5	1·3

No wonder that in the Congress circles, apart from the question of personalities, the U. P. and Madras command more attention. For after all that may be said for its non-communal Nationalist outlook, the Indian National Congress is a Hindu body, with such Muhammadan 'show-boys' like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who threatened resignation from the Congress unless the Communal Award was accepted, and the late Dr. Ansari, who wanted to hold the Hindus of Bengal as "hostages" for the good behaviour of the Hindus elsewhere.

One reason why the Muslim League started its "Direct Action" in Bengal by organized massacres and mass terrorisation in Calcutta and at Noakhali is that if the 42 per cent of the Muhammadans cannot achieve an object here, 4 per cent of them in Sind will not be able to do that.

G. Will Western Bengal or Eastern Bengal Be Too Small ?

In our "Notes on Partition of Bengal" in *The Modern Review* for February, 1947, we have shown that several of the present-day Governors' Provinces are smaller than either the proposed Western Bengal or Eastern Bengal in area. The population of the several Governors' provinces are shown below :

	Population in 1941
1. Madras	493 lakhs
2. Bombay	208 „
3. Bengal	603 „
4. U. P.	550 „
5. Punjab	284 „
6. Bihar	363 „
7. C. P.	168 „
8. Assam	102 „
9. N.-W.F. Prov.	30 „
10. Orissa	27 „
11. Sind	45 „
Average	267 lakhs

Bengal as at present constituted is the most populous province. Its population exceeds that of the next most populous province, *viz.*, the U.P. by 53 lakhs. Even after the proposed partition, the population of the separated halves will exceed that of 7 other provinces.

H. Road Cess and Public Works Cess

Statement showing the gross rental for the year 1932-33, as compared with that shown in the returns when road cess was first introduced by Bengal Act X of 1871 :

	Gross rental (in lakhs) at First valuation	Present	Increase during 60 years
Burdwan Divn.	187	363	176
Presidency „	163	367	203
Jalpaiguri Dist.	13	58	45
Darjeeling „	5	14	9
New Western Bengal	368	802	434
Dacca Division	163	326	163
Chittagong „	95	175	80
Rajshahi Division (minus the above 2 districts)	151	347	196
New Eastern Bengal	409	848	440

Percentage of increase of rental during 60 years in
New Western Bengal 118·0
New Eastern Bengal 107·5

* The figures are included in the total for the Native States.

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	Cess valuation per sq. mile
New Western Bengal	Rs. 2306·2
New Eastern Bengal	Rs. 1988·3
	Rs. 317·9

The valuation in Western Bengal exceeds that in Eastern Bengal by some 16 per cent.

Since the introduction of Chapter VII-A by the amendment of the Cess Act in 1934, the principle of assessment has been altered, and the figures obtained are not strictly comparable with each other or with the earlier figures.

I. Land Revenue Assessment

District	Land Revenue Assessment per— *Acre of cultivated area*	*Head of population of fully assessed area*
	Rs. as. p.	Rs. as. p.
Burdwan	4 15 10	1 14 0
Birbhum	1 12 3	1 1 8
Bankura	0 6 4	0 7 2
Midnapore	1 5 10	0 15 7
Hooghly	1 10 8	0 13 8*
Howrah	4 9 11	0 8 1
Average for Burdwan Divn.	2 7 6	0 15 4
	Rs. as. p.	Rs. as. p.
24-Parganas	1 13 8	1 4 0
Nadia	0 14 2	0 9 9
Murshidabad	1 4 4	0 12 0
Jessore	1 2 10	0 8 9
Khulna	1 1 8	0 9 1
Average for Presidency Divn.	1 4 2	0 11 11
	Rs. as. p.	Rs. as. p.
Rajshahi	1 0 6	0 15 4
Dinajpur	1 4 1	0 13 10
Jalpaiguri	1 14 4	1 3 2*
Rangpur	0 9 6	0 6 4
Bogra	0 14 4	0 7 9*
Pabna	0 9 11	0 6 0
Malda	0 8 10	0 7 3
Darjeeling	1 2 4	1 8 2
Average for Rajshahi Divn.	1 0 0	0 12 5
	Rs. as. p.	Rs. as. p.
Dacca	0 7 7	0 3 0
Mymensingh	0 6 9	0 2 11
Faridpore	0 8 6	0 5 2
Bakarganj	1 8 9	1 0 8
Average for Dacca Divn.	0 11 11	0 6 11
	Rs. as. p.	Rs. as. p.
Chittagong	2 8 6	0 10 11*
Noakhali	1 10 5	0 11 6
Tipperah	0 13 2	0 6 2
Chittagong Hill Tracts	2 9 4	0 11 0
Average for Chittagong Divn.	1 14 4	0 9 10
Bengal	1 2 7	0 11 7

The figures are taken from the *Incidence of the Land Revenue Assessment on Area and Population in each district of Bengal*, published by the Bengal Government in 1940.

Those figures marked with an * are calculated by us from the figures given in columns 5 and 6 of the Table.

The Divisional averages calculated by us are unweighted averages. Similarly the unweighted averages of New Western Bengal including the districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling and of New Eastern Bengal are given below :

	Land Revenue Assessment per— *Acre of cultivated area*	*Head of population of fully assessed area*
	Rs. as. p.	Rs. as. p.
N. Western Bengal	1 13 9	0 15 0
N. Eastern Bengal	1 1 9	0 8 11
	0 12 0	0 6 1

The incidence per acre in New Western Bengal exceeds that in New Eastern Bengal by some 66 per cent.

J. Ploughs and Carts

The numbers of ploughs and carts in the several areas of Bengal before the War were :

Division	*Ploughs*	*Carts*
Burdwan	7,87,111	2,83,240
Presidency	8,00,299	2,42,346
West Bengal	15,87,410	5,52,586
Jalpaiguri	1,24,419	27,318
Darjeeling	15,836	3,485
New Western Bengal	17,27,665	5,56,389
Rajshahi	13,14,073	2,73,321
Dacca	12,00,124	44,798
Chittagong	4,90,588	5,722
East Bengal	30,04,785	3,23,891
Deducting the figures for Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling		2,90,801
New Eastern Bengal	28,64,530	

	Number of persons per— *Plough*	*Cart*
New Western Bengal	14·2	44·2
New Eastern Bengal	12·5	122·8

The paucity of carts in Eastern Bengal is due to want of roads, and frequency of rivers and canals. The relatively lesser number of ploughs in Western Bengal is due to greater industrialisation of this part of Bengal.

K. Boats and Steamers

Bengal is unique in India for the extent of its navigable waterways and for the number and variety of boats which ply upon them, but no estimate for the whole province exists from which the numbers can be calculated. At the time of the 1931 Census an attempt was made to obtain an *estimate* of their number. The figures given below make no pretence to completeness or accuracy, but they are interesting as the first attempted estimate of their kind.

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	West Bengal Burdwan	Presidency	Total
Dinghis, dugouts etc.	5,296	54,916	60,212
Others of less than 50 mds. capacity	427	23,754	24,181
Big boats maundage 50—1,000	318	5,097	5,415
1,000—3,000 and over	26	128	154
Maundage not known Big	70	1,985	2,055
" Small	742	16,013	16,755
"	8	960	968
Steamers	8	3	11
Launches			

	East Bengal Rajshahi	Dacca	Chittagong	Total
Dinghis, dugouts etc.	78,719	5,68,976	1,72,820	8,20,515
Others of less than 50 mds. capacity	17,747	5,049	1,512	24,308
Big boats maundage 50—1,000	2,599	10,718	2,472	15,789
1,000—3,000 and over	17	148	23	188
Maundage not known " Big	6,793	5,561	1,975	14,129
" Small	6,120	41,962	14,096	62,178
Steamers	11	51	24	86
Launches	..	8	1	9

Although the statistics are neither accurate, nor up-to-date—there has been a large destruction of bigger boats on account of the "Denial policy" during the threatened Japanese invasion—one particularly noticeable is that the larger the size of the boats, the disparity between Western and Eastern Bengal is reduced. In the case of *dinghies*, dugouts etc., the Eastern Bengal, is 13 or 14 times that of Western Bengal; in the case of big boats they are in virtual equality. In the case of steamers, the advantage passes to Western Bengal.

L. Agricultural Income-Tax

The agricultural income-tax as collected during 1945-46, is shown below. (The figures are taken from Starred Question No. 6 of the 3rd February, 1947).

Burdwan Division	Rs. 6,96,947
Presidency Division	,, 45,29,789
Jalpaiguri	,, 5,29,043
Darjeeling	,, 54,082
New Western Bengal	Rs. 57,09,861
New Eastern Bengal	,, 33,81,871
Bengal	Rs. 90,91,232

Out of the Rs. 92 lakhs collected, a large portion—Rs. 36,68,567 is collected or paid in Calcutta, for convenience of the assessees. A portion of this amount—estimated at *one-fifth* to *one-sixth* should be allotted to Eastern Bengal. The position then would be as :

N. Western Bengal : Rs. 57—Rs. 7 lakhs=Rs. 50 lakhs
N. Eastern Bengal : Rs. 34+Rs. 7 lakhs=Rs. 41 lakhs

or

N. Western Bengal : Rs. 57—Rs. 6 lakhs=Rs. 51 lakhs
N. Eastern Bengal : Rs. 34+Rs. 6 lakhs=Rs. 40 lakhs

M. Culturable Waste Lands

The total culturable waste-land in Bengal, outside Calcutta, Darjeeling and Chittagong Hill Tracts, measures 25,68,759 acres. The figure is obtained by adding the sub-division war-figures given in column 45 of Table V of Agricultural Statistics by plot to plot enumeration in Bengal 1944-45, compiled by Mr. H. S. M. Ishaque. The total given at p. 31 of the above 2,768,758·84 is incorrect.

The cultivable waste in the several divisions of Bengal is as follows :

Division	*Acres*	*Per cent*
Burdwan	5,59,713	21·8
Presidency	7,71,832	30·1
West Bengal	13,31,545	51·9
Rajshahi	6,77,906	26·4
Dacca	4,24,128	16·5
Chittagong	1,35,180	5·2
East Bengal	12,37,214	48·1
Bengal	25,68,759	100·0
Jalpaiguri	1,37,002	5·3
. . *New Western Bengal*	14,68,547	or 57·2
New Eastern Bengal ..	11,00,212	or 42·8

No wonder, therefore, that the communally-minded Muslim League Ministry would try to acquire this vast land at the nominal rate of Rs. 5 per acre, which is another name of expropriation ; and try to settle more than 1,50,000 Bihari Muslim refugees. The definition of "cultivable waste land" is such that it includes *char* lands.*

Survey and settlement operations, including the revisional settlement operations took place between 1908 and 1938. Comparing the figures then obtained and Mr. Ishaque's own *Crop Survey*, he makes the following observations :

"It would be noticed that while *aman* paddy cultivation has increased from 19,000,000 acres to 20,700,000 acres in round figures approximately 9 per cent increase—the area described as culturable waste has decreased from 5,300,000 to 4,000,000 acres in round figures—a decrease of 1,300,000 or approximately 24 per cent. The area under orchards has come down from 1,859,000 to 1,400,000 acres—a difference of about 460,000 giving a percentage of 25. Obviously, the population is making heavy inroads on the timber and wood stock of the province and what is still more dangerous on the fruit supply. This is a tendency which requires very serious attention.

The area under unculturable waste which includes the area covered by water has increased from 7,229,000 to 7,774,000 acres—an increase of 544,000 or approximately 7 per cent. More houses, more railways and roads, more tanks and so on, are the obvious explanations. There has been some increase in the area under sugar-cane, tobacco and other crops also but the increase is not particularly noteworthy."

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* See Sec. 13(1) of the *Bengal Acquisition of Waste Land Bill*,

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N. Cultivable but Uncultivated Land

In answer to a question by Maharaja Sris Chandra Nandy, the Government laid a table of cultivable but uncultivated land in Bengal, district by district, before the Legislative Assembly on the 18th February 1947. The table is summarised below :

Burdwan Division—7,58,000 acres :

Burdwan	127,000 acres
Birbhum	81,000 „
Howrah	12,000 „
Hooghly	34,000 „
Bankura	227,000 „
Midnapore	277,000 „

Presidency Division—7,29,000 acres :

24-Parganas	141,000 acres
Nadia	213,000 „
Murshidabad	75,000 „
Khulna	112,000 „
Jessore	188,000 „
Jalpaiguri	137,000 „
Darjeeling	..
New Western Bengal	1,624,000 acres
New Eastern Bengal	1,535,880 „

1947.

Thus of the total cultivable but uncultivated land 51·4 per cent lies in New Western Bengal, and 48·6 per cent in New Eastern Bengal.

The cultivable waste lands have increased from 14,68,000 acres to 16,24,000 in course of 2 years in Western Bengal—an increase of 10·6 per cent ; while in Eastern Bengal it was increased from 11,00,000 to 15,36,000, an increase of 43·6 per cent !! Is it due to the effects of Famine ? Or, is there some jugglery with figures for political purposes ?

O. Food Sufficiency

According to Mr. Ishaque "districts which have a per capita paddy acreage of ·5 acre would be self-sufficient or a little surplus. Those which have less would naturally be generally deficit." Applying this test, we find the following districts to be deficit areas :

New Western Bengal

1.	Murshidabad	·48 acre
2.	Howrah	·19 „
3.	Hooghly	·43 „

New Eastern Bengal

1.	Tipperah	·37 acre
2.	Noakhali	·45 „
3.	Chittagong	·36 „
4.	Faridpore	·36 „
5.	Dacca	·28 „
6.	Mymensingh	·49 „
7.	Pabna	·44 „

Four eminent British scientists of the delegation from the United Kingdom to the Indian Science Congress recently held in Delhi: (*left to right*) Sir Alexander Fleming, Sir David Thomson (age 86), Sir Harold Spencer-Jones and Sir Charles Darwin

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SIND AND THE INDIAN 'MUTINY' OF 1857

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Nearly ninety years have passed since India found itself enveloped by a 'Mutiny.' It was the last armed upheaval which sought the overthrow of the British in India. Scholars have debated for long as to the 'mutiny' being only of the Sepoys or of the people at large, and it is now a definite verdict of history that it was not a mere Sepoy Mutiny. This opinion was held at the time of the 'mutiny' as well, of course in certain quarters only—both in India and in England,—or else the 'Press' in London could never have given publicity to the following editorial on 1st August, 1857 :

> "If the disaffection is confined to the sepoys and the civil population are with us, what on earth does the Government of India mean by troubling us with its calls for European troops and its telegraphic alarms? There are men within its reach to raise ten armies from, if the people be only well affected to us as the Ministers and Directors state."

All the same, there is no denying the fact that every province in India was affected by the 'Mutiny.' And it is, therefore, interesting and instructive to recount the events of the day in the province of Sind.

The story offered by the Bombay *Times* to its readers on 2nd June, 1857, about the immediate cause leading to the clash between the sepoys and their masters does not seem to be a cock and bull story. It was confessed by those, who were in the know of things, on the floor of the House of Commons that, contrary to contract, some fat had been used in the cartridges for the Ensfield Rifle that were being manufactured at Dum Dum at the time. And if the *Clashee* was refused a *lotah* of water by the Brahmin Sepoy when he needed it most, simply on account of difference in 'caste,' he was not far wrong in informing the 'superior' sepoy that 'the caste' had its days numbered, for "in a few days you will have no caste, for you will have to bite cartridges greased with the fat of bullocks and pigs." The *Clashee* may have been mortally wounded by the refusal but he had in any way no right to give away an 'Imperial Secret' this wise. The Indian sepoys had already been complaining and seriously so, regarding their low stipends and growing responsibilities of policing the British Empire. This was the last straw. Low salaries, overseas service without due compensation and, above all, this serious infringement of their religion. The Brahmin was mortified by the Clashee's retort and the Muslim sepoy reacted in no lesser degree when he heard the news from his Brahmin companion-at-arms. It suddenly dawned on the Indian Sepoy, erroneously or otherwise, that the conversion mania had forced the Government to adopt this indirect procedure, since direct missionary appeal had hardly succeeded. The Indian Sepoy could hardly be supposed to brook this new treatment any longer. But he could not strike and succeed, unless a scheme of secret communication could be devised for a mutiny. Army discontent had come to the notice of the Indian authorities but its full implication had not yet dawned on them. Or else the officials of Fatehgarh would not have been disturbed by what they saw happening in their district in February 1857. Let the *Friend of India* report the incident :

> "One morning towards the end of the last month—February—the officials of Fatehgarh were all in commotion. From Thanna after Thanna there arrived little chappaties about two inches in diameter. It appeared that a few evenings previous a Chowkidar from Cawnpore ordered a Chowkidar in Fatehgarh to make and bake twelve chappaties as the one he showed. Two he was to retain, two more were to be given to each of the five nearest chowkidars. The order was obeyed and long there was running and baking of chappaties. The five obeyed orders also and distributed their messages to twenty-five and so the affair went on, the cakes sweeping over the district at a speed at which no Indian Post as yet travels. The wave has not stopped yet."

It seemed for a moment to all those that remained 'agog' that something was very wrong somewhere. And the *Friend of India* after relating the 'Chappati' incident wisely questioned :

> "Is there to be an explosion of feeling or only of laughter? Are the chappaties of the Fiery Cross or only an indigestible edible? A cause of revolt or only of the colic?"

But before the questions commanded the attention of the authorities, the 'Mutiny' had already commenced.

Sind was annexed to the British Empire in India in 1843, just a dozen and odd years before the Mutiny. The Sind annexation 'scandal' might suggest that the moment had arrived when the people could easily rise against the new Government which had without much legitimate cause deprived the Talpur Ameers of their power. But the situation in Sind at the time of the Mutiny was completely non-mutinous. The people at large were hardly prepared for the Mir-jo-Raj from which they had just escaped. The new Government, in contrast to the old, enjoyed the confidence of the populace. This confidence in an alien Government was definitely warranted by the changed atmosphere in Sind created by the British regime. Law and order had been restored. The agriculturist, the manufacturer and the commercial enterpriser had been encouraged to follow their occupations unhindered, nay the Government had directly aided their enterprise. Life in general had acquired a different aspect in Sind. And on this account any serious mishap was hardly anticipated in Sind, either by the Government or even by the people.

The first intimation of the Mutiny received by the Commissioner of Sind, Sir Bartle Frere, who returned to Karachi from 'Home' leave on the 18th May, was through a letter delivered to him at the landing place by a trooper. The letter was addressed to Mr. Neville Warren of the Sind Railway, stationed at Karachi. It was dated Lahore 13th May, informing him of the Mutiny :

> "As he read the letter," writes Bartle Frere's biographer Martineau, "he comprehended at a glance the full gravity of the situation, and took action without an hour's delay—action for the rescue of India as in the extremity of peril, not merely for the protection of his own province."

His first concern was loyal military aid to the Punjab. Punjab could not expect any succour from

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Bengal under the existing circumstances and the need for immediate aid to the Punjab was absolutely essential. Therefore, within a couple of hours of his landing, the Commissioner of Sind contacted the General Commanding at Karachi and discussed with him the despatch of troops to the Punjab. At this time the troops stationed in Sind were hardly enough for provincial requirements. The demands of the Persian expeditions had greatly depleted the strength of the forces stationed in Sind. There were four Bombay Infantry regiments, one Beloch Battalion, two Batteries of Native Artillery, one at Hyderabad and another at Shikarpur, one Regiment of the Sind Horse at Jacobabad and the sixth Irregular Bengal Cavalry. Among all these men of the army there were not more than 300 European soldiers. 'It was a great matter at such a time to diminish a force already too weak.' The General Commanding at Karachi was hesitant in sending any succour to the Punjab under the existing circumstances. But the Commissioner put some pep into him. He assured him of absolute tranquillity in the province. And in this, he was not over-estimating the situation. He placed all the facts before the Karachi General and convinced him of the correctness of his deductions. The people were now better governed and were more prosperous than they had ever been before. The British had done everything within their power to increase the welfare of the population. The people had every reason to be contented ; on which account Frere felt assured that there could be no discontent among the population, And he succeeded in bringing the General Commanding at Karachi to the decision of sending immediately one Beloch Battalion and a wing of the First European Fusiliers, 550 men in all, to Multan by the fastest conveyance at the moment—the Indus Flotilla. It was indeed a great step taken by the Officer Commanding, on the advice of the Commissioner of Sind. Any the slightest outbreak at the moment would have seriously disturbed the stability of British rule in Sind or for the matter of that in India. For, at that time, not only there was no European Artillery in Sind but there was hardly a gunner or a waggon for the few guns at Karachi. The Military situation was indeed serious in Sind. But the Officer-in-charge took his courage in both hands and all went well. Col. Hutt received immediate orders for training 90 men of the 2nd European Regiment for the purpose of forming an Artillery Battery. The military situation in Sind made the Commissioner also nervous and he, therefore, thought fit to address Sir James Outram and General John Jacob,—who were with the Persian Expeditionary Forces in Persia, where the success of British arms had been recently achieved,—enclosing a copy of the letter received by Mr. Warren from the Punjab apprising them of the mutiny and asking them to send down troops to Sind immediately for the rescue of the Punjab.

Hardly had the troops, sent by Sir Bartle to the Punjab, reached their destination when another important issue drew his attention. On account of the mutiny, direct communication between the Punjab and Calcutta had been cut off. A new short and safe line had to be immediately established to keep up the communication between the eastern province and Sind and the Punjab, shorter than the Punjab-Karachi-Bombay-Calcutta line. Frere took up the matter in right earnest. From the Punjab letters were to travel by Multan to Bahawalpoor to Jodhpur *via* Naseerabad and thence to Agra. There was to be another line from Jodhpur to Omerkot. Due to the mutiny at Naseerabad, the line was connected with Deesa as an additional security. The Punjab letters under the above arrangements had not to come to Sind, they passed on to Agra *via* Jodhpur. The Sind Dawk was to proceed *via* Omerkot to Agra and Calcutta through Balmeer and Jodhpur. Within a month's time the new double line was ready. All the same it had been no easy task. The new line of communication had to cross the desert. But the difficulty was surmounted quite easily by the Deputy Collector of the District, Lt. Tyrwhitt. Writing on June 19th, the Commissioner of Sind reported to the Governor of Bombay :

> "Lt. Tyrwhitt in spite of the excessive heat had through his local influence carried the line through to Balmeer, assisted by two Inspectors and the line is complete, I hope ere this to Jodhpur."

But for the existence of this new line of communication a despatch would have had to go the rounds at a time when the immediate transmission of intelligence was absolutely necessary.

With the outbreak of the mutiny, the head of the Imperial Government at Calcutta ordered a strict censorship over the Press, particularly the 'Vernacular Press.' Press censorship in Sind signalised the effect on the civic life as a result of the mutiny from the side of the Government. This was towards the end of June. Government at first ordered the Chief Oriental Translator in each province to submit in a translated form all the articles of a political nature appearing in the vernacular papers. Subsequently, however, the Press was informed of the severe notice the Government was to take of all unauthenticated and rash news appearing in the press. This step had been, it seems, dictated by all sorts of rumours appearing regarding the mutiny which in the opinion of the Government created an adverse effect on the population. Even in Sind rumours regarding little 'mutinies' at different stations were current and some of them found their way in the local press. For example the *Sind Kossid*, an English Bi-weekly of Karachi, during June 1857, reported twice of rumours of a 'mutiny' at Hyderabad and Shikarpur :

> "Rumour is abroad," it reported once, "but we know not how far it is true, that several of the 13th N. I. at Hyderabad have attempted to desert, but they failed and are now in custody, awaiting the doom they brought on themselves. Six men suspected to be emissaries from the Bengal disaffected have also we hear been apprehended and will be treated according to law. A portion of the Fusiliers en route to Mooltan have been detained in Hyderabad for assistance in the event of emergency."
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> "There has been a fearful panic in Shikarpore," wrote the *Sind Kossid* reporting news from its Sukkur letter of 18th June, "owing to a false rumour of disaffection among the Sowars at Jacobabad, quite equal to that at Simla, the ladies made a rush to this place in the utmost disorder. Some, I hear, in their fright did not wait to dress themselves, but started in dishabille as they were at the moment when the false alarm reached them."

But rumours cannot be controlled by Press censorship. That is the experience in modern times. Similar indeed, was the opinion held by the Press of the day. The Press resented the censorship in no unmeasured terms. The *Sind Kossid* of Karachi wrote editorially as follows on 7th July, 1857 :

> "Never was a gubernatorial act more ill-timed or ill-judged than that which has placed a tyrannical cen-

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ership over the Press of India. View it as we may we can but arrive at the conclusion that it is alike impolitic and unjust—impolitic, inasmuch as it has cramped the freedom of the press at a crisis unparalleled in the history of British India, when it behoved the Government to secure by all legitimate means the united support of every newspaper in the land; and cruelly unjust, for the Press has been made the victim and a scapegoat for the sins and shortcomings of others. From the peculiar circumstances under which this disgraceful Black Act was introduced and hurried through the Legislative Council, it is not too much to surmise that whilst the motely inhabitants of Calcutta were labouring under the combined hallucination of ferment and panic, General Funk invaded the Viceregal Palace and Legislative Hall and so terrified our Law-givers as to deprive them abruptly of their individual portion of the common sense and common justice and whilst in this distressing state of aberration, the dark deed was perpetrated by which the fourth State was deposed from its pedestal of freedom and independence and menaced like a recalcitrant slave to the car of bigotry and despotism. This is the last time probably that we may be permitted to give a candid and open expression of our sentiments on this blackest of Black Acts, for today we have been called to wait upon the Commissioner for the purpose of receiving his instructions as to the tone and style of our future leaders and it may be to hear our doom pronounced. Let the warning or death-knell come; we will survive the infliction of the Tyrant's rod, and rise from the tomb of affliction with revivified energy and determination to nail our colours to the mast and defend ourselves against all attempts to strike at the root of the Palladium of our Liberty."

Having received their instructions from the authorities, the Press in Sind as elsewhere proceeded very cautiously in its proceedings, but an Act hurriedly carried through rode so rough-shod over the rights of the Press that it was impossible for the most prudent of editors to escape the application of some sections of the 'Black Act.' The Censor's axe had but one fall in Sind and that on the most cautious periodical, the *Sind Kossid*. Let the Editor himself relate the incident :

"The Proprietor, Printer and Manager of the *Sind Kossid* were summoned on Tuesday last to attend the Magistrate's office to answer for 'an article' that appeared in our journal. The summons being for an 'immediate' attendance and the vague allusion to 'an article' put us about not a little—first to procure swift steeds to do ourselves the honour of 'immediate' attendance and secondly at looking over all the paper in question and wondering what article it might be that we were called upon to answer for. However the several parties attended, escorted by the editor who had fearlessly taken the brunt upon himself to answer all enquiries. The Magistrate having received the usual salutations from the men of the Press, proceeded, with paper in hand, to read a part of our Kotri Correspondent's letter regarding an incident that had taken place at Kotri. Having accomplished this task of reading aloud, the authority before whom we were standing, assured us that there was not the slightest truth in the statement and that such misstatements would oblige him 'to stop the Press'. He desired to be acquainted with the authority for the statement, which of course we declined to furnish under any circumstances. We on our part assured the Magistrate that the statement had been conveyed to us through a gentleman upon whose veracity we had the utmost confidence and that it found a place in our columns under the impression that it was correct, that we were sorry to find from the Magistrate's assurance it was not so and that we should be careful in future not to lay ourselves open to any such statements. The Magistrate exhorted again and reiterated his intention of 'stopping the Press', should any mis-statements again find their way into our paper."

In spite of all precautions the harrowing tales of the 'butchering' of the Europeans reached the Sind public through the newspapers of different provinces, particularly after the new Dak arrangements, which made the European community particularly nervous. With the intention of shaking off this 'nervousness and fear' and at the same time organising aid for the 'distressed,' a public meeting of the European community was convened at Karachi under the Presidentship of Sir Bartle Frere, the Commissioner of Sind, on 29th of June, 1857. The 'European inhabitants of Karachi' duly met in the rooms of the General Library. Upwards of 60 persons 'representing all ranks of the community from the Commissioner and General down to subordinates of low degree' were present at the meeting. To the delightful surprise of the gathered gentlemen, since such an honour was never anticipated, several ladies also attended the meeting, certainly adding 'by their presence to the thrilling interest of the occasion.' The atmosphere was indeed tense. At last Sir Bartle broke the ice. He afforded the audience a brief and yet complete and up-to-date account of the mutiny as culled from official reports received by him. He, at the same time, assured those gathered there that they did not need to be panicky since there was not the least probability of an outbreak in the province. This greatly relieved the community, and the meeting dispersed after passing two important resolutions. The first one, proposed by General Scott and seconded by Rev. W. Carr, expressed their sympathy with the sufferers, and the second referred to the raising of a Fund for their relief, for which a Committee of the following five gentlemen was appointed—'a committee guaranteeing non-appropriation of funds and their proper expending': Dr. Grievson, Major Goldsmid, Captain Scott, A.D.C., Lt. Macdonald, and Mr. Neville Warren. But before dispersion upwards of Rs. 3,000 had been subscribed. Relief collections in Sind were not restricted to the one Fund referred to above. Morning and evening collections at the Church, realizations from the sale of certain books, spontaneous donations from Parsis and others went to swell the total collections for the mutiny sufferers. In addition to financial help, some citizens of Sind offered prayers for the success of British arms. Christians and Parsis, Hindus and Mussalmans organised special prayers for the success of the established Government. September 4, 1857, was officially declared a "Day of Humiliation," when all the offices remained closed.

As the days rolled by new problems arose in reference to the mutiny which were all manfully faced by the Commissioner of Sind. For example, as a result of his letter to Sir James Outram and General John Jacob, at that time with the British forces in the Gulf, these gallant officers realizing the gravity of the situation, despatched immediately some troops to Sind and Sir Bartle never expecting military aid so soon had made no provision for their stay in his province nor had he undertaken arrangements for their despatch northward so that in June and July Karachi was flooded by troops and many of them were soon expected. A lot of ordnance and other military stores got accumulated at Karachi and the existing mode of

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nication could hardly cope with the task of carrying troops as well as stores to the Punjab, to make way for more at Karachi. But Frere remained undaunted. And his assistants also shouldered the responsibility equally well. A camel-train was organized from Karachi to Multan to supplement communication by the Indus Flotilla. A distance of 500 miles was sought to be covered in ten days. For this purpose camel-train-stations were erected at a distance of every 20 miles where about 60 camels were stationed at each place. Thus the train secured a refreshed set of camels every 20-25 miles which made conveyance quick and efficient. The load carried by each camel being 320 lbs. on an average, also made it possible to despatch sufficient help and men and munitions to the Punjab, which was essential and requisite early in September. The first Camel-train from Karachi carried 300 tons of military stores to the Punjab which proved to be of great avail at the time. For the success of the new mode of conveyance most of the credit goes to Col. Hutt, who secured the requisite number of camels by contract with Murad Khan, a Pathan resident of Karachi.

Additional aid to the Punjab seemed necessary on which account Sir Bartle Frere ordered the recruitment of two Beluchi Regiments. Though these Regiments were named Beluchi, the men were all Sindhis. Both the regiments 'were to be raised at Shikarpore.' The regiments were organised under the superintendence of Capt. Hewett who had recently resigned from his appointment of Deputy Collector of Larkana, on account of Civil duties being uncongenial to his taste. Later on, a Beloch Battalion was raised at Karachi under Capt. Johnstone. Service in these new regiments became very popular as appears evident from the numerous applications for enrolment. It may here be mentioned that some influential gentlemen also did their best to help the Government in facing the odds. For example, Mooradkhan of Karachi, referred to above, made a gesture of his loyalty to Government by offering to furnish horses for the 90 men that were being trained at Karachi for the artillery. Seth Naomal Hotchand Bhojwani volunteered to furnish the Government with a loyal and sturdy force of 3,000 strong from Africa, if the Government provided the conveyance to bring them to India.

Apart from all the above efforts it became necessary to prohibit the sale of arms and ammunition and the export of certain materials. In July 1857, the Commissioner of Sind issued proclamations prohibiting 'the sale of fire-arms, ammunitions and military stores to the native population' throughout the province, without previously obtaining the permission of the Military Officer Commanding the station or the highest Magisterial authority as also, "the transmission of lead, sulphur, salt-petre, gunpowder or any military stores through any part of the province."

But as the days pressed on, the local European community began to feel suspicious regarding the fidelity of the Indian troops stationed in Sind. A petition signed by several European citizens and above all by a clergyman was addressed to the Commissioner. In it the applicants asked for arms to defend themselves in case of a rise, which was being suspected at the time. Sir Bartle realized that the people were unnecessarily losing their grip over the situation. He explained to them the implications of the step suggested by them and assured them that if they were given guns, etc., the consequences might not be very happy. He asked them not to be panicky and assured them that all would go well with them. He "abstained from calling for volunteers," he explained, "or appointing a place of refuge from a conviction that such measures only embarrass the military and promote panic without affording much real security." He further made clear to them that at the moment it was not possible to have volunteer guards as the people were busy in their daily duties, and family-ties made it incumbent on them to remain at home for all the time they remained free.

> "He advised the applicants to keep to their own houses and calm by reason, religion and example the fears of their families and to provide themselves with such arms as they could raise and in case of a disturbance to defend their houses till the aid which could not be long in coming should arrive."

But in spite of these soothing suggestions, the Europeans and the Parsis were all the time ill-at-ease. For, reported Frere to the Governor of Bombay on 29th August, 1857 :

> "It is dangerous to go near the houses of Parsis and English Clerks after dark, for the inmates are armed to the teeth and are apt to explode like a box of rockets".

To allay their fears, the Commissioner of Sind issued particular instructions to local officials to apprehend all suspicious characters in their jurisdictions, for some might have filtered into the province from disaffected areas, to create trouble in Sind. And in addition he ordered a careful scrutiny of all that appeared in the Indian periodicals of the province and authorised severe measures against the publishers for objectionable matter. He, therefore, could confidently report to Bombay, "I have taken measures which will, I hope, prevent the publication of any mischievous articles in this province."

But the premonitions of the European community were not exactly unfounded. Trouble seems to have been brewing at Shikarpore, Hyderabad and Karachi and the plan was executed, however imperfectly, in September, 1857 :

> "The plan of the mutineers in Sind," writes the biographer of Sir Bartle, "so far as they had any definite plan, seems to have been to seize the fort at Hyderabad and make it a rallying place like Delhi, then to cause simultaneous outbreaks at Karachi, Shikarpur, Jacobabad, Multan, etc."

At this time Frere could command a European force of less than 500 British bayonets including the sick-men and the recruits for the whole province. Of these, only 350 were effective workers. And yet all went well for the Government. The first attempt at a mutiny was scheduled to take place at Hyderabad. Of it the authorities were, however, informed in time and the situation was saved. The Subedar-Major to Lt. Batiscombe informed his commander of some plotting going on among the men of the 'Battery.' Brigadier Morris was informed of the situation and the energetic measures he adopted, 'quite foiled' the plans of the mutineers. A parade of the Battery was suddenly ordered at 4. After the Brigadier had inspected the gunners, they were disarmed and their swords taken from them. The guns were removed to the Fort where the European inhabitants of the town had been hurriedly removed. The native guard of the Fort was replaced by an English guard. Lt. Merriman, the engineer, put the Fort in a 'complete state of

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repair.' There remained no cause for alarm. The authorities had acted with such promptitude that the mutineers were taken by surprise. The Commissioner of Sind was informed of the situation by a special messenger. On receipt of the information, at the unearthly hour of 2 a.m., Sir Bartle went and woke up Col. Hutt, commanding the station, and asked him to despatch immediately sixty newly enrolled artillery-men and 55 of the 1st Fusiliers to Hyderabad under Lt. Harris. Five men were put under custody for their mutinous conduct at Hyderabad,—one Havildar, one Lance-Naique and three privates of the Battery. September 12 was the date fixed for the massacre, but by the 10th all was over for the mutineers. A Court Martial assembled to try Havildar Coombersing and others for mutiny. Finding all guilty, the Court Martial sentenced the Havildar to death by blowing from the gun, and the rest to transportation for life. On the following day all the troops at Hyderabad assembled at the parade grounds for the purpose of blowing off the Havildar from a six-pounder gun. "The Havildar lashed his back to the muzzle, port fire lighted, ready, fire—and away he went fullsweep, a portion of his backbone nearly knocking the Deputy Collector off his camel." The Military aid from Karachi arrived in time to aid the execution of the sentence on the mutineers. Within a few days' time six more of the mutineers were secured and tried,—one Jemadar, two privates of the Battery, a private and two camp followers of the 13th N.I., and they met the same end, being found guilty.

> "A dreamy but dark suspicion of the fidelity of the 21st Regiment N. I. stationed at Karachi had for sometime been entertained in consequence of a number of Bengalees belonging to the corps."

The suspicion was confirmed on Sunday night—13th September when by 11 p.m. Major McGrigor was convinced by the independent testimony of a soldier and two Oudh Brahmin Indian officers that the Regiment he was commanding was in a disaffected state and intended to strike at 2 a.m.—just after about 3 hours. One of the informers furnished further facts regarding the scheme of the mutineers. He said that a man from the 21st N.I. was to be sent to the 14th N.I. and another to the Mahomedans to seek their co-operation. According to plan, the 21st intended to capture the treasury and proceed to Hyderabad. The time was too short but no complaints about it could improve the situation. Delay was indeed dangerous, McGrigor lost no time in getting ready and communicated the information to the Brigade authorities. Without a moment's delay the whole of the European troops of the station were assembled and marched to the scene of the anticipated revolt. Col. Stiles, the 'beau ideal' of the British soldier, was the first on his own parade ground, where he quietly and yet promptly turned out every man of his gallant corps without the sound of a bugle, and so perfectly were his orders complied with that the men were dressed, armed and on their way to the lines of the 21st, before any one became aware of their movements, although they passed through the most thickly populated part of the Cantonment Bazar. The movements of the 3rd Troop Horse Brigade were also as prompt. In an incomparably short space of time after the 'Boots and Saddles' trumpet they rushed to their horse-lines and with their horses attached to the guns and waggons were ready for the fray with all the spirit and alacrity of the best men in the army. Indeed they overtook their European companions and soon fell in their rear.

Col. Hutt, commanding the station, was the first to arrive at the parade ground of the 21st and he 'lent the whole weight of his conspicuous ability towards the accomplishment of the task' in hand. The Brigadier of the station, Col. Lowth, had early busied himself in putting into operation the plan of action against the prospective mutineers which had already been prepared and matured, and he and his staff did a very neat job within practically a very short time. Let it be said to his credit that 'no military Commander could have frustrated the designs of an enemy with more tact and credit than the Brigadier of Karachi.' On arrival at the parade ground of the 21st N.I., the 2nd Europeans were quickly and yet quietly drawn up in line with two artillery guns on each flank. "The whole force then loaded the Artillery with double charges of grape." Thus after full preparation sounded the assembly of the 21st. It was after considerable reluctance that many of the infantry-men turned out, which induced Col. Hutt to order two other nine-pounders for any emergency. Sergeant Major Roheltom was deputed to fetch the extra guns. However, before these guns arrived, the sepoys of the 21st had fallen-in by Companies at quarter distance column. The roll was then called and after a short address from Major McGrigor, order to 'File Arms' was given. The order was immediately obeyed without the slightest hesitation or murmur. The European Infantry were put in charge of the arms. After the disarming, a strict search of the sepoys' huts was made for arms that might have been hidden there. But for a few swords nothing dangerous was discovered. A careful examination of the muskets filed up however revealed that nearly forty of the fire-lockers were loaded. The 'Arms' were then gathered and packed on the carts brought from the Commissariat Department for the purpose. They were sent to the arsenal under the escort of the European Troops. After an address from their General, the men of the 21st were dismissed to their quarters. The whole affair was over by 4 a.m.

During the time that the 21st were being disarmed, the men of the 14th N. I. were also ordered into assembly on their own ground. These men were not disarmed since there was nothing against them and the officers were certain of their loyalty. They were, however, allowed to return to their quarters only after the 21st's disarming had been completed. So much were the men of the 14th N. I. trusted that they, along with the 2nd Europeans, were to furnish all the guards and duty-men of the station and the men of the 21st were so degraded as to be considered unfit and undesirable even as orderlies.

The Commissioner and Major Goldsmid were at Clifton. At about 2 a.m., an unearthly hour, the sound of horse galloping towards the bungalow was heard. Captain Johnstone had come to inform Sir Bartle of the mutiny of the 21st N. I. and within a few minutes, the head of the executive government in Sind was aware of the critical situation of the station. Without much delay he proceeded to the town along with Major Goldsmid and Col. Johnstone and inspected the Native Lines. He found the situation satisfactory and fully under control. The affair had been so neatly brought to a close that the civilian population had almost slept through it. "So quietly was the whole managed that the majority of the townsfolk were not aware of the

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military movements until the next morning after gun fire."

Though the mutiny of the 21st N. I. had been successfully averted, the European community was alarmed and was in a terrible state of excitement. To ease the tension satisfactory plans had to be put into operation, to restore confidence among the people. The interests of the European community particularly were sought to be safeguarded. The principal roads of the Cantonment were lined in the twinkling of an eye with a complete chain of foot and horse patrol who kept open the communication and prevented stragglers or bad characters from perambulating the streets or looting the deserted bungalows. At the very first symptom of danger, the capacious mess room of the 2nd Light Infantry (European) was fixed as the rendezvous for the families of the Europeans. And thither repaired the whole of the European population. The authorities did not only apprise timely the Europeans living in camp, of the danger individually, but many of the Civil Officers were engaged in assisting the families of the Europeans who wanted to remove to the mess-room. But some of the families preferred to remain at home, presumably on account of the rendezvous fixed being considered a very poor place for protracted defence, however otherwise comfortable it might have been. But here the people had remained uninformed. As the *Sind Kossid* wrote :

> "The style in which the Artillery Lines were protected was but imperfectly known, otherwise a much greater number would have fled there for refuge. Although six guns had been despatched with the infantry and a splendid body of Light Cavalry formed from the 3rd Troop, yet fort men of the volunteer Battery armed with muskets, bayonets and thirty rounds of ball cartridge, remained to protect the Quarter Guard and the gunshed, where four guns of heavy calibre were placed in position and loaded for instant use."
>
> "In this hospital hall, the European families found a cordial welcome and were treated with that kindness which is characteristic of the gallant corps who occupy it. Though the ladies behaved with calmness and firmness that could hardly have been expected of them under the existing circumstances, the authorities very wisely kept them acquainted constantly through Officers and orderlies of what was going on to quieten the storm of fear that lay behind the calmed countenences of the European families. Indeed, 'the successive satisfactory reports tended very greatly to soothe the excited feelings of the fair sex.' On the other hand, civilians in Camp turned out nobly armed to the teeth with guns, pistols and swords."

Though the affair of the 13th September had been well-managed by the authorities and the Europeans and their families were more than safe, still the people in camp remained much excited and the Government felt itself called upon to adopt further measures to restore the fullest confidence of the population. The Commissioner of Sind received a representation from the European residents in the 'native' town for a sufficient supply of arms for personal defence. Sir Bartle assured the applicants that the needful would be done immediately. In addition a Volunteer Corps of all the able-bodied European gentlemen of Karachi Camp was organised under the superintendence of Major Goldsmid and Captain Johnstone. This Volunteer Corps was raised for "the purpose of performing the duty of mounted patrols at night in Camp." They could thus relieve the European troops and keep them in a state of efficiency in case of emergency. The Commissioner of Sind while issuing the circular for the raising of the Volunteer Corps by the desire of Major General Scott, C. B. Commanding the station, was good enough to suggest that "for the present none should offer themselves who have family ties which render it a primary duty to remain at home and protect their household." "The Kurrachee Volunteer Guards made their appearance on the sands of Scinde," reported the *Sind Kossid,* having assembled in public-review order, on Wednesday evening, 7th October, 1857. "The spectators were delighted with their movements and the parade displayed by each gallant volunteer, fearlessly galloping to and fro and eventually to his respective martial abode, ready to fall out at a moment's notice in the event of a row—of which happily there is not much likelihood—nothing daunted by the severe fatigues of their late incomparable manoeuvres." The improvement attained after a short period of their first public appearance, by the Karachi Volunteer Guards was mainly due to their efficient instructor, Riding-master Sergeant Hall of the 3rd Troop. "To him alone all praise is due for the speedy advancement of his pupils in Equitation Drill & C," wrote the *Sind Kossid*. But before the end of October, the Volunteer Corps was disbanded after they had been thanked in highly complimentary terms by the Commissioner of Sind and the General Commanding the station, for "their disinterested execution in contributing in a great measure to allay public excitement and fears."

In addition to supplying arms to European residents of Karachi organising a Volunteer Corps and keeping loyal troops in a state of efficiency, the authorities fixed the Arsenal as a place of rendezvous in case of any further symptoms of danger, when circumstances should cause the European Residents of Karachi to vacate their own houses. These measures more than amply succeeded in allaying the fears of the European community and restoring their confidence.

Though the situation at Karachi was brought well under control within a few hours of the morning of the 14th of September 1857, and there arose hardly any cause for alarm after that date, the attention of the authorities had to be directed to securing the twenty-six men of the 21st N. I. who were found missing on the parade-ground early on 14th September. The Karachi Police, 150 strong, and four Companies of drilled infantry under Major Marston, assisted by Captain Pirie and Khan Saheb Ghoolam Hussain, the Police Adjutant, were put in charge of the pursuit and within a week's time brought in or otherwise accounted for all of them. The 2nd Europeans while returning to their quarters from the ground early that morning escorted six sepoys of the 21st N. I. made prisoners on the ground for having been found with their pieces loaded. Four of the deserters were captured in the precincts of the Camp on the evening of the 14th instant. Within three days' time eleven more were discovered effecting their escape near the Hubb river and brought to the Quarter Guard of the 2nd Europeans, where all the mutineers were to be lodged. By 18th September four more of the conspirators were secured and three died as the result of Police firing in capturing them. Still the arch-conspirator Colour-Havildar Ramdeen Pandey and two others remained to be apprehended. At last these three were also secured on the 20th. Ramdeen Pandey and his two associates having left

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their quarters went in search of camels. After hiring these animals they set out on their journey towards Ahmed Khan's Tanda, whither they were pursued by the police. The villagers finding their forward march of no avail due to the Police chase, induced them to give up their arms which at last they did, after which the Police seized them. The arch-conspirator and his two associates were armed with their muskets and a quantity of loose ammunition.

Now that the deserters had been arrested, the excitement after the disarming of the 21st gave place to active discussion regarding the punishment that ought to be meted out to the prisoners. It was universally anticipated that the proceedings against the deserters 'would be prompt and decisive,' since the guilt of these mutineers could easily be proved. A Court Martial consisting of all Europeans *viz.* Major Bourchier of H. M. 57th Regiment as President and Major Blake of the Horse Artillery, Capts. Styke of the 2nd European Light Infantry, Scott of 21st Regiment Native Infantry, Herne of the 1st Fusiliers and Church, Deputy Judge Advocate General, as members; Lt. Elliot of the 21st N. I. serving as the interpreter, met on the 16th and 17th September to try ten of the deserters on the following counts :

(1) Desertion from their Regiment on the night of 13th with their arms and not returning till brought back by the Police.
(2) Being captured with their arms and offering resistance to the Police which had been deputed to secure them.

"The very first day of the Court Martial held out the surest hope to the community—of course European—that vengeance swift, summary and condign would be effected on the traitors," since the Executive Engineer received instructions on the forenoon that day, to erect gallows in the centre of the maidan opposite the Post Office, capable of swinging 8 or 10 men at a time. On this account large crowds began pouring in on the ground from every part of the Cantonment and the 'Native' town, particularly after 4 p.m. But they had to return home disappointed when it became known that the Court Martial had risen for the day at 5-30 p.m. having convicted only two, the trial of the rest being postponed to the morrow. Wild rumours were afloat in the Bazar as a result of this 'apparent vacillation' on the part of the Court Martial and "direct forebodings of the coming danger were freely entertained" by many people. It was felt that 'the Sircar was afraid to punish the prisoners.' On this account many a European in camp passed a sleepless night.

"The night passed over quietly," reported the *Sind Kossid*, "and although many kept watch and ward, there was nothing to break through its stillness and disturb the rest of the lightest sleeper in Camp." On the 17th instant a general anxiety was shown to ascertain the result of the Court Martial but it was not until the afternoon that it became known that all the prisoners had been sentenced to death. A parade of the whole of the troops was ordered at half past four in the afternoon, but by that time the whole of the maidan was covered with spectators. The ten mutineers were brought to the ground under the escort of 2nd Europeans, under strict guard, commanded by Lt. Phillips. Within a short time gathered at the maidan could be seen the 3rd troop Horse Artillery, the 2nd Europeans, the 14th and 21st N. I. along with the city and Cantonment Police with a strong detachment of mounted sowars.

The Artillery and the guns were placed in position immediately in front of the scaffold so as to command the 21st N. I. who were drawn up immediately behind it. The cavalry portion of the Artillery, the 2nd Europeans, and the 14th N. I. occupied each flank, whilst the public kept the ground clear in rear of the troops. Shortly before these arrangements were completed, the General of the Division accompanied by the whole of the Divisional and Brigade staff arrived and occupied the centre of the square that had been formed. After the prisoners had been escorted by the European Guard to the front of their corps, immediately under the scaffold, the Brigade Major, Capt. Leckie, in a loud and clear tone of voice, read out the charges and the findings of the Court Martial, which were then interpreted in a very distinct manner by Major Goldsmid. Seven of the prisoners were sentenced to be hanged and three to be blown away from the guns. Those latter were marched to the right of the scaffold and the seven were immediately led up the ladder and placed on the drop, their hands having been tied behind. Then the noose was sharply placed round their necks. Without even blind-folding them, the 'native' hangmen having descended, a signal was given at which the prop supporting the drop was withdrawn. Their death was momentary, not a struggle being made by any save one. Whilst there was many a palpitating heart in the large body assembled, there was a symptom of righteous satisfaction in every European countenance. The three who had witnessed their comrades executed were then marched off a short distance towards the open plain, whither the whole of the European and 'native' troops had taken up a new position. Three Artillery guns were then moved up to the front and unlimbered and the mutineers lashed with their backs to the muzzle. Everything being ready, Major Blake gave a signal, by waving his hand, the gunners applied a quick match and one after another, the mutineers were blown to pieces. Their remains were immediately collected by sweepers and carried away to a pit at some distance. After this those who had been hanged were cut down, and taken away in the same manner. "The different regiments were then marched home to their respective barracks. Thus ended one of the most awful and imposing spectacles, the people of Kurrachee or the troops had ever beheld."

The subsequent Court Martials were comprised by all Indian Officers and according to the *Sind Kossid*, they seemed to be bitter against the deserters—more than their British brethren-in-arms. But for five prisoners, all were sentenced to be hanged from the gallows. These five were awarded the penalty of "transportation beyond seas for the term of their natural lives." The hanging took place in the same "style" as in the case of the first batch, without any exceptional incident except one. 'One of the prisoners insisted on salaming every one from the General downward,' before he was to be pinioned and he had to be allowed that indulgence. Ramdeen Pandey, the ring-leader, was blown away from the guns on 23rd September, and the 'transportation' prisoners were marched off to the Bunder under heavy guard to be embarked on the *Chusan* proceeding to Bombay.

About the time that Colour-Havildar Ramdeen Pandey of the 21st N. I. met his end, there was a semblance of a mutiny in the 16th N. I. at Shikarpur.

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The Artillery-men took possession of the guns at midnight and forming themselves into a square commenced firing grape-shot in all directions at random. The Police were at once on the spot but from the peculiar quadrangular situation taken up by the mutineers and shooting as they were in all directions, it was not possible for the police to do anything effective till 4 a.m., when the mounted police made a gallant charge at the mutineers. The charge was exceptionally successful inasmuch as the police were able to seize the guns and secure several prisoners, though they had to cut down a few before they could effect their capture. Two of the Artillery men were killed and the Jemadar seriously wounded. The mounted police lost three of their men in the fray. On examining the Jemadar, it was elicited that some cavalry was expected to join the Shikarpur Artillery that midnight and jointly they were to carry out their designs. The prompt action of Col. Stewart, the Collector and Col. Montgomery, the Police Chief, out-witted the mutineers and nipped the trouble in the bud. But the firing of cannon at midnight had alarmed the European residents who, one and all, fled to the Jail, where they sought shelter till late next morning. Twenty-five of the mutineers were caught on 23rd September by Mir Ali Moorad of Khairpur's son, who were trying to induce his people to rebel against the Government. And yet that was not the end of the Shikarpore episode. The camp at Sukkur, on the night of the 23rd, was in a state of excitement owing to some of the deserters coming there from Shikarpore. The mounted police were out all night and managed to catch one man. The others, it seems, crossed to the opposite bank. A detachment of the Royal Fusiliers was sent from Sukkur to Shikarpore early in the morning on the 24th September. A Court Martial on 9th and 10th October tried four privates of the Golundazee and the Subedar and the Havildar of the 16th N. I. for mutinying at Shikarpore and were sentenced to death without exception. The execution of the sentence took place on the 10th in presence of the troops of the station, when the men of the Golundazee were blown away from the guns, the Subedar and Havildar being hanged from the gallows.

Soon after the mutineers at Delhi had been surrounded, the Frontier Tribes of Upper Sind planned their rising. Their leader Durriah Khan, the Chief of the Jakranis, was to come to Jacobabad at 5 p.m. and his co-worker Dil Murad, the Chief of the Khojas, was to follow at 10 a.m., the following day, when they had decided to kill Major Mereweather and his officers who were to sit in *Durbar* on that day. But at 5-30 p.m., half an hour after his arrival Durriah Khan was on his way to Sukkur, heavily ironed, to be placed on board the steamer lying ready to start for Karachi. Two days later Dil Murad Khan, who had made off for the hills on hearing the fate of Durriah Khan, met the same fate and the outbreak was thus prevented.

By 16th October, the following news items relating to the capture of Nana Saheb and the death of the King of Delhi taken from Mooltan papers, announced in Sind the beginning of the end of the Indian Mutiny of 1857. "They have it in Camp and on good authority that the King of Delhi is no more and that Nana Saheb has been secured in the neighbourhood of Meerut."

In fact, there was no serious trouble in Sind during the mutiny.

Works Consulted : 1. *Memoirs* of Seth Naomal Hotchand, C.S.I.; 2. Martineau's *Biography of Sir Bartle Frere* ; 3. *Sind Kossid,* File for 1857.

———:O:———

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review.* But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA.: *By Jawaharlal Nehru. The Signet Press, Calcutta. Price Rs. 11.*

This book contains what is perhaps the clearest exposition of the working of a patriot's mind that we have seen in print. This is no treatise on the History of India, indeed historical scholars or students of politics may even find errors and omissions. But just as an artist's conception of a landscape may omit much that meets the camera's eye, and yet render on canvas a picture that transcends reality, so may a finely tuned mind transpose on paper, through the medium of the printed word, the entrancing story of the life-history of a people through the ages, omitting much that transmitted no stimulus to the author's mind and throwing into bold relief many details that might be minor from the scholar's point of view and yet be capable of creating much inspiration. Such a story, like the potrait of an artist by himself, is doubly revealing. This last is true indeed of the book under review, as it discovers before the reader's eye the inner personality of Jawaharlal Nehru as well as an intimate vision of the India he loves.

Few amongst the leaders of men, even in this modern age, could claim a gifted pen, and fewer still the vision and clarity of exposition of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The transparent candour and honesty of his statements is clearly apparent even where his criticism is stinging. These qualities have lent an absorbing interest to the narratives that collectively go to form the body of the book. There are few inhibitions that obstruct his analysis of cause and effect and where there are mistakes and omissions they are evidently due to lack of data and assistance during the period of compilation, which was done while he was in prison.

The greatest value of the book lies in its attempt at demonstrating to the world the moral basis on which rests the Cause of the Indian National Congress. Whe

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is the heritage of the Peoples of India, and how they were shaping their own destiny until they were thwarted and deprived in the past and what are their aspirations in the present and the future is amply put before the reader in its pages.

The author says: "And this panorama of the past gradually merged into the unhappy present, when India, for all her past greatness and stability, was a slave country, an appendage of Britain, and all over the world terrible and devastating war was raging and brutalizing humanity. But that vision of five thousand years gave me a new perspective and the burden of the present seemed to grow lighter. The hundred and eighty years of British rule in India were just one of the unhappy interludes in her long story; she would find herself again; already the last page of this chapter was being written. The world also will survive the horror of today and build itself anew on fresh foundations."

Keeping this prospect in view, the reader will find much inspiration, often enchantment, in the perusal of *The Discovery of India*, as also very satisfying food for thought.

K. N. C.

ROLLAND AND TAGORE: *Published by Visva-Bharati, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This year on January 29th Romain Rolland, had he lived, would have reached his eighty-first year. During the first world-war Rolland sought the co-operation of Rabindranath in organizing an international group of writers and thinkers dedicated to the cause of world-peace.

Rolland's biographical studies of Mahatma Gandhi, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda opened a new chapter in the understanding of the East by the West. Rolland was a voluminous letter-writer and fortunately for us some of his valuable correspondence with Rabindranath were preserved in the Rabindra-Bhawan, Santiniketan. Those letters were carefully edited and translated from original French into English by Alex Aronson and Krishna Kripalani. They added moreover sixteen pages of notes to clarify the various problems discussed in these letters.

The book is a welcome edition not only to the lovers of Rabindranath's works but also to the international group founded after the death of Rolland, entitled "The Friends of Romain Rolland," at No. 89, Boulevard Montparnasse, Paris. We request all Indian friends to send their copies of correspondence of Rolland which they happen to possess.

KALIDAS NAG

SHUJA-UD-DAULA, Vol. II: *By Dr. A. L. Srivastava, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. Minerva Book Shop, Anarkali, Lahore. Pages 425. Price Rs. 12.*

By publishing his third part of the three Nawabs of Oudh Dr. Srivastava has completed an enormous undertaking of great significance to Indian history. This volume covers the latter half of Shuja-ud-daula's reign (1765-1775) and presents the enlivening story of how India's eastern provinces passed under the British dominion. The steadfast grasp of British policy guided by selfish ambition is here minutely traced with fresh evidence unearthed after a patient labour of years. The volume opens with the celebrated grant of the Diwani of Bengal which Clive dexterously secured from the Emperor thereby changing the fate of entire India. "Oudh was destined to be a main training ground of the Co.'s Agents in India who gradually evolved more or less a permanent policy towards the Indian powers after coming into contact with Shuja-ud-daula." The direct result of this change was that the Emperor Shah Alam deserted the British cause and sought the protection of the Marathas. This thrilling chapter is for the first time here unfolded on the basis of the original and revealing correspondence. Shuja's capacity and character are justly appraised.

While going through this narrative of Oudh, the reader cannot help thinking of the fate of the other three Nawabs, *viz.*, those of Bengal, Arcot and Haiderabad, and entertaining the painful reflection of India losing its independence mainly through these four Nawabs. Instead of remaining loyal to the Emperor, they chose to break away from their allegiance and seek foreign support for self-protection, thereby completing the political degradation of the Indian continent.

G. S. SARDESAI.

OUR BEGGAR PROBLEM: HOW TO TACKLE IT: *Edited by Dr. J. M. Kumarappa. Padma publications Ltd., Bombay. 1945. Pp. vii+294.*

The book consists of eleven chapters and four appendices contributed by various authors. The questions discussed range from a classification of different types of beggars, their mental traits, the root causes of beggary and beggars as a menace to public health to schemes for the organization of relief and a discussion of measures necessary for the total eradication of beggary, both in its short-term and long-term aspect.

The articles have all been contributed by competent scholars, and they bring out forcibly, and perhaps for the first time systematically, the appalling condition of our million and a half beggars in India. It is a sore which lies heavy upon the body politic, and one soon begins to feel that mere tinkering with the problem will never do. Private relief is very often wasted, and the only solution lies in an intelligent public, *i.e.* corporate effort. The editor has taken pains to see that suitable steps of a practical nature are recommended; but in the end he feels that it is ultimately through a radical reorganization of our national economic life that lasting cure can be effected. But that should be no reason why we should neglect temporary measures of reform and rehabilitation. We cannot refrain from quoting the last two paragraphs of the book.

> Reviewing the problem of India's pauperism and dependency we find that it is mainly due to the cultural stagnation and the social drift of the people and the adoption of Western industrialism. Old institutions are broken and thrown into disuse without new ones being built in accordance with Indian thought and life. Western industrialism has come to us with its slums, low-incomes, accidents, occupational diseases, uncertainty of employment and superannuation. The decay of agricultural occupations, of home and subsidiary industries, has further accentuated the problem of poverty and dependency. Decency, health, mutual aid, security have all been overwhelmed and lost in the whirlpool of competition. The family is splintered like glass on the rock of economic insufficiency. Irresponsibility and desertion are creating the criminal and the beggar. The legislators are inactive, paralyzed by the immensity of our social problems. In the meanwhile all these gathering subsocial currents are disturbing the placidity of Indian life.
>
> Under these circumstances we can ill-afford to lag behind in providing social security for the less fortunate in our country but we cannot stop there. Social security is only a half-way house. We have to strike at the root cause of our social problems—the economic system. The present war has made it clear beyond a shadow of doubt that there is something radically wrong in our economic order. The same causes which bring about the unspeakable poverty and misery of the masses are also responsible for the large-

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scale massacre of human beings and the irrevocable destruction of property that is going on today. While our immediate task is to provide security for the poor against hazards, our main concern should be to bring about a new social order which will ensure not only the creation of wealth but even more its better distribution, thus eliminating poverty and ushering in peace and goodwill among men.

We sincerely feel that the book deserves to be widely read.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE.

THE IVORY TOWER : *By S. R. Dongerkery. East and West Book House. Distributors, Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Second edition.*

This book of verse by a poet, who is also the Registrar of the University of Bombay, has many qualities deserving wide appreciation, which it has already received. This is borne out by the fact that it has run into its 2nd edition within a little more than a year. The eloquent testimonies which it has earned from eminent personalities also speak of the wide popularity it enjoys. The poems are divided into three sections, Love, Beauty and Truth, "which", according to the poet, "have never ceased to be the inspiration of art", and these traditional but fascinating subjects of the poems have been treated in an equally fascinating way.

SUNIL KUMAR BASU.

HARIJAN THROUGH THE AGES : *By S. R. Venkatraman, B.A., B.L. Bharata Devi Publications, Mount Road, Madras. Pages 20. Price Re. 1.*

In these pages the author has given a vivid description of the elastic and changing nature of Hinduism. Untouchability in Indian Society is as old as Hinduism itself but saints and religious reformers have fought for its removal from time immemorial and the success gained from time to time was only partial and temporary. All attempts from above failed because the down-trodden masses were not raised educationally and culturally in the full sense and as such no permanent remedy could be had for this inhuman social evil. The latest attempt is by Mahatmaji through the Harijan Sevak Sangh for tackling the problem from the very root. When the Harijan is uplifted from his present position by education and self-help, it is only a question of time to find him in his proper place in Indian Society and body politic.

The reader of these few pages will get a glimpse of the admirable work done by the Harijan Sevak Sangh.

A. B. DUTTA.

BENGALI

SAB O SWAPNA : *By Manmatha Kumar Chaudhury. Modern Book Depot, Sylhet. To be had of D. M. Library, 42 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

The young author, Manmatha Kumar Chaudhuri, has made his mark in the field of dramatic literature with the publication of his first play, *He Bir Purna Karo*. His second work, *Sab O Swapna*, or *Dream and Death*, is a drama in three Acts. He introduces characters in his play that do not live in the realm of unrealities, but are persons who belong to the society of our day. Krishnagovinda, a race-goer, gambler and a confirmed aethist is an educated vagabond. By winning a lottery prize, he suddenly becomes a wealthy zemindar. Overwhelmed by fortune he casts his strong principles to the winds and grows to be a religious weaking. His adopted son, Himadri, the tyrannical manager of his father's estate, is also transformed by love into a selfless leader of the tenants. In effecting dramatic surprises, though the author has sometimes gone a bit beyond the bounds of everyday possibilities, his characterization is not unrealistic. The non-violent non-co-operator, Mukundalal Jana, and the veteran revolutionary, Suryasankar Upadhyay are well-drawn. The technique of transforming characters through a different set of circumstances into something rich and strange is a difficult one, and the author has almost succeeded in overcoming these difficulties. Suryakanta, the unbending revolutionary, dies of a stray bullet wound. When dying, he gives his blessing to the lovers who dedicate their lives to the work of the upliftment of the masses, and says that the future belongs to the common man. The dialogues are natural and the story is interesting. Readers will find much in the drama that is really enjoyable.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

ROAD BACK : *By Erich Maria Ramarque. Translated into Bengali by Kumaresh Ghosh. Edited by Jagadindu Bagchi. Readers' Corner, 5 Sankar Ghosh Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a faithful and lucid rendering of Remarque's famous novel. The effects of war on humanity—psychological, social, economic and moral—have been vividly described.

D. N. MOOKERJEA.

GUJARATI

HINDNA ACHARYO : *By Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai. Published by the Society for Providing Cheap Literature, Bombay and Ahmedabad. 1944. Illustrated. Thick cardboard cover. Pp. 553. Price Rs. 4.*

Dr. Hariprasad Desai, the wielder of a versatile pen, is responsible for this compilation which contains the biographies and the spiritual work of thirteen of Modern India's Religious leaders, beginning with Dattatreya and ending with Dayanand, including Nanak. The Introduction contributed by the author is the best part of the book. It gives in a nutshell the varied life and vicissitudes through which our religion has passed, becoming firmer and firmer like a rock which the more and more it gets buffeted about by the waves of foreign invasion stands more and more unaffected. It is a comprehensive though terse chronicle of our achievements in that direction.

GATHA AHUNAVAITI : *By Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala, B.A., Ph.D. Printed at the Karnatak Printing Press, Bombay. 1945. Paper cover. Pp. 134. Price Re. 1.*

Dr. Taraporevala is as much at home in Sanskrit as in Zend, in English as in Gujarati and has been utilising his intimate knowledge of these languages and their literature to the utmost advantage by publishing useful books. Every inhabitant of India should be closely familiar with the religious creed of his neighbour. We Hindus should know the elements of the religion of Zoroaster specially in Gujarat, where we live in intimate neighbourhood. To assure us in doing so, Dr. Taraporevala has translated into simple Gujarati verse the Gathas of Aso Zarathustra giving at the same time the internal text for comparison. Readings and interpretations always differ in these matters and Dr. Taraporevala is conscious of that. He has therefore given reasons justifying his own reading or version. However, those who care more to learn in outline and not in close detail the elements of the Gatha Collection, find in the valuable work a sure guide.

K. M. J.

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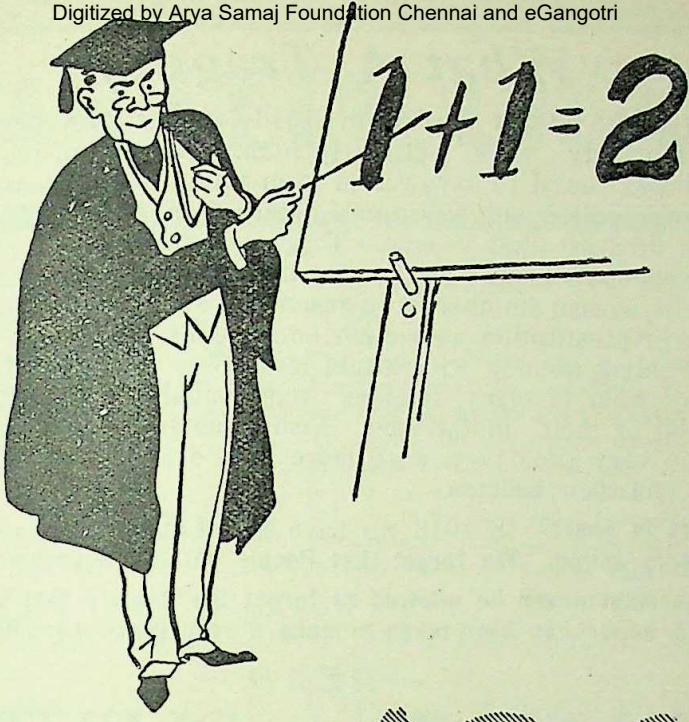

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What A Tragedy!

"**The tragedy of the Bengal famine** in 1943 cannot be over-exaggerated. * * * The figures for infant mortality were extremely high. The proportion of children below five years old who died was found to have varied from thirty to fifty percent of the total deaths. The death-rate among adult males was much higher than among adult women, nearly twice as many adult men died as adult women. This meant that a large number of families were deprived of their wage-earners just at the very time when needed them most. The throwing of a large number of women on their own resources was later found to have the inevitable result—an increase in prostitution and other social evils. * * * Small peasants lost all their cultivable lands. Finding nobody who would lend them either money or food they parted with the evidence of what to many families represented everything that made life worth-living, their small bit of their motherland. Fishermen sold their boats and nets, even their fishery rights, at the very time they were more than ever necessary in the economy of the province. Parents **sold their children.**

Public memory is short. In 1946 we have salved our conscience by expecting **Government to take necessary action. We forget that People get the Government they deserve.**

Public opinion must never be allowed to forget the tragedy that was enacted in Bengal in 1943 unless and until action has been taken to make a recurrence possible." But how to do it?

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Caste System in India

Out of the various problems that are at present earnestly engaging the attention of social reformers, the problem of caste system among Hindus may be said to have occupied the foremost position. Ram Keshav Ranade writes in *The Social Service Quarterly* :

Both the commendation and condemnation of the caste system are in the superlative degree. Such superlative praises and contempts are only calculated to misguide reformers, who will have to study the history of the caste system from the beginning and then discuss the feasibility of uprooting it altogether or finding out some ways and means to improve it.

Number of Castes

In the earliest Vedic period we find that there were only two Varnas, the Aryas and the Dasyus or Dasas, the difference between them being based on colour and culture. Afterwards the Dasyus were completely conquered by the Aryas who gave them a position subservient to them and named them as Shudras. At the time of the Brahmana literature, the Shudras formed a class by themselves, and even the Aryas were divided into three classes (*i*) Brahmanas (*ii*) Kshatriyas and (*iii*) Vaishyas. Even before the close of the Vedic period, there were not only four castes but there were many intermediate castes, which were based upon occupations and professions (Vide *History of Dharmashastra* by Mahamahopadhyaya Kane, volume, 2, pages 25 to 49).

Besides the four main castes mentioned above there were many mixed castes in Smriti times.

It is said that these mixed castes or sub-castes arose from the Anuloma and Pratiloma marriages between the principal four castes. It is said in a Smrti verse quoted by Vishwarupa (On Yajnyavalkya 1-95) that there are sixty sub-castes consisting of (*i*) six Anulomas (*ii*) twenty-four mixed castes due to the union of six Anulomas with principal four castes (*iii*) six Partilomas and (*iv*) twenty-four mixed castes due to the union of six Pratilomas with four principal castes. Medhatithi in his commentary on Manu Smriti (10-31) says that there are sixty mixed castes along with the four principal castes, and that by the intermingling of these various castes, numberless subcastes are brought into being. Similarly Vijnaneshwara says in Mitakshara (on Yajnyavalka Smriti 1-95) that since castes coming into being from the intermingling of various castes are innumerable, it is impossible to enumerate them. In view of these innumerable castes among the Hindus we find that the writers on Dharmashastra gave up in despair the treatment in detail of the duties and rights of various sub-castes and are satisfied with discussions regarding the duties and rights of the principal four castes.

In modern times each of the principal four castes has several sub-castes which are based upon various causes.

Even if we take only the Brahmanas, it will appear that they are divided first of all into ten classes, five being Gaudas and five being Dravidas. It is said that in Gujarat there are 84 sub-castes of Brahmanas which do not intermarry or interdine (Sherring, Volume 1, page 99—The names of those 84 sub-castes are given). In the *Bombay Presidency Gazetteer*, Volume 9, page 18, it is said that the Saraswatas of Punjab have 470 sub-divisions. At present we know that among Hindus there are 2400 sub-castes most of which do not intermarry (Census Report of 1931, Hindu Code by Gour 1938 Edn., page 14). It will thus appear that from the two sub-castes in the earliest Vedic period we have now evolved as many as 2400 sub-castes among Hindus.

Caste by Birth

The original word for caste was Varna and not Jati.

The idea of Varna is based on various causes like culture, character, occupation and profession, whereas the idea of Jati is based more or less on birth and heredity. When importance is given to Varna which takes account of moral and intellectual worth of a man, the caste system based on Varna is highly advantageous to the society. When, however, importance is attached to Jati which lays emphasis on birth and not upon qualities, the caste system based on such Jatis gives rise to enmity and animosity. Taking into account these factors our ancient scholars attached weight to qualities and not to birth. The Mahabhasya of Patanjali gives a verse which says that religious austerity, Vedic study and birth are the causes by which a person is called a Brahmana, and that he who is devoid of religious austerity and Vedic study is not a real Brahmana but only a Brahmana by birth. (Patanjali Mahabhashya II, 2, 6). In the Mahabharata it is said that a person is said to be a Brahmana only when the qualities of a Brahmana are in him, that if these qualities are not in a Brahmana he is not a Brahmana but a Shudra, and that if the qualities of a Brahmana are in a Shudra such Shudra is to be deemed as Brahmana (Vanaparva 216-14, 15). The teaching of Mahabharata appears to be that weight should be attached to qualities and not to birth and that the question of superiority or inferiority depending on birth should vanish. (Vanaparva 181-42, 43; Shanti parva 188-10).

Superiority of Brahmanas

The caste system is attacked mainly on the ground that the system attaches undue importance to Brahmins.

Some scholars like Sherring go to the length of saying that the caste system was not brought into being with a view to promote cleanliness or order but the object behind it was neither more nor less than to exhalt the Brahmana, to feed his pride and to minister to his self-will. (*Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Volume III, page 274). Before accepting this criticism it is to be recalled that the ideal set before the Brahmanas by ancient scholars was one of comparative poverty, of giving up the active pursuit of wealth, and of simple living and high thinking. Manu lays down that a Brahmana should acquire wealth just sufficient to maintain himself and his family without causing any harm to others (IV, 2-3-12-15-17). Vyasa specifically states that a Brahmana

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should try to narrow down his means of livelihood, and should not hanker after wealth, and that if he sets about acquiring wealth he ceases to be a Brahmana (Vyasa—quoted in Paras. Mad. I 1 page 196). It will appear that the Brahmanas were to possess supermost qualities and to lead a life of comparative poverty and that only such Brahmanas were given in ancient times highest regard. Even now if a person possesses superlative qualities and leads a life of poverty, he will surely command highest respect of the people. The superiority of the Brahmanas in the caste system was due to qualities and not to birth, and when seen in this light it will have to be admitted that to be a Brahmana in the real sense of the term is the most difficult thing.

Food and Marriage

Caste system is condemned by several scholars on the ground that it has given rise to various restrictions regarding food and marriage.

In this connection it is to be noted that our present ideas are not backed up by ancient authorities. According to ancient authors a Brahman is allowed to take food at the houses of the persons of three castes (Brahmana, Kshatriya and Vaishya) and as for Shudra it is said that a Brahmana may take food from Shudra who is his friend or his barber or his Das, etc., and that a Brahmana should not eat food of an impure Shudra. Shudras were formerly also allowed to be cooks in the houses of Brahmans provided they observed certain hygienic rules. (Gautama XVII 6, Manu IV 253 Yajnyavalkya 1-166, Apastambha Dharma Sutra 1-5-16-22; History of Dharmashastra, Volume II, page 161).

As for marriage, Anuloma marriages were allowed and Pratiloma marriages were condemned by ancient authors. Ushanas, however, is of the opinion that even a Pratiloma marriage can be legal (V, 2 to 5). In the present Hindu Law Anuloma marriages are allowed, and in the Draft Hindu Code it will appear that even Pratiloma marriages are held to be legal.

Untouchability

Caste system is also condemned because of the existence of certain castes which are deemed as untouchables.

It cannot be gainsaid that untouchability in India must be wiped out. At the same time it must be borne in mind that the foreigners have no right to speak against untouchability unless the condition of Negroes in America and the treatment of Indians in Africa are completely changed. It is also to be taken into account that the present-day untouchability derives no sanction from the ancient Shastras. It is said that no blame is incurred if we mix with untouchables in battles, on public roads or in temples or in festivals or on the banks of rivers etc. (Vide *Smrityartha Sara*, page 79, Par. Mad, volume II part 1, page 115, Atri 249). From the views of the ancient authors it appears that untouchability is not to be observed in temples or in public places.

Conclusion

If inspite of loud condemnations and denunciations on the part of reformers for so many years, the removal of caste system is suffering a set-back, which is due to illiteracy among the people, it may be observed that the idea of a caste based on quality and culture, occupations and qualifications, will steer clear of the evils of caste system, and the spread of education in the proper perspective will bring about the aim of nationality and equality.

—

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A Share in the Booty

J. C. Kumarappa writes in *Gram Udyog Patrika*:

Nadir Shah invaded India for booty. This booty was in the form of hoards of precious metal, jewellery and gems. Such is not the booty our moderns look for. They want instruments of production, raw materials and markets. It was the search for such booty that brought in the global wars.

After the first world war the "conquerors" unburdened Germany of her colonies and claimed reparations to compensate for the loss caused by the wars.

Now again Germany has been "vanquished". The international vultures have foregathered where the carcass is. An assembly of delegates from the Principal Allied Countries have drafted a "Final Act and an Accord" to pool all German patents in Allied countries. India has also been dragged into this arrangement, by whom we do not know.

When we buy a stolen article knowing it to be stolen, we become morally responsible for the stealing that had preceded the transaction. India refrained from entering this war. Can we now ask for a share in the booty consequent on this war without assuming moral responsibility for the carnage?

Can we buy and bring into our country German plants taken over by the allies as "reparations"? There is a list of 51 German war plants, which are for sale, circulated among the Indian Chambers of Commerce. These are stained with injustice, cruelty, avarice and human blood. Are we prepared to take these on our hands? If we do, we become imperialists no less than the British or the Americans. If India stands for the freedom of all suppressed nations, Germany being one such today, our National Government should protest against such loot and ban such tainted property.

Unwilling Victims

The New Review observes:

The Congress Mohammedans of the North-west Frontier Province are fearlessly resigned to whatever the Congress and the League may decide among themselves; they are as patient as resolute; they have made up their mind to quit Pakistan but they are prepared to bide their time till the first elections after the Constitution is passed. The Sikhs and the Assam people are agitated and angry. The Sikhs reproach the Congress Command with having sacrificed them on the altar of appeasement, and claim the same right to oppose a constitution for Punjab as the Muslim League has been granted by London about the Union's constitution. The Congress majority which rules Assam feels equally aggrieved; why did the Congress forge the chains that will enslave Hindu Assam to Mohammedan Bengal? The Congress members may enter the Assembly; they will not join Section C or Group C. If the High Command betrayed them, can they not appeal to the advice of Gandhiji who told them not to join even if he were to order them to do so?

Both, Sikhs and Assam Congressites, should not shout like impatient children. The All-India Congress is certain to help them to help the Congress policy.

Marking Time

The art of marking time is growing popular among our politicians. The Muslim League postponed its meeting, the Congress prorogued the preliminary session of the Assembly, both waiting for the other's move. But the Congress is growing impatient. The Constituent Assembly resumed its work on the 20th; its agenda was short: Pandit Nehru's resolution on the establishment of an Independent Sovereign Republic, which was passed unanimously, and the formation of Committees.

The practical work will not be taken in hand before April when League and Congress will have taken a final stand. If the League rejects the Congress resolution, the Interim Government will be broken up, etc., etc. If it is at all appeased about Congress intentions, the Constituent Assembly will become the official ground on which the political tug-of-war will be staged with all the tos and fros one can fancy, and all the hurrahs and boos of the watching crowds in the stands. India's youth expect no definite decision from the game, and muster strong into the various national guards which were created for self-defence, and are not averse to the tactics of offensive defence.

The Advisory Committee

Whilst the major parties indulge their delaying propensities, the minorities grow anxious about the Advisory Committee, the only hope and satisfaction they were given by the Cabinet Mission. They are in a much weaker position *vis-a-vis* the Big Two than the small nations of the U.N.O. *vis-a-vis* the Big Five. This 'Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas' should contain full representation of the interests affected and report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon 'the list of fundamental rights, the clauses for the protection of the minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas and advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial, Group or Union Constitution'.

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Raw Material of Indian History

Sir Maurice Gwyer concludes his article on the above subject in *The Indian Review* with the following remarks :

There is a great deal of romance about collections of old manuscripts; and there must be many collections in India, as in other lands, in which a researcher can never be certain that he may not come unexpectedly upon some hidden treasure beyond all price. Let me give one or two examples of what I mean from other countries.

At the beginning of the last century, a German scholar discovered in the Vatican Library in Rome a manuscript of the Institutes of Gaius a famous work on Roman Law of the classical period, of which no copy had ever before came to light. About fifty years ago near the site of the old Greek town of Oxyrrhynchus in Upper Egypt buried heaps of town rubbish were discovered and preserved for fifteen hundred years by the dryness of the sand and were found to contain, among much of course which was quite worthless, very important and hitherto unknown fragments of classical Greek authors; and also what might be described as the contents of numerous wastepaper baskets, including household bills and accounts, letters exchanged between friends, even invitations to dinner; in short, material from which an extraordinary vivid picture could be constructed of the domestic life and habits of the people of that particular region. And only last spring, in a private library in the North of England, a volume was discovered containing pirated copies of nine of Shakespeare's plays, all published during his lifetime, of which no other copy was known to exist in England, though I believe that there is one in the United States. This of course, was the case of a book, not a manuscript; but it shows how a rarity of great value (it has since been sold for Rs. 15,000) can lie hidden and unsuspected for centuries in private ownership.

Why should not similar discoveries be made in India also? The scholar and the archivist will always pray that such miracles will one day happen to him; and I think that it was the late Mr. G. K. Chesterton who once observed that the most remarkable thing about miracles is that they do sometimes happen.

I venture, therefore, as the Vice-Chancellor of a University and numbering scholars and historians among my friends not only in Delhi, but in other Universities also, to invite the attention of the public to the problems which arise in connection with the preservation of documents in private custody. I am perfectly certain that this generation will never be forgiven by the generations which come after if all these valuable national treasures are allowed to be lost or are damaged beyond repair by neglect or indifference.

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The Influence of Literature on Human Character and Human History

Prof. Grant C. Knight brings out in his article in *The Aryan Path* how thought interlinks with thought across national boundaries and pleads for a new or perhaps a revived literature which can lead us to a wisdom suitable to our times and without which we shall perish :

Examples of the influence of literature upon young writers can be multiplied to a great number: of Spenser and Homer upon Keats, of Emily Dickinson upon Stephen Crane, of Kipling upon Frank Norris, of Herbert Spencer upon Jack London, of Pater and Huysmans upon Oscar Wilde, of Flaubert upon Maupassant, and so on until we reach the horizons of literary history. True, we are dealing here with only a very small and exceptional part of the human population. It is much more important to inquire whether literature has had, whether it can have, a comparable influence upon the mass of people who spend their days in the common occupations, in the common toil, the people whose eyes and hearts must be turned toward goodness if they are ever to slough off the wickedness which makes peace impossible of attainment.

Twentieth-century civilization is an exceedingly complex product, composed of countless economic, religious, philosophical and artistic stresses, and impregnated with the innumerable ideas of the makers of maxims, with the traditions and lore of the folk, and with the experiences of the living. Yet it is no exaggeration to say that this civilization, to use the word in its broadest application, is in the main an edifice designed by only a few minds, by, one is induced to say, only a few books.

The common man, to be sure, has read but a few of those books. Perhaps he has read none. But he has nevertheless had his life, his personality and character, and his hopes formed by great masterpieces of literature; he is, by a kind of mild determinism, the end of a long train of concepts that have been preserved on the printed page and passed on through the speech of teachers and other readers. It cannot be denied that the culture of the East has been derived from sacred books like the *Koran* and the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads* and from the hoarded wisdom of Confucius and Gautamata and Lao-Tse. The list of these books is very short, yet these volumes have determined in the large and in detail the manners, the attitudes and the beliefs of hundreds of millions of human beings. In no other part of the globe have more persons given more allegiance to so few writings.

The cultures of the West are now marked by diversity, confusion and dissillusionment.

This fact can be attributed in some degree to the conflicting ideologies with which that half of the earth is beset. Books are plentiful; most of the people can read, many of them are bewildered by what they read. Romantics still rest their hopes upon an Asiatic anthology called the *Bible* and upon the writings of Rousseau; these two, by supplying a gospel of emotional non-materialism, have considerably affected European and American cultures.

Upon this hopefulness Darwin's *Origin of Species*, substituting the idea of biological, geological and botanical growth for that of divine spontaneous creation, fell as the most destructive atom bomb in the history of human thought. Since the publication of that book in 1859 it has become increasingly difficult even for romantics to think of man as a creature little lower than the angels and of this earth the best of all possible plannets. Classical calm fell before painstaking research. Of course, Arthur

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Schopenhauer had earlier insisted that life was evil because it was pain and boredom and struggle, but some deeply rooted impulse within mankind—doubtless that very Will whose existence Schopenhauer deplored—resisted his defeatism. However, Darwin's book had the sanction of the modern scientific method; its pessimistic implications were the fruit of demonstrable data; and the Western intellectual has been obliged by the theory of natural selection to see life in its harshest outlines. More than any other book it has seemed to justify the organized competition which has become the regular, destructive feature of Western civilization. Only a few persons have read *The Origin of Species*, yet by a diffusion of thought and action it is likely that every person now alive has somehow been touched by it.

Schopenhauer and Darwin were not alone in their defacement of the romantic image.

The writings of Karl Marx, of Friedrich Nietzsche, and of Sigmund Freud have also compelled us to take a new inspection of ourselves, to alter our judgment of ourselves, to debase our dignity or level off our confidence while we rearrange our scheme for the good life in terms of material benefits rather than spiritual good. Marx robbed us of some of our divinity by recreating us in the bodies of economic men, and Freud diminished our size by picturing us as driven and twisted by the libido. Yet anyone who fears that these three writers leave Western man in a forlorn state should examine their teachings anew. For each predicts or suggests a bright future: Marx through the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a classless society; Nietzsche through man's ability to surpass himself; Freud through a liberation from nervous disease.

Western civilization has by no means surrendered to decadence.

Because the *Bhagavad-Gita*, the *Koran*, the *Ch'un Ch'iu*, the *Tao-Te-King*, the *Bible*, the *Contrat Social*, *The World as Will and Idea*, *The Origin of Species*, *Das Kapital*, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, *The Interpretation of Dreams* have proved the profound influence which literature exerts upon the intellectual and moral practices of modern man one cannot help wondering whether in our present dismay and fear we have not the liveliest need for a new, or perhaps a revived, literature, one with an instant appeal to the consciences of men everywhere, one which can lead us to a wisdom suitable to our times and without which we shall perish.

Over half a century ago Walt Whitman called in "Passage to India" (a poem which should be required reading in every school around the world) for the union of the genius of the West whith that of the East, for the blending of Oriental mysticism with Occidental materialism. His magnifient rhapsody offers a clue to the kind of literature which should emerge from our present agony. The literature of the West has been manufacturing the carpet of real, substantial stuff; the literature of the East has woven the design; it is high time that the figure be placed in the carpet, that literature interpret life with wisdom and delight as well as represent it with accuracy.

This is to say that we need a literature which will transcend the national. It should be a literature of compassion and love, by no means weakly and sentimental, but strengthened by an awareness of the mystery, the sweetness, the burden, the loneliness of the mere act of living, by an invitation to us to meet and understand and like each other, by a recognition of the soul that breathes through humanity. It should ignore distinctions in race and colour and creed and nationality and should concentrate upon the value of man as man, a being who through the ages has been obstinately, blindly, and sometimes with astonishing unselfishness, climbing towards a summit which he can scarcely have glimpsed. Given a literature of such truth and nobility, modern man will lift his head with renewed trust in himself and his destiny.

The Road to Utopia

U. G. Krishnamurti observes in *The Theosophist* :

From time immemorial many great men—prophets, scholars and philosophers—had visions of an ideal world to be. Indeed, from Isaiah to Karl Marx the prophets have spoken with one voice of the ideal goal of human life and the royal road to the Golden Age. But from the absolute stand-point the future is here and now in the "Archetypal World". In the words of C. Jinarajadasa, the President of the Theosophical Society, the Universe down below is being shaped to reflect the ultimate perfection of that Archetypal World.

What do we mean by Utopia? Utopia is a perfect condition of happiness, and it is indeed a paradox that every one wants to be happy, yet none is truly happy.

Plato in his *Republic* describes such a world where wise men were chosen to rule as Philosopher-Kings. Plutarch's *Lycurgus*, St. Thomas More's *Utopia*, Bacon's *New Atlantis*, Campanella's *City of the Sun*, Voltaire's *Candide*, and Rousseau's educational dream in *Emile* may all be described as the prefigurines of what the world become. In recent times H. G. Wells' *Men like Gods*, *Out-look for Homo Sapiens*, and *Phoenix*, and the works of George Bernard Shaw, Douglas Reid, Clarence K. Streit and Lenin are also inspired by this idea and form a notable contribution to this topic. Quite recently, the

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Sankey Declaration, the much talked of Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms of President Roosevelt testify to the ever-present yearnings of the human soul after an ideal Society under which humanity may best fulfil its destiny. That great Persian poet and astronomer, Omar Khayyam, writes in his wonderful *Rubaiyat*:

> "Ah Love! Could Thou and I with Fate conspire
> To grasp this sorry scheme of things entire,
> Would not we shatter it to bits—and then
> Remould it nearer to our hearts' desire?"

We are at present at the cross-roads. We are living in an age when the appointed time of great Renewal draws near, when the world's thoughts and destinies are being refashioned. The world is passing through a crisis unprecendented in its intensity and magnitude. Never before has society been so shaken to its foundations. Mighty forces are at work moving the world towards a precipice. The civilization of the world's greatest nations has committed acts of which savagery would be ashamed The world is in a delirium of hatred. Never has the need been so crying and piteous as today, when men are disillusioned and threatened with despair.

The great war of 1914-18 was called a war to end war, a war to make the world safe for democracy, a war to give us a better and happier world fit for heroes to live in. But it led to none of these longed-for results.

The League of Nations, which promised to usher in a new dawn more glorious than the world had ever seen, proved a tragic failure.

It certainly could have achieved the dream of Tennyson:

> "Till the war drums throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags were furled
> In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."

But the League of Nations failed miserably. There was no power behind it, and so it fell to pieces. The New Era could not come. The real cause of this failure lies in the fact that the leaders of men have not yet tried to understand the great law of Unity. World War I stranded the surviving youth of the world on the sand-banks of depression and futility. After it we had the World Economic Conference and Disarmament Conferences. Why did all these fail?

The end of World War II finds us in no better situation, and the birth of the new Atomic Age even threatens us with total annihilation.

On the other hand, let us try to discern the Divine Working of the Great Law; the world is becoming increasingly united, in spite of all attempts to divide it into warring sections. Science and Economics have brought all parts of the world closer together. In social, political and scientific thinking there is an increasing community of ideas and ideals.

And yet this unity is neither real nor effective. The world is yet without a vision. The changes we see today are only political and economic, social and moral, but the spiritual revolution has not yet come. No doubt, schemes of reconstruction and readjustment are necessary, but by themselves they will not inaugurate an era of human happiness. Must these stupid cycles of alternating peace and war go on for ever? Politics, economics and science if they fail to organize the world, can do no better than give us wars as in the present day. It is beyond politics. Politics have failed. Systems have been found inadequate. Leaders have not led us out of chaos, and once more we ask the question, "Where is the way out."

One defect in all our schemes is that only the physical aspect of man is stressed. This indeed is the tragedy of modern schemes. Biological man, with the moral code of a cave man, is trying to dominate the civilized man; biological man is ruthlessly trampling upon the spiritual man. Economic values are frankly reckoned above the moral and the spiritual.

If the world is in a sorry pass today, and if wars and persecutions disfigure the world today, it is due to the lack of love and human fellowship.

The world, alas! does not yet see the truth of the law of Love. It still believes in strife and conflict. And the modern world, dominated by desires and self-seeking, listens not to the new message. Yet along this road is still the hope of our dark and lonesome world, and the nations will not be free until they rise above all exculsive cults to a vision of co-operation and brotherhood.

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"Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and all these things shall be added unto you." So said Jesus. It is a reaffirmation of the teaching of the Upanishads: "Realise the Divine Life, the Divine centre within you." The consciousness of the identity—of the oneness—of life in oneself and the realization of the Divine in all bring about concord and amity, and that is verily and truly the Fellowship with Life. The future lies with Fellowship—Fellowship first and foremost.

The greatest need today is to bring home to the mind of man the fact of the Universality of Life and the need for co-ordinated functioning of head and heart.

Only through the recognition of this fact can we save humanity from suicidal strife and mutal destruction. And the words of the Isavasyopanishad are significant and inspiring:

"Yastu sarvani bhutani atmanyevanupashyati
Sarva bhuteshu chatmanam tato na vijugupsate."

"He, who uniformly sees all being even in his self and his own self in all beings, does not feel repelled by them."

Well has Sir S. Radhakrishnan said, "Only when the life of Spirit transfigures and irradiates the life of man from within will it be possible for us to change or renew the face of the earth."

The need of the world today is for a new spirit and new vision.

The world today is in search of a new synthesis. A new idealism is the need, the imperative need of the world. The task today is to impregnate the world with a new idealism. Let us make a small beginning. To bring about stability, we should try to establish a synthesis amidst the strife and differences. This will come about very slowly. We should not, of course, expect all of a sudden any miracle or millennium. It needs a long time to establish such a happy state for all. What is needed is the marshalling of the goodwill and idealism of every individual. Then it will be possible to establish a long peace and happiness. We shall then be on the quick road to Utopia. Then Utopia will no longer remain a dream of the idealist, but will burgeon forth into a living reality.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Birth of a Nation

The Editorial, written under the above heading by Anup Singh in the *Voice of India*, December, 1946, will be read with interest by the Indian readers, which will move them with a tremendous and pathetic appeal for the not too distant vision of the Independence of India :

At long last the Indian Constituent Assembly has met. It is appropriate that this august body has met in Delhi, the city that has witnessed the rise and fall of many a rule. In this Delhi will be written the epitaph of the British rule, and Delhi will witness no longer the rise of a new king or dynasty but the birth of a Republic, a new nation conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the welfare of its people, the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsees and others.

The immediate prospects for the creation of this nation are none too bright. It is going to be a slow, painful and agonizing process. There may be a period of tragic set-backs. But of one thing we are certain. This marks the end of British rule, and the beginning of the people's rule. Enough of ingenious constitutional reforms, of endless round table conferences, of dialectical hagglings over clauses. There comes a time in the history of people and nations for bold and daring decisions. And for India—the time is now. The die is cast and there is no turning back.

Men of good will, in India and abroad, had hoped that after the acceptance of the British plan by the Congress and the Muslim League, India was on the way to a peaceful political career. But the hopes were short-lived. The ugly and savage communal riotings in Calcutta and Bihar darkened the horizon. The Interim Government in this atmosphere of ill-will and bitterness lost effectiveness, as the two elements continued to work at cross purposes. Neither side seemed sanguine about the long term plan, and both continued placing conflicting and incompatible interpretations upon the British plan. Legalistic hair-splittings, in the absence of good-will further embittered relations. Then Nehru and Jinnah flew to London. But where Delhi had failed, London could not succeed.

Pandit Nehru, on his return from London and after consultation with his colleagues has declared that India would no longer tolerate any outside interference in shaping her destiny. And can anyone familiar with the background, characterize this as the utterance of an impatient and reckless man? Nehru has labored and hoped for a constitutional solution of the Indian problem. It is he who in 1930 read the declaration of complete independence, and spent years of his life in prisons before and since. He accepted the British plan and assumed the leadership of the Interim Government. He held endless conferences with the Viceroy and with Jinnah, in patient search of a solution. And it is in the same search that he went to London. He returned to India disillusioned and with loss of faith in British goodwill.

Events can no longer wait in India. Forces have been generated that no leader, howsoever eminent, can fully control and curb. He must go along with them and seek to channelize them in the proper directions. Should he now try to go against them, out he goes. And his place will be filled by others who are prepared to take the risks and face the stubborn political realities. We hope the League will join the Assembly and try to work out a mutually acceptable Constitution. We hope also that eventually the present bitterness will give place to reason and a sense of accommodation. The alternative is anarchy and chaos—a frightful price to pay.

We agree with Pandit Nehru that the Constituent Assembly should speak and act as a sovereign body. It should of course speak with the backing of all the Indian sections if possible, but if absolutely necessary even without some. There is no other alternative. A country is on the march.

Reflections on Meerut Congress

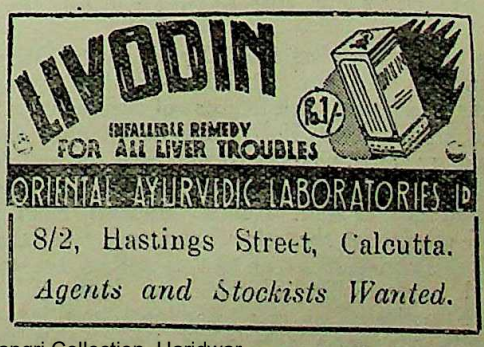
Krishnalal Shridharani observes in *The Voice of India* of the same number :

My reflections on the 45th session of the Indian National Congress are, as it were, mirrored in the deep waters of the mighty Mississippi. I was away in America for twelve long years, and this was the first plenary session of the fountainhead of our nationalism that I had a chance to attend after what I indulgently describe as my exile.

The closest American parallel to our Congress sessions is to be found in the Political Conventions of the two major parties, the Republican and the Democratic.

The American Political Convention is invariably dominated by the favorite candidate for presidency who does not present himself at the session until he is nominated. The Meerut Congress was also more dominated by two absentee leaders than by the heroes who were present . . . by Mahatma Gandhi and by Netaji Bose. The image of Gandhiji minute by minute staking his life in distant Noakhali filled the people at Meerut with a suppressed sense of gravity and dispatch. That frail man just by staying away dramatized the futility of words. The speeches were short, the proceedings business-like, thanks to Gandhiji's object lesson in Noakhali.

The contribution made in absentia by Netaji Bose was equally decisive. The people were despairing about the prospect of Hindu-Moslem rapprochement. The ghost of Netaji, dacing between death and the second coming, gave leaders and led at Meerut some hope that unity is still possible. If Netaji could do it, so could we when given a common struggle, was the flickering belief in young breasts.



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No matter how busy they are, American leaders seldom appear harassed, tired or irrascible. If they did, they would dig their political graves. Insulting even a moron would become a political scandal. The dignity of the individual is a fact in America and not a vision, and the American voter is the monarch of all he surveys. At Meerut I found our top leaders fatigued and often cantankerous. Perhaps the lapse is not so ruinous in India as it would be in America. For we have the tradition of paternal scolding. There is another reason. Our top leaders are over-worked. It seems they have to bear the entire burden.

This clinches my point about the lack in India of second-level leadership. There seem to be hardly any young men and women who can lighten the killing burden of our top leaders by sharing it. In the West key men, by and large, are invariably supported by able staffs and by confidantes and sub-leaders. At Meerut I became poignantly aware that we have no similar system in India.

Whatever young talent the Congress party has was vocal and vibrant at Meerut through its Socialist wing. The Socialists at Meerut provided the only loyal opposition, the only diversion, the only audible evidence that some people did their own thinking without sitting on the dais. Right or wrong, obedient or disobedient, they showed some timber for tomorrow.

It was evident at Meerut that the right wing was not entirely unaware of its weakness at the second level of sub-leadership. The Kisan-Mazdoor-Proja party, hitherto tried only on provincial scales, was organized on an All-India basis. It, like the Congress Socialist Party, aims at social and economic equity. But while the Socialists revel in Marxian trimmings, the Kisan-Mazdoor-Proja party men display themselves in Gandhian garb.

One of the cardinal principles of the American way of life is divorce between religion and politics. The Renaissance spirit of the secularization of most departments of human existance permeates America more than any other country in the world, with the exception of the Soviet Union. To one who has just returned from America, therefore, the phenomenon of political strugglers arrayed along religious groupings is bound to become the shrillest contrast. The Congress is a national body, and yet the logic of events in the country has made the communal issue its most baffling concern. The all-important question at Meerut was the question of religious antagonism resulting from the rivalry between the Muslim League and the Congress.

One of the two possible solutions for the communal strife suggested at Meerut came from Sardar Patel, the silent man of the Congress who spouts fire on the few occasions when he speaks. His slogan of "sword against sword" was born of a psychological insight. Goondas are not really brave people. Goondas (Hooligans) appear brave until their bluff is called. The Sardar meant to put the fear of God in the heart of the would-be goonda by telling him that he will not get away with it.

Two types of leaders indirectly objected to the sword-against-sword line of thinking—hundred per cent Gandhians and the ideologists of nationalism. The Gandhian argument at Meerut was based upon the well-known theory that violence, used even in self-defence, starts a vicious round of violence which precludes any lasting solution. Pandit Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and others, on the other hand, suggested that only the spirit of nationalism can act as oil on the troubled communal waters. The trouble with India is that its people are motivated by small sectional loyalties. Intramural unity can come only when these small loyalties are enlarged into one large all-embracing loyalty. In medieval Europe this cementing magic was provided by the growth of nationalism. Feudalism gave way to nationalism, and guilds merged into states. Indian political thinkers ever since Raja Ram Mohan Roy, have tried the same magical formula to allay India's social troubles. But what worked in Europe does not seem to have produced similar results in India. Nationalism, so far, has proved inadequate.

Perhaps it is high time that some other sociological formulae are brought to the aid of the concept of nationalism. People should be given a new dream to dream in common. The Congress manifesto offers a dream of social equity and economic prosperity all around, but attainment seems so remote that it fails to give people a feeling of security. We must begin to activize this dream in all ways possible, through the government and out of it, through state efforts and individual initiative. I came back from Meerut feeling that the twin ideals of non-violence and nationalism, which have governed the Congress outlook so far, are very much in the crucible.

The Tajmahal

In the *Forward*, November 1946, a Fortnightly Review of Nairobi, J. R. Bhalla points out in the article entitled "Design and Building of Taj," how there has been a constant cultural exchange between India and Persia for several centuries as exemplified in the wonderful building and design of Taj :

It has long been a commonplace that this great advance of civilization has been initiated by stimulating contacts between contrasting cultures and that every great nation is an amalgam of many elements. To this, India is no exception. For several centuries there has been a constant and creative cultural exchange between Persia and India, and in each there have been significant achievement which cannot be properly understood without reference to the other.

India has produced an architecture of great magnificence, of rich variety, and high seriousness. It has often been wrought with exemplary skill both in construction and in ornamentation. To Persia we owe extremely ingenious constructional methods, especially of dome and vault out of which have been created monuments that are often of quite extraordinary beauty, marked by noble monumentability, simplicity of mass, and finished with dazzling ornament that have never been surpassed.

The various interchanges of idea and form of religious symbol and constructive technique culminated in a supreme moment in the Taj Mahal, the most perfect expression of the combined genius of India and Persia.

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The Taj Mahal marks the crowning achievement of Indian Architecture as well as of the whole world. Its glories have been so often recounted by poets, critics and travellers, who have lavished on it their utmost resources of language.

Particulars of those who took part in the production of this incomparable master-piece indicate that no effort was spared to obtain the services of specialists in every phase of the work. Several of these were indigenous craftsmen from Delhi, Lahore, and other centres of Moghul Empire, while others were drawn from distant sources, such as a Calligraphist from Baghdad and another from Shiraz to ensure that all inscriptions were correctly carved or inlaid; a "flower carver" from Bukhara, an expert in dome construction, Ismail Rumi Khan, who by name must have come from Constantinople; a pinnacle maker from Samarqand, a master mason from Qandahar, and lastly an experienced garden planner from Persia. The chief supervisor who co-ordinatend the entire work was one "Ustad Isa," the best designer of his time, and according to one account, originally an inhabitant of Shiraz, from whence he had been attracted to India by the great building activities of the Moghul Emperors.

The Taj was built in India after the most painstaking consideration by an Indian patron. Such pouring-out of wealth on a single monument is characteristic of the lavishness of India when great hopes are stirred.

It is none-the-less out of question that such a building could have been achieved in India alone. It is not quite in the spirit of India, which normally seeks a richer, more lavish expression. The simplicity of mass, the austere purity of contour—these had for centuries ample antecedents in Persia but few in India. The exquisitely exact topic of the plan is more Persian than Indian. The foundation principles which were embedded in the structure would probably have remained in the realm of symbols had it not been for the architectural genius of Persia by which they were translated into practical and artistic realities.

Labour Government's Colonial Policy

In the same Review, Karimo Njong'wa, a prominent African, shows the Colonial Policy of Britain in its true colour, *i.e.*, imperialism in practice abroad and socialism for the English people:

We had hoped that the Labour Party would be more sympathetic to our cause because of its declared colonial policy. We were eyewitnesses of the reaction of the Kenya Settlers towards the majority votes which made the Labour Party form the Government of Great Britain. We thought that equality would be declared in the colonial world. Now the whole thing is indefinite. Some of us do believe that Labour stands to different motives *i.e.*, imperialism in practice abroad and socialism for the English people. Let us for a moment consider its two different and yet contradictory utterances. Last year it was stated:

"Labour would seek to modify and eradicate as far as possible some of the evils of the past. It is opposed to segregation policies, colour bars and racial or political superiority. Part of its criticism with regard to white settlement in black man's country was that such occupation tended to stratify human society, create social and economic privileges for the European to the social and economic prejudice of the African, and in the end led to demand of political privilege and an unbalanced society."

How this happened in Kenya is common knowledge and no one would convince the African, or anyone else who looks closely to facts, that white settlement has not been a barrier to African progress. There is already a conflict of interests on the land question as between the African, the original owner of the land, and the European immigrant the latest newcomer, unknown as a landlord to our forefathers. Now another five hundred new settlers are to be imported into the country by the Labour Government arguing that they are necessary for the advancement of the colony and of the African. Why can't they be sent to the spacious dominions which are inviting immigrants on a large scale as Australia which wants some thirty thousands. In Australia none except those possessing a white skin are invited. We have in Kenya less than 23 per cent of the total land of our country. The rest is taken away from us and the problem of congestion, in the so termed Native Reserves is very acute. In many places it has resulted in mass hunger

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অর্গলা, কীলক, কবচ, মূলচণ্ডী, সূক্তাদি এবং রহস্যত্রয়ের সরল বঙ্গানুবাদ ও ব্যাখ্যা, পূজাবিধি এবং সম্পাদকীয় নিবন্ধে 'চণ্ডী' বিষয়ক বহুল জ্ঞাতব্য বিষয়াদিতে ও বর্ণানুক্রমিক শ্লোকসূচীতে সুসম্পূর্ণ।
শ্রীশ্রীসত্যনারায়ণপূজা ও কথা ৵১০
শ্রীশ্রীলক্ষ্মীপূজা ও কথা ৵১০ ত্রিসন্ধ্যা ।০
প্রাপ্তিস্থান—শ্রীগুরু লাইব্রেরী প্রভৃতি বইয়ের দোকান এবং প্রকাশকের নিকট ১২।১২ আপার সারকুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

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of man and beast, soil erosion and malnutrition, and the very reason which make Africans go out to labour for their white masters for a meagre pay. The same settlers are quite nervous of the Young African Press where some brave Africans are putting our just claims to the fore; the settlers want to check African freedom and let us down to serfdom for ever. We need, as does everyone else, complete freedom. The four freedoms, known universally should not be denied to the Africans. These are impossible when men cannot speak out their minds because of censorship. Any country where there is democracy, the freedom of the press is recognised. This is impossible without free discussion, expression and impression. Why then suggest censorship to check the manifestations of African freedom? We assure the Kenya Shamba overlords that the African is prepared to speak out his mind.

Africans are denied freedom in other branches, keeping in mind that we are not represented in state councils, we are not represented in state councils, we are kept under a strict check of unworthy and heinous by-laws. We are refused liquor in shops and our movement is kept under check by the Registration Ordinances. At any time, at any place, even very late at night, when one is sleeping the police can intervene and demand *Wapi Kipande yako?* (Where is your registration certificate) and of course when one produces it, it happens in many cases that the police constable hands it back, for he cannot read. In this way it does not identify the vagabonds, but it is just a nuisance to the citizen for when one has not got it on him, he is liable to fine. It is naturally used by European employers as a testimonial and a record to check African workers from getting a decent wage. Many a time we have demanded freedom in our homeland as a thing we won in the second World war for our sons and brothers sacrificed with other youths of mankind. The Kipande laws should forthwith be rescinded. As long as the settlers are not prepared to take the African, the Indian etc. as equal partners so long we would like to see the termination of white settlement. Why should we be reduced to second-rate citizens in the land of our birth?

Why Permit Strikes?

In an article under the above caption, O. A. Hammand comments thus on the justifiability of strikes in *Unity* :

President Truman in his veto of the Case Bill stated that the purpose of the law should be to prevent strikes or to limit the extent of strikes. That is a very strange philosophy, though perhaps it is the prevailing philosophy. There are lots of things that could be done which would prevent strikes and would also prevent other things. They might prevent all production as well as strikes and they might also prevent all liberty.

The fatal point in said philosophy is that it ignores the idea of justice. The most important thing is to find a way to determine justice and then make that way clear to both of the contending sides and to the public itself. Until we have approximate justice and a way to attain it, human beings will just naturally use their most powerful instrument to obtain their ends.

And now we are beginning to play around with a new philosophy. We are about to transform an economic philosophy into a social philosophy. From all sides we hear the clamour that somebody should do this or should not do that—it is against the public interest. What do

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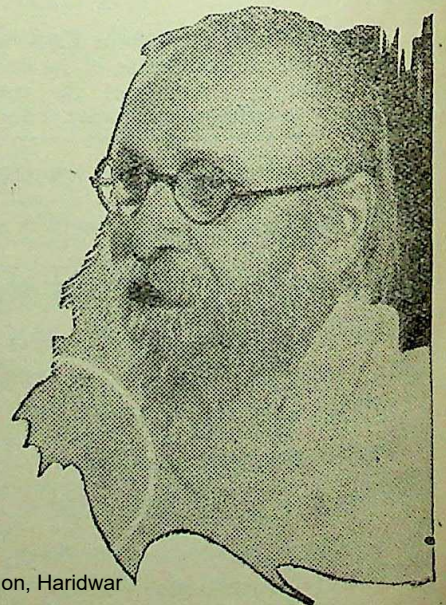

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we mean by public interest? Do we mean their own personal interest and the interest of others in their class? Do they recognize the obligation of the other fellow to them, and if so do they recognize their obligation to the other fellow? If there is a public interest there is also a mutual interest. When we reach this point we are getting somewhere. For we must recognize that the other fellow has rights before there is any chance that he will get his rights or that we will get ours.

In one case a corporation stated that it could not afford to pay certain increases in wages. But the men asked, "Why?" The answer was that "we cannot and that settles it." The men said, "Show us your books" but the company replied that "they are our books and not yours, and it is none of your business what they show or how much we make."

Now let us look at the subject quietly. If we live in a dog-eat-dog society with nobody under any obligation to anybody else, then that is one thing and we agree that nobody else has a right to see the books. But if we begin to ask that strikes be controlled or prevented or that men be sent into the army or put in jail because they refuse to work at a certain wage and make all of this clamour about public interest, we have changed our philosophy from an economic problem to a social problem. The question is now a fair sharing of the products of labour and industry among the people who produce those products and in order to know what that share should be we must go to the books to find out. Unless we are willing to go the whole way and concede the other fellow what the books show is due him, it is time to stop all of this nonsense about public interest.

Indian TVA's Planned

Three great irrigation works conceived on multiple purpose TVA lines are to be built on India's Mahanadi, Damodar and Kosi Rivers. They will eventually raise India's food production by about 2 million tons a year, irrigate about 6 million acres of land and generate 1½ million kilowatts of hydro-electric power.

Since cheap electric power, flood control and irrigation are essentials of any national plan to raise mass living standards, promote industrialization and effect land reform, the projected works are regarded as of great importance to India's future.

Work has already begun on the Kirakud Dam on the Mahanadi River in Orissa. This is one of three dams planned for the Mahanadi River at a total cost of $150,000,000.

The $165,000,000 Damodar Valley Scheme will serve for flood control and storing water for use during the dry season. Part of the flood water and the whole of the effective storage water are to be used for generating power.

The Kosi Dam project in Nepal, is designed to protect North Bihar from the devastating floods of the Kosi, one of the most wayward rivers of Bihar which has changed its course nine times since the beginning of the last century. The Kosi Dam will irrigate about 2 million acres of land in Bihar and 1 million in Nepal. It will generate about 1 million kilowatts of hydro-electric power, afford navigation on the Kosi from the foothills of Nepal down to the Ganges and provide for preservation of forests, soil conservation, malaria control and fish culture in the reservoirs.

Aside from these three projects, preliminary investigations of a number of other schemes are being carried out by Provincial Governments. M. L. Savage of Boulder Dam fame is now in India designing a dam in the Punjab, Mr. Savage will also visit other provinces to examine their projects.

Plans for irrigation works are under way in the United Provinces, Sind, Madras and Hyderabad. The capital outlay on India's new irrigation schemes will be more than $900,000,000.—*India Today.*

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Kabir : the Apostle of Ecumenicity

In the *Unity*, December 1946, we find a very interesting article about Kabir under the above heading, written by Herbert H. Stroup, which we reproduce here in full :

In John P. Marquand's Pulitzer Prize novel, *The Late George Apley*, the author has George William Apley say at one point, "I am the sort of man I am, because environment prevented my being anything else." What Apley said for himself all people can say for themselves, for we are indeed products of the culture which has nourished us.

The study of the determination of personality traits by culture has been applied to many areas of human concern, but little has been done about the determination of religious beliefs and practices by the environmental influences which mold human beings from the cradle to the grave. Even as Gilbert and Sullivan said, though not applied to religion, each of us is born a "little conservative" or a "little liberal."

Since this is so, it is all the more surprising when a person is discovered who is able to transcend his natural heritage in the interests of larger and more inclusive loyalties. Such men do not frequent the human scene too often, yet their presence is fraught with nascent energy for the beliefs and actions of those with whom they associate. Kabir was such a person.

As with many characters of the past we know little of a definitive nature about the life of Kabir. Most authorities suggest that he was born in 1440 A. D. and that he died in 1518 A.D., but there are some who disagree, claiming that he was dead by 1449. For essential purposes the actual dates do not matter greatly.

Kabir was born in Benares, in the fountain source of Hinduism. It was there that he died. But within a lifetime he preached a doctrine which sought to unite all believers—Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, Moslem, and any others who would listen— into one integrated religious movement. He was a precursor of that other great Indian electic in religion, Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, the last of the world's great religions (aside from the secular religions). Kabir, in some ways, stood in relation to Nanak as John the Baptist stood in relation to Jesus. Kabir was a voice crying indeed in a wilderness of religious confusion, "Seek ye the way of the Lord." Recognizing that divinity must be a unity and that followership of such a divinity should be united, Kabir preached a doctrine of religious reconciliation.

Kabir's family provided a source for his message. His mother was a Hindu, carrying the traditions of that great religion. His father was a Moslem, maintaining with vigor the purity of the faith. Within this conflicting household the young Kabir rapidly grew. No wonder his attention was drawn to religion! If his personality was not natively interested in religious themes, this split-family situation would have created doubt and wonderment and synthesis.

Throughout his life, Kabir claimed to be a member of several religious groupings. He felt at home in Islam. He deeply felt for Hinduism. The "sancta" of both religions were part of his daily devotions. Yet, despite his affection for all religious forms, there was an element of revolt within Kabir as to taking such forms too seriouly or exclusively. To him they were esthetic instruments, not final revelations. They were made for man, not man for them. Thus, he read both the Vedas and the Koran, but he denied that they were authoritatively inspired.

A man preaching a doctrine of religious eclecticism might well remain a dilettante esthete, withdrawn from the real world of religious antagonisms. That would have been a "normal" course for a man of the temperament of Kabir. But Kabir was bigger than that. He saw the need for at least two things. First, he did not merely accept the various religions with which he was acquainted as being equally valid. He went further than that. He sought to unite them. He sought to apply his eclecticism in a thoroughgoing fashion. He sought the one religion which finally might take the place of the many. Second, he accepted this followership. It is appropriate to say that he accepted this followership because there grew up about him those eager Indian minds who were searching for just such a message. When it was voiced they heeded the call. They clung to the Master through his lifetime and were instrumental in enlarging the group which agreed with his teachings.

At his death Kabir left a heritage which became the basis for later Sikhism. Sikhism, the most outstanding example of a concrete, historical effort to unify different major religions (and a religious dynamic to ponder in our day), is indebted not only to the fairly well-known Nanak but to the not-so-well-known Kabir—the Apostle of Ecumenicity.

প্রথিতযশা লেখিকা শান্তা দেবী প্রণীত

১। অলখ-ঝোরা (উপন্যাস) ... মূল্য ৩৲
২। দুহিতা (উপন্যাস) ... ১৲
৩। সিঁথির সিঁদুর ১৷৹
৪। বধূবরণ ১৸৹

সুপ্রসিদ্ধ লেখিকা শ্রীসীতা দেবী প্রণীত

১। ক্ষণিকের অতিথি (উপন্যাস) ... ২৷৹
২। নিরেট গুরুর কাহিনী (ছোটদের গল্প) ... ৸৹

প্রাপ্তিস্থান—শ্রীশান্তা দেবীর নিকট
পি-২৬, রাজা রাজবল্লভ রায় রোড, কলিকাতা ও
সমস্ত বিখ্যাত পুস্তকালয়ে প্রাপ্তব্য।

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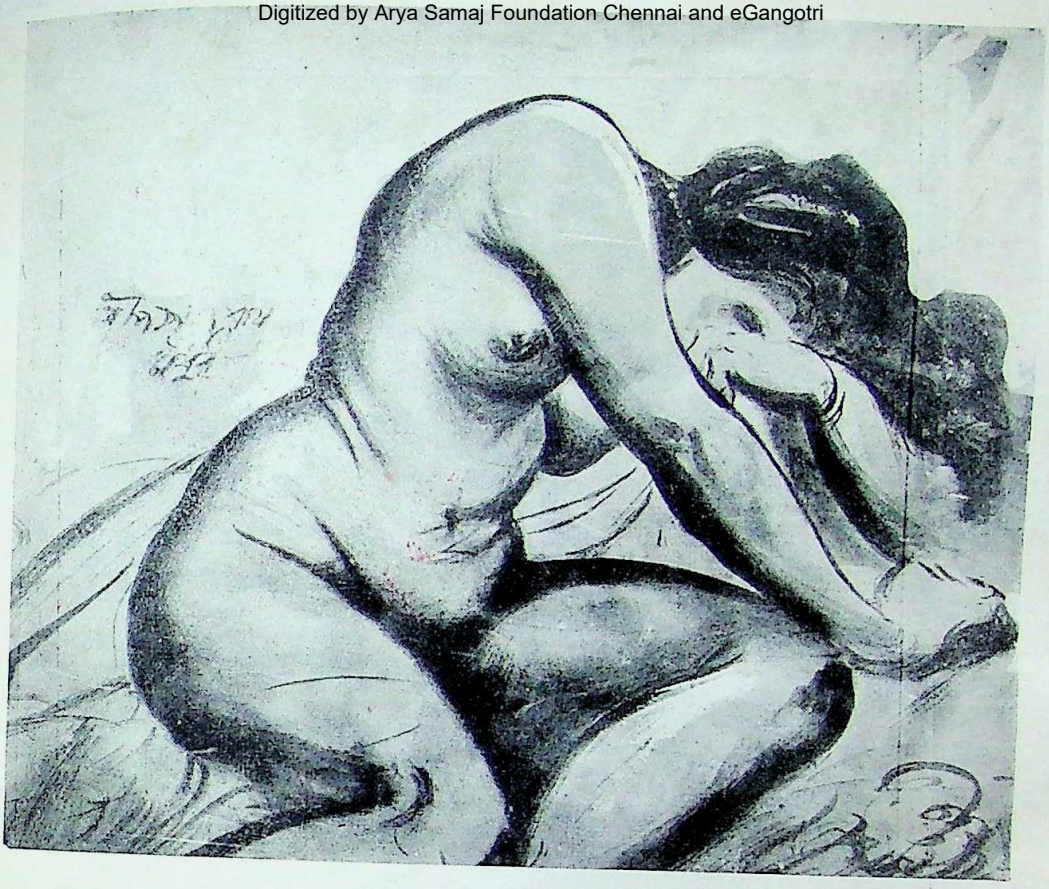

Disappointment
By Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

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SAKUNTALA LEAVES FOR HER LORD'S PALACE

By Anil Paul

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL 1947

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NOTES

Riots and Remedies

We have to apologise again to our readers for the delay in the publication of this issue of this *Review*. Thanks to the acute maladministration of this province, under the hands of the Muslim League and of a Governor whose mind functions like an inert plastic mass, to be shaped at the will of his ministers and of his precious advisers drawn from the British I.C.S., we are helpless in this matter, since all activities of this great city seem to depend on the pleasure of a band of hooligans who are at liberty to work their will on the innocent citizens. This time the disturbances broke out without any warning, provocation or reason. So much so that even the fertile brain of the Chief Minister could not find anything beyond giving out an extremely lame story, about a mistaken rumour regarding the communal identity of a murdered woman, being the cause of this latest outbreak of violence. Even that story proves to what extent the minority community of this province have been placed at the mercy of the lawless and violent elements of the major community through the extreme partisanship of the League administration.

Perhaps we have to be thankful that we have been spared so far from the horrors of the August '46 disturbances or that of the horrible massacres of the Punjab. We can only be thankful, and pray Heaven to facilitate the departure of the British from India, for the sowing of the seed of this terrible harvest was done by the British Empire-builders like Lord Curzon. The nurturing of the seedlings, through the bestowal of moneys, filched from Nationalist India, and of jobs and contracts, to reactionaries and to agent provocateurs, and by the turning of the blind eye on the evil deeds of hirelings and henchmen of British Imperialism, was done by those fomenters of communal discord in India, we mean the British Tory officialdom.

In connection with the Punjab horrors there are a few facts that the world should know in order that the British Tories like Churchill might be fully exposed. The innocent victims of the Punjab slaughter belong to that minority section of the Punjab, that has supplied the British Crown with as many soldiers as all the Muslims of India put together. For, despite the falsehoods repeatedly uttered by Mr. Churchill and his yes-men, 66 per cent of the Indian army is composed of non-Muslims, and it is this non-Muslim section again that won over 90 per cent of the 32 Victoria Crosses awarded for outstanding deeds of valour, to the Indian army in the World War that is just over. It is this minority again that has shed its blood as soldiers and policemen at the distant out-posts of the Empire. Most of these people are agriculturists, who had turned their hands to the ploughshare after valiantly serving the British Crown in many a battle and skirmish. These were the people that were hopelessly outnumbered and had the full fury of murder, rape, loot and arson turned loose on them by the majority community. And not a protest from the Tories! Said Shri Jaiprakashnarain in a statement to the press after his tour over the affected areas:

> The present disturbances in the Punjab were carefully planned and were part of a conspiracy to instal the Muslim League in office as a step towards the final installation of Pakistan. Among other participants in this conspiracy are assuredly Governor Jenkins and his British colleagues in the province.
>
> It cannot be an accident that the districts where serious rioting broke out are precisely those districts which are ruled by British officers. It too cannot be an accident that when people in distress go to these officers, who are paid by the province to do their duty, they are made fun of and are taunted and told to go to the Congress as these gentlemen are quitting anyway. Whatever else may or may not be necessary for the peace of the Punjab, I have no doubt in my mind that it is absolutely essential to pack off to England immediately Governor Jenkins and all his British colleagues in the province.
>
> The question, that underlies the Punjab disturbances, is whether the League wants to follow the path of negotiation and settlement or the path of intimidation and violence. Recent League propaganda in the Punjab shows that the League is determined to use force in order to secure its aims. If that is so, there can be no settlement short of a civil war. The League must face this question squarely now and say if it is civil war it is preparing for. If it is not, it must change the tenor of its propaganda....

What is the remedy? Partition is the reply. Partition of the Punjab and Partition of Bengal, without any conditions-precedent and without any loss of time in chasing Will-o-the-Wisps. It is about time, the Congress High Command realized that every day lost in idle speculations or useless cogitation about

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utopian schemes, means added complications to the knotty problems that India has to face in the near future. The Muslim League threw its full weight on the side of the British when Nationalist India was being battered and ground down by the mailed fist and the iron-heels of the Tory imperialist in the fight for India's freedom. They reaped a rich harvest then, and now, when the forces of imperialism are fading away, they want to deprive as many non-Muslim Leaguers as are at their mercy, of all their birthrights, through planned action, by brute force and through the aid and wiles of their gracious over-lords, the British Tories and the British bureaucracy.

Let us proceed to Partition then, in order to ensure the safety of as many of the intended victims as we can under the circumstances. The Punjab has its own leaders and spokesmen and we have no doubts that they would face realities and lose no time in coming to a decision. Bengal lies under a curse of mediocrity now, after the giants have departed, and power is in wrong hands all round, including the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. But, all the same, although we might hesitate to speak on behalf of the minorities of the Punjab, we have no hesitation whatsoever in declaring in unequivocal terms that the minorities in Bengal are now clearly demanding a partition, without any catches or conditions-precedent. They have very little patience left for the kind of word-jugglery that the B.P.C.C. has been indulging in of late, and the time is approaching fast when that caucus-ridden body will have to have a purge. Bengal wants partition and this want is now being voiced all over the province in clear terms, every day and in every quarter where the oppressed minorities are.

This is no time for the trying out of quack nostrums, mumbo-jumbo magic spells, or "infallible cures" for communal discord. All those remedies have been tried out and found to be useless long before. Partition is the sole remedy, we have no hesitation in declaring, that can succeed while the communal virus is in active ferment in the body politic in India. *All other proposals are either full of pitfalls*, as for example that of joint electorates, *or else are worse than useless as all who know how elections are conducted in Pakistan will understand.* So let us have partition, at all costs, including that of lives and treasure if it need be. Let us face reality and get it over once for all, now and without further delay. When the communal plague has been isolated and controlled we may let the hot-air merchants again hawk their wares, and let sermons be preached for the benefit of the souls of those whose lives, property and honour are safe.

We in Bengal, who believe in the Congress creed of nationalism, have fought for freedom for half-a-century. Our losses and sacrifices have been limitless. We have led in all movements in the past, and even now, even though the province has suffered through the unworthiness of its "leaders" the flame burns bright in those very parts where the League has not yet eclipsed the light of freedom. Should we then be denied a share of the freedom that is coming to the rest of Nationalist India, just because of the false claims of a band of usurpers who up till yesterday were the tools of a bureaucracy that besmirched the fair name of a democratic nation? Or should our voice remain unheard because of the clamour of a motley crowd of cretins, axe-grinders and be-fuddled and incoherent party-politicians who lay false claim to the Voice of Bengal?

Punjab

Muslim League propaganda for the establishment of Pakistan in the Punjab has let hell loose in that province. Even the London *Times*, the Tory organ, wrote a fortnight after the inferno, that "the immediate cause of the present tragedy was the reckless propaganda of the Muslim League." We have no desire to give here any details of the horrible massacres and brutalities perpetrated in the Muslim majority area of the Punjab. Even the scanty reports that have been allowed to be published, after satisfying the rigid censorship imposed on the press, show that the most terrible brutalities of the medieval age of barbarism have been repeated in many parts of the Western Punjab. Only a few typical instances are given here from the *Tribune* of Lahore, which had to submit all its reports for censorship and was obliged to publish them in a mutilated form. There is no doubt that only a very insignificant portion of the actual happenings have seen the light of day.

Master Tara Singh gave an eye-witness account to a Press Conference in which he said that on the night of March 5, the Muslims took out a procession with the beating of drums and although the police were with them no action was taken. He approached the Deputy Commissioner for the despatch of the military but he was informed that the military could not enter the city at night, although a company of troops was encamped in front of the Kotwali in the heart of the city. Next day, on March 6, shops in the main bazar were set on fire and looted by mobs but still no action was taken. Master Tara Singh saw shops being looted about hundred yards from the Kotwali by an armed Muslim mob. On the 7th, he again saw Muslims looting shops and approached the police fruitlessly on two occasions. On the third occasion, he approached an English officer who ordered a dozen policemen to intervene and they dispersed the mob by firing 24 rounds. This was the first time, *i.e.*, on the third day of the Pakistan attack, loot and arson, that the police opened fire. This is the assertion of Master Tara Singh in his statement made at a Press Conference dated March 21. He emphasised that at least for 24 hours Muslims had a free hand. It was on the 7th that troops entered the city and on this third day curfew was enforced. He estimated that in several villages in the Rawalpindi district *almost all the inhabitants had been butchered.* In one thana or police station alone not less than 800 people were killed. In his estimate not less than 4000 Hindus and Sikhs were killed. A Sikh police constable was murdered and an English Superintendent of Police badly injured in Amritsar by the mob, but no action was taken. We fully agree with Master Tara Singh in his assertion that all these attacks in the Western Punjab were due to the impression among the Pakistani "soldiers" that they would not be punished.

The inferno raged in its full fury in the districts of Rawalpindi, Multan, Attock and Jhelum. Even after ruthless pruning by the censor's scissors, the *Tribune* writes, "The people of Dudhial, one of the biggest and richest villages in Jhelum district, with huge pucca buildings, and having a branch of the Hind Iran Bank, had successfully fought the armed mob which surrounded this ill-fated village on March 4. The invaders were beaten back. But they returned doubly armed and with more dangerous weapons. The allegation is that not only were they

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armed with guns and rifles, hatchets and sharp weapons . . . ". The rest of the message has been cut out by the censor leaving the reader to guess the fate of the residents of that ill-fated village.

Credit has been given by the Lahore correspondent of the *Tribune* to a Military officer, Major Day, who, according to Mr. Autar Narayan, succeeded in rescuing as many as 60 young girls and women from the clutches of the raiders. Abducted girls and looted property were being taken to the Cambellpore district and so was the looted property being removed. Reports from the Attock district also stated that abducted women and looted property were being carried away through that area as well.

The conduct of the Governor of the Punjab, Sir Evans Jenkins, has come in for severe criticism. It has been openly alleged that while the Hindu Sikh minorities in the western districts were being butchered and crying for help he hurriedly visited Rohtak and Ambala on a false report, apparently for the protection of the Muslim minorities there against any retaliation. It has also been alleged that while a show of force on the west could save thousands of men, women and children from butchery, troops were despatched to the eastern districts more quickly and in larger numbers. The minorities in the western district received some succour only when the Defence Member Sardar Baldev Singh was there. Dewan Chamanlal, after his return from Lahore, has made startling revelations, specially about the role of the Governor. He said that British and American correspondents had been given full facilities by the Punjab Government, the Section 93 Administration of Governor Jenkins, to see the riot-affected areas and send long cables abroad depicting India in the throes of a civil war following the British Government's decision to quit the country. Correspondents of the Indian Press have not had similar facilities for touring the areas and strict censorship has been exercised on their messages, a sample of which has been given above. Addressing a Press Conference, Dewan Chamanlal explained the Governor's role. He said, "Some Punjab Ministers have stated that the Governor had for some time been insisting that the coalition of which Malik Khizir Hyat Khan was the head could not continue and that he should join the Muslim League Party in order to establish an administration which might be more suitable. This insistence on the part of the Governor, it is said, was the basic reason for the resignation of Malik Khizir Hyat Khan. As to what authority the Governor had from Delhi for the proposition that he put before Malik Khizir may be guessed. But it is obvious that the resignation of the Ministry, far from easing the situation, has resulted in the Punjab's turning into a veritable inferno." It has been strongly insisted that the visit of Mr. Abell, Lord Wavell's private secretary, to Governor Jenkins just on the eve of the disturbance, must have had a sinister significance.

Dewan Chamanlal made some more revelations. He said, "Our Ministers were informed by the Governor that he had received information that the Muslim League National Guards in the city of Lahore had been seen roaming about wearing police uniforms and carrying rifles in their hands. I have seen with my own eyes marks of firing inside residential houses in certain localities. I have seen pools of blood on the fourth storey roofs of houses, where the firing by the police was unwarranted. Empty cartridges were picked up in wood. Knows that the Punjab Governor, Sir Evans

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plates, on which the following marks appeared, "prepared specially for His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur : Made in England." I have seen handbills cyclostyled or hand-written with pictorial designs and verses from a certain religious book giving instruction how to stab and how to commit murder."

Punjab Affairs in the House of Commons

The Punjab affairs came in for discussion in the House of Commons. Referring to the situation there, the Tory luminary, Mr. R. A. Butler, put the following question to the Labour Government : "Is it not rather irresponsible to talk about quitting when there is no responsible government at present." This stock question of the Tory-League combine failed to elicit any reply from the Treasury Bench because it deserved none. There have been enough evidence to draw the irresistible conclusion that the hand of the Tory officials at Lahore and Delhi was behind the League's organised attempt to let hell loose in the Punjab. After a visit to the Punjab, Mr. Jayprakash Narain, like some other leaders, clearly stated that he strongly suspected that Governor Jenkins was behind the League conspiracy for the establishment of a full-fledged League Ministry in the Punjab. The *Tribune* of Lahore, commenting on Mr. Butler's question in the House of Commons, writes, "We have facts and figures in our possession to show that the present lamentable situation in the Punjab is a creation of the alliance between the medieval part of the League and the diehard part of the Bureaucracy, but the censorship order hangs over our head like the sword of Damocles and prevents us from quoting them. Let us just refer to the Punjab Government's announcement of March 17 to which reference is permissible. It says : 'The Deputy Commissioners in the districts affected by the disturbances have been asked to collect and submit information about all pensioners, including persons holding honorary commissions, zildars, inamkhors, lambardars, jagirdars and persons with land grants in the colonies, who have taken part in the disturbances or have not rendered proper help, with a view to withdrawing all pensions, honorary ranks, grants and colony lands. Orders have been issued to suspend and dismiss all persons in receipt of Inams, Pachotras, etc., who have misbehaved.' There may be *some other official classes too* that have misbehaved. If blame is to be apportioned, it must be placed almost wholly at the door of British jingoes in the Punjab, who still hope to get the Attlee Government's Quit-India Decision reversed and that of those Muslim Leaguers who take delight and pride in out-Mirjafering Mir Jafer." The Tory M.P., Mr. Waldron Smithers, is therefore patently wrong when he suggests that "the responsibilities for the loss of life in the Punjab rests with the Socialist Government." The following mischievous question put by Mr. Nicholson to the Attlee Government is proof positive that the Churchillites will, on no account, abandon their fondness for the *divide et impera* policy. He asked, "Are the troops used in the Punjab disturbances under the order of the Governor in exercise of his special responsibilities or under the order of the Interim Government at the Centre?" The *Tribune*, which is in the best position to judge facts although its hands are tied in respect of their publication, says in reply, "Even the babe in the

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Jenkins, with his compact body of zealous bureaucrats and a police force, which is overwhelmingly Muslim, controls the administrative machinery in the Punjab and unless martial law is declared the troops gathering in the province will be guided by his will. Certainly Mr. Nicholson is better informed than the proverbial babe. But Tories in Parliament would not be Tories if they did not invariably use their interrogatory capacity and debating power to render the bad situation in India worse."

We in India are astounded at the brazen impudence of the Tories in the British Parliaments. Whatever foul lies or filthy hypocrisies they may utter, they know in their heart of hearts—if they at all possess that organ—that it is their own minions that have worked for and engineered such occurrences.

Third Calcutta Disturbances

The third attempt for the establishment of Pakistan began on March 25 and continued in full fury for more than a week. The attack comes from the same political party and the object is the same although there has been a change in the tactics. This time, there was a determined flare-up in certain plague spots of the city over which the League has the strongest hold and the hospital records for the first few days would show that victims almost exclusively belonged to one community. Attacks on unwary passers-by and helpless residents generally in the bustee areas continued. A portion in the heart of the city, within visible distance from the Government House, was impassable for foot or vehicular traffic for members of one community. This area is well-known as a stronghold of the League. The whole of South Calcutta, inhabited by Hindus, was completely quiet, and the virulence of the attacks was concentrated in the Eastern suburbs of the city.

One of the most significant facts of this third attack is the alliance of a section of the police with the League agitators. The Muslim National Guards, in open defiance of Sec. 144 Cr. P.C. and the curfew orders, began to parade side by side with the police. On complaint to the Governor, they were, however, withdrawn from the streets. But police, both unarmed and armed, took their place. It is alleged that the victims of attacks were subjected to arrests and assaults in many cases, while the attackers were leniently passed over. The mixed areas where the League has its hold have been the main target. Serious charges of house-breaking, assault on women and children, theft in the name of search, aiding and abetting to set fire, and murder have been publicly made and some such complaints have been taken to the Courts, but none of these officers have even been suspended pending disposal of the cases. The recently recruited Punjabi Muslim armed policemen have caused deep distrust in the city and allegations against some of them of serious crimes have been made in the Court. In one such case, although the Chief Presidency Magistrate observed that the allegations were grave, he ordered police enquiry instead of holding the inquiry either himself or by a Magistrate. The public have all along complained, with very strong ground, that the brutality of the junior officers continue because their seniors take no steps against them. This has served as an encouragement for them to throw their whole might in the fight for Pakistan even to the point of killing people. It is alleged that in the northern outskirts, a bustee was set on fire and some of the inhabitants of this very bustee were shot down while the attackers went away scot-free. It was openly alleged in the press that petrol for setting fire to this bustee was obtained from the officer-in-charge of the police station from his own store that the arson was committed in his presence and even that he had fired at residents of the bustee who tried to escape. These allegations are exceedingly grave and any decent administration would have taken drastic and severe steps to bring him to trial. But instead, as is usual with the League Administration, this officer continues unscathed and in spite of the fact that legal proceedings have been started against him, he has not even been suspended.

Some significant changes in the police administration have recently been made here, evidently with the object of furthering the cause of Pakistan. Sixteen out of twenty-five police stations are under Muslim officers-in-charge. Out of the seven divisional detective Inspectors, who investigate cases and conduct arrests, six are Muslims. Only one Hindu D.D.I. controls two police stations, while the six Muslims are in charge of the remaining twenty-three. In spite of very strong public resentment, the most communally minded Deputy Commissioner in the force has been placed in charge of Lalbazar Head Quarters, whose rank is next to the Police Commissioner. All the key-positions in the police are now held by the League and utilised for the furtherance of the cause of Pakistan. And this in the city of Calcutta 75 per cent of whose inhabitants are Hindus, who contribute about 90 per cent of the rates and taxes !

New West Bengal Province

Various schemes about the shape of the new West Bengal province have been put forward during the past few weeks. We consider it best that the new province should include the entire Presidency and Burdwan divisions and the western portion of the Rajshahi division where the Hindus are in a distinct majority. We base this claim on the following grounds :

(1) Bengal has five divisions, two on the east, two on the west and one in the north. The eastern divisions of Dacca and Chittagong have Muslim proportions of 71·59 and 75·40 respectively. The western divisions of Burdwan and Presidency have Muslim proportions of 13·9 and 44·56 respectively. The area of Dacca and Chittagong divisions together is 27,263 sq. miles while the area of Burdwan and Presidency divisions together is 30,537 sq. miles. The total area of Rajshahi division is 19,642 sq. miles of which about 9,000 sq. miles constitute Hindu majority. Therefore, the new Province would have an area of 40,000 square miles leaving more than 37,000 sq. miles to the old one.

(2) Historically Bengal was formed out of three provinces, namely, Rahr, Vanga and Varendra. The separation on the following model would follow this historical fact as well.

If there ever is to be an exchange of popuation, it will be between 87 lakh Hindus, Tribals and others from East Bengal and 89 lakh Muslims from West Bengal.

(3) The populations of the new Provinces on this basis could be distributed as follows :

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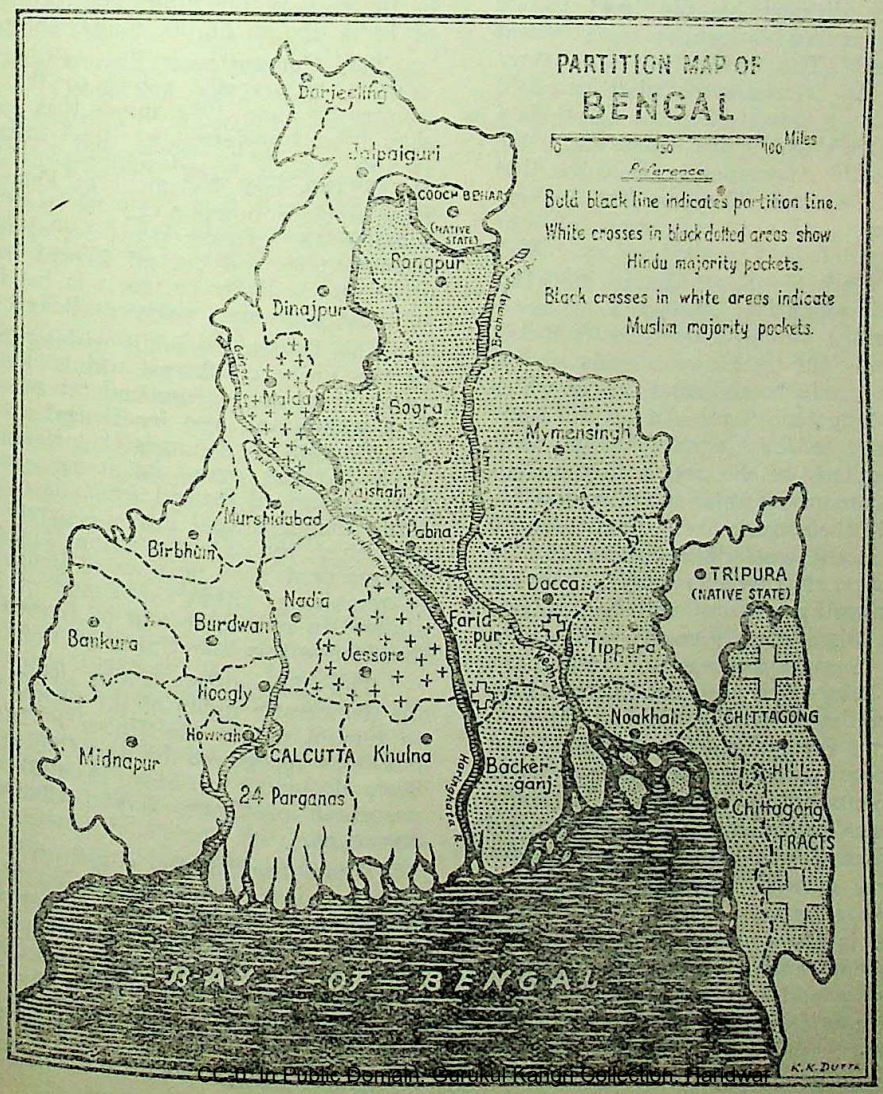
Percentage of Muslims	District or Division	Area in sq. miles	Total population	Muslims	Non-Muslims
	WEST BENGAL				
2·4	Darjeeling	7,192	376,369	9,125	367,244
23·1	Jalpaiguri	3,050	1,089,513	251,460	838,053
46·7	Dinajpur divested of 4 thanas	3,428	1,616,350	754,691	861,659
56·8	Malda	2,004	1,232,618	699,945	532,673
46·7	Rampur-Boalia				
	Godagari thana of Rajshahi district	200	116,979	54,666	62,313
44·56	Presidency Division	16,402	12,817,087	5,711,354	7,105,733
13·9	Burdwan Division	14,135	10,287,369	1,429,500	8,857,869
31·6	*Total*	40,411	27,536,285	8,910,741	18,625,544
	EAST BENGAL				
75·4	Chittagong Division	11,765	8,477,890	6,392,291	2,085,599
71·6	Dacca Division	15,498	16,683,714	11,944,172	4,739,542
76.9	Rajshahi district divested of two thanas	2,326	1,454,771	1,118,619	336,152
68·6	Four thanas from Dinajpur district	525	310,483	212,555	97,928
71·4	Rangpur	3,606	2,877,847	2,055,186	822,661
83·9	Bogra	1,475	1,260,463	1,057,902	202,561
77·1	Pabna	1,836	1,705,072	1,313,968	391,104
73·5	*Total*	37,031	32,770,240	24,095,245	8,675,995



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Bengal Congress on Partition of Bengal

The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has at last expressed its official opinion on Bengal Partition. As has been usual with them, they have not led the country forward but have merely followed popular opinion hesitatingly and with a number of reservations. A Congressmen's Convention summoned for April 5, to discuss the life and death problems of Bengal was postponed on the plea that conditions in Calcutta were not normal. Disturbances in Calcutta this time are localised within a small area of the city. Popular opinion considered this decision for postponement of the Convention as disgraceful. This was expressed in strong terms in a Calcutta daily of wide circulation and popularity. At a time when the Assembly sittings should have been utilised for putting pressure on the Government for their inability to bring the situation under control, the Bengal Congress leaders agreed to its adjournment on the same plea of difficulty of movement. Here again, the people took this action as rank cowardice and betrayal of the country's cause which also found expression in another Bengali daily newspaper edited by a journalist of the widest reputation. The Bengal Congress at the present moment is under the thumb of a party caucus of self-seekers who, only a few weeks ago, got a sharp rebuff in a municipal election at Khulna. The candidates set up with official Congress stamps were disliked by the local people there, whose protests against selections were turned down by the "leaders". The result was a victory for the people and the "Congress" candidates could hardly secure 10 per cent votes. After the elections a spokesman of the people's candidates explained in the columns of a third daily newspaper in Calcutta that it was not a rebellion against Congress but an expression of resentment against the usurpers of the powers and reputation of that great body to which every Indian with a spark of nationalism in his heart owes allegiance. Their coming into office, was not clean, it was through nefarious tactics. After the B.P.C.C. elections, complaints of foul tactics were made against each one of their "successful" candidates, all of which have been hushed. Many candidates sent by this body to the Legislatures and to the Constituent Assembly, utilising the blind allegiance of the people to the Congress, have been conspicuous for their worthlessness, inability and above all their utter lack of courage to stand by the people in the most difficult hour of trial in the history of Bengal. No wonder such a body of incompetent and unworthy persons will fail to rise to the occasion and when hard pressed will pass a resolution lacking in foresight, courage and vision. In their resolution they have urged a strong Centre which has not been contemplated by the Cabinet Mission Plan within whose four corners the Constitution must be framed. They have expressed their pious wish to maintain the fundamental unity of India but have failed to muster courage to declare in unequivocal and unambiguous terms that it was with this end in view that the Partition was desired. Bengal Partition is imperative not merely to save Bengal Hindus from extermination but it is the most effective weapon which can fight Pakistan and eliminate the greatest menace to Indian unity and freedom. Instead, the Bengal Congress lotus-eaters have expressed their eagerness to remain as a protected minority in their own homeland under the gracious protection of League stooges. If even that decency is denied them, then they would cry and beg for partition !

Here is the resolution :

The Executive Committee of the B.P.C.C. believes that India has a fundamental unity geographically, culturally, ethnically and politically and that in the present international setting maintenance of this unity is vitally necessary for the defence of India and for her proper future development so that India can play her due and rightful role in the comity of nations.

This Committee further believe that this unity would be ineffective unless there is a strong centre and so the committee thinks that the Cabinet Mission's decision of allotting to the Centre only three subjects, *viz.*, Defence, Foreign Affairs, and Communications, has been inadequate. And in any event the Union constitution should contain clear and definite provisions giving effective authority to the Central Government to implement its directives in matters concerning fundamental rights, protection of minorities and of backward tribes which subjects must be made Central responsibility.

This Committee is of opinion that Separate Electorates are a direct negation of democracy and the direct cause of communal discord and separationist tendency. The Committee, therefore, believes that Joint Electorates with adult franchise should be the basis of the future constitution of the Union of India and in all its component parts.

This Committee while welcoming H. M. G.'s decision to transfer power to the people of the country by June, 1948, insists that power as a whole should be transferred to the Central Government. It also records its disapproval of the clause in H. M. G.'s last Statement of February 20, that it may transfer power even to the Government of some of the existing provinces as it will break up Indian unity and cut off Bengal from the rest of India and is likely to result in handing over power to some communal party in Bengal.

This Committee while wishing for and believing in the unity of Bengal, thinks that the unity of India is of more fundamental necessity for India as a whole, and also for Bengal and its people. So this Committee demands that if H. M. G. contemplate handing over its power to the existing Government of Bengal which is determined to the formation of Bengal into a separate sovereign State and which by its composition is a communal party Government, such portions of Bengal as are desirous of remaining within the Union of India should be allowed to remain so and be formed into a separate province within the Union of India.

This Committee hereby lends its support to the democratic rights of the people of such portions to remain within the Union of India—which right has been recognised by the Cabinet Mission in its State document of May 16, 1946, as in the last paragraph of Clause 6 and Clause 7 of the said document.

While framing the constitution of Bengal even as a province within the Union, if it is not found possible to provide joint electorate and adult franchise with essential minority safeguards as the basis of the constitution, this Committee further demands that Bengal should be divided into two provinces and such portions as are desirous of framing the constitution on that basis should be allowed to form a separate province of their own.

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Support for Bengal Partition

The West Bengal Provincial Committee which was formed a few months before the Calcutta Carnage of August, 1946, for the purpose of agitating for Bengal Partition, has received the support of a large number of public organisations, organs and individuals. A summary of some of the public bodies who have supported the Partition is given below :

The Indian Association, the premier Liberal organisation.

Bengal Hindu Conference held at Calcutta on the 15th and 16th of March, 1947, attended by 400 delegates from all over Bengal.

The Jatiya Bangabhumi Samiti.

The Bengal Partition League of Mahendra, Patna.

The West and North Bengal Union.

The Hindu Minorities Protection Committee of Birbhoom.

The North and West Bengal Provincial Committee.

The New Bengal Association.

Burdwan District Congress Committee.

Hooghly District Congress Committee.

Midnapur District Congress Committee.

Tamluk Subdivisional Congress Committee.

81 Barristers of Calcutta High Court.

165 Advocates of Calcutta High Court.

100 Solicitors of Calcutta High Court.

Presidency Magistrate's Court Bar Association.

Sealdah Police Court Bar Association.

Sealdah Civil Court Bar Association.

Alipore Pleaders' Bar Association.

Howrah District Pleaders' Bar Association.

Howrah District Criminal Court Bar Association.

Ulubaria Subdivisional Civil Court Bar Association.

Ulubaria Subdivisional Criminal Court Bar Association.

Amta District Pleaders' Bar Association.

Chinsurah Pleaders' Bar Association.

Arambag Pleaders' Bar Association.

Serampore Pleaders' Bar Association.

Burdwan District Pleaders' Bar Association.

Asansol Subdivisional Pleaders' Bar Association.

Kalna Subdivisional Pleaders' Bar Association.

Katwa Subdivisional Pleaders' Bar Association.

Suri District Pleaders' Bar Association.

Rampurhat Subdivisional Pleaders' Bar Association.

Bolpur Pleaders' Bar Association.

Bankura District Pleaders' Bar Association.

Bishnupur Subdivisional Pleaders' Bar Association.

Midnapur District Pleaders' Bar Association.

Tamluk Subdivisional Pleaders' Bar Association.

Contai Subdivisional Pleaders' Bar Association.

Jhargram Subdivisional Pleaders' Bar Association.

Ghatal Subdivisional Pleaders' Bar Association.

Ghatal Subdivisional Muktears' Bar Association.

Tamluk Subdivisional Muktears' Bar Association.

Garhbeta Subdivisional Pleaders' Bar Association.

Krishnagar Pleaders' Bar Association.

Krishnagar Muktears' Bar Association.

Ranaghat Pleaders' Bar Association.

Diamond Harbour Subdivisional Pleaders' Bar Association.

Diamond Harbour Subdivisional Muktears' Bar Association.

Barasat Subdivisional Plaeders' Bar Association.

Jessore District Pleaders' Bar Association—Hindu members.

Magura Subdivisional Pleaders' Bar Association.

Narail Subdivisional Pleaders' Bar Association.

Khulna District Pleaders' Bar Association—Hindu members.

Bagerhat Subdivisional Pleaders' Bar Association.

Pabna District Pleaders' Bar Association.

Darjeeling District Pleaders' Bar Association.

Raigunj Pleaders' Bar Association.

150 Hindu members of Dacca District Pleaders' Bar Association.

Hindu members of Narayanganj Subdivisional Bar Association.

Hindu members of Munshiganj Subdivisional Bar Association.

Faridpur District Pleaders' Bar Association.

Madaripur Subdivisional Pleaders' Bar Association.

Hindu members of Mymensingh District Pleaders' Bar Association.

Netrokona Subdivisional Muktears' Bar Association.

Sherpur Pleaders' Bar Association.

Barisal District Pleaders' Bar Association.

Hindu members of Chittagong District Pleaders' Bar Association.

Hindu members of Noakhali District Pleaders' Bar Association.

Midnapur Municipality.

Barrackpur Municipality.

Rampurhat Union Board.

Burdwan Sadar Local Board.

Kalna Local Board.

Hooghly District Board.

Bangadeshiya Kayastha Sabha.

Ward XI Legal Defence Committee.

Hindu Chamber of Commerce.

Bengali and Marwari Merchants of Khulna.

Netrokona Medical Association.

Tarun Samiti, Simla.

Netaji Byayam Sangha, Ghatal.

Residents of Asansol.

Burdwan Traders' and Milk-owners' Association.

Howrah People's Association.

Conference of Khulna citizens.

Ranaghat Rate-payers' Association.

Noakhali Rehabilitation Committee.

Nadia District Teachers' Association.

Meeting of Jessore people.

Faridpur Medical Association.

Ghatal Medical Association.

Amrita Bazar Patrika (Daily English).

Eastern Express (Daily English).

Jugantar (Daily Bengali).

Bharat (Daily Bengali).

Basumati (Daily Bengali).

Hindusthan (Daily Bengali).

The Modern Review (English Monthly).

Prabasi (Bengali Monthly).

Charu-Mihir (Weekly—Mymensingh).

Bhaskar (Weekly—Mymensingh).

Pallibasi (Weekly—Kalna).

Assam

The League has turned its attention to Assam. Elaborate arrangements have been made to "invade" the province for the purpose of establishing Pakistan there and Pakistani troops have been massed in the Mymensingh district of Bengal on the border of Assam.

Assam is a Hindu majority province but Bengal and Assam taken together have a Muslim majority of

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one per cent. Therefore, in pursuance of Mr. Jinnah's "irrefutable logic" that he wants it Assam is called upon to merge herself within Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan and on her refusal, arrangements for invading the province are being made. Where the great General Mir Jumlah had failed, we have doubts if a Jinnah or a Khaliquzzaman will succeed.

The League's desire to send large numbers of Muslims into Assam for settling there with the object of turning the communal ratio of that province in their favour gave rise to opposition from the Assamese people. The immigrants began to take unlawful possession of the Government grazing lands and other reserve lands. The popular opposition forced the Saadullah Ministry to take action and it was decided by that Ministry that the reserves and grazing lands would be cleared of the immigrants. But before effect could be given to this policy, the Saadullah Ministry fell and Mr. Bardoloi came into office. But as soon as the Bardoloi Ministry took steps to implement the decision taken by the previous League Ministry, a hue and cry was raised. Even the Bengal Provincial Muslim League began to interfere in the internal affairs of Assam and now it has been taken up by the All-India League and Choudhury Khaliquzzaman is there. The fact, however, remains that the immigrants want to take possession of reserve lands by force and are not prepared to submit to a planned policy of settlement. They are backed by the entire League organisation in this most reprehensible action of theirs.

A joint Council of Action has been set up by the Bengal and Assam Provincial Leagues and large numbers of men, organised on military lines under the leadership of the Muslim National Guards, have been massed on the Bengal side of the frontier. Appeals for resources for this "invading army" have been openly made and menacing statements have been made in this matter by the League leaders. One fails to understand how Sir Frederick Burrows, the Governor of Bengal, suffers this concentration of men within limits of the province under his charge for aiding and abetting the unlawful activities of some lawless elements in a neighbouring province.

Minority Oppression in Sind

The Council of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee at its meeting considered the present situation in Sind and has passed a resolution which gives some idea of the systematic oppression to which the minorities are being subjected there. The material part of the resolution is given below :

> The Council of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee has given its most anxious and careful consideration to the political situation developing in Sind since the advent of exclusively Muslim League Ministry and notes with very great regret and concern that not only have they done nothing to improve and ameliorate the miserable condition of the masses of this unhappy province or to forge and cement the bonds of fellowship and foster the feelings of brotherhood between the various communities in Sind, but the League Ministry in its intoxication of power, far from inspiring trust and confidence in the members of the minority communities and protecting their legitimate rights and interests, has plunged headlong into a course of action in and out of the Assembly which is causing great anxiety to all well-wishers of the province.

The attitude of gross discourtesy and intolerance which the Ministers and their supporters have been showing to the opposition turning and twisting for gross communal propaganda the most innocent and well-meaning speeches and suggestions and amendments of the members of the opposition, is a clear indication of the manner in which the League representatives will treat the representatives of the minorities in the province.

In exercise of its powers the League Ministry is swayed by considerations of gross communalism to the detriment of the good of the province as a whole. Even in the sphere of education such considerations have not been laid aside and the result is a grotesque University Act which places power into the hands of their community which has been given overwhelming and unwarranted representation on various bodies out of all proportion to what their educational enterprise hitherto would justify. In matters of trade, taking advantage of the controls over some commodities, it has deprived the members of the minority communities of their legitimate trade in those commodities which they had been carrying on for generations, and placed it in the hands of those members of their community, a vast majority of whom are absolutely new to it, and this has been done absolutely on communal considerations.

In services the rights of minority communities have been trampled upon and appointments and promotions are made on communal considerations, which has very seriously affected the already deteriorating efficiency of the administration.

The attitude of studied indifference of the Ministry to the acute distress which has overtaken the members of the minority communities who owing to insecurity of life and property have migrated from their villages to nearby towns, and whose lands and other immovable property in the villages are being forcibly trespassed upon by the members of the majority community, shows the scant regard which the Ministry has for their interest and welfare.

In other spheres also the League Ministry is not lagging behind. Fresh legislation is being enforced to make it easy for the members of their community to get back the lands they have transferred decades back. Special procedure is being devised and the existing wholesome law is being replaced for this purpose and though ostensibly this proposed legislation can be exploited, by all the communities, still the Ministry in pursuance of its authoritative pronouncement in the Assembly, is bringing forward this legislation styled 'Sind Landholders Mortgage Act' primarily to benefit the members of their community.

Free Press of India sends the following report from Karachi:

> Sind too is now passing through a critical period of communal bitterness. One after another, the League Ministry in Sind is taking steps to consummate a well-planned economic scheme, which the Hindus feel to be against their interests.
>
> Muslims from the Punjab and the adjoining states of Bahawalpur and Khairpur are being allowed to infiltrate gradually into Sind, while immigration of Hindus has been entirely stopped.
>
> Muslims are permitted to purchase property at much cheaper rates than Hindus, while in the matter of trade, they are given favoured treatment. It is thought likely that a large number of big Hindu business-men will shortly make Karachi their home.
>
> Already Hindu capitalists have started migrating, those owning land refused to build till the political future of the Province is known.

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The Land Alienation Bill, which is now on the legislative anvil, will debar any Hindu who did not own any agricultural land in 1938 from purchasing such land in future.

A well-planned scheme for the economic subordination of the Hindus is already under way and in the services, they will have to face gradual extinction. Already all the key jobs in Government services are monopolised by the Muslims. All the District Magistrates with the exception of one are Muslims. The solitary Hindu is also leaving Sind shortly.

Hindus are being transferred from all confidential departments and Muslims are replacing them.

The minority oppression in the two provinces under Muslim League Administration follows the same methods and same tactics. Their life, property and honour of women have been made helplessly insecure. In a planned way they are being ousted from the political and economic spheres of the province and great care is taken to increase their inability to resist this attack on their very existence. Minority protection is the special portfolio of the British Governors and in both the provinces these dignitaries are nothing more than mere on-lookers to this foul game of extermination of the minority by a communal dictatorship. Meanwhile, Mr. Jinnah punctuates this nefarious game of the League Ministries by occasional homilies about the minorities and declarations of delivering social justice to them. With this black record, Sind now prepares to take over power from the British Government as an independent State. The Sind Muslim League Assembly party has appointed a committee under the chairmanship of the Premier, Sir Gulam Husain Hidayetullah, with other Ministers among the members, to frame a constitution for a separate sovereign Sind. The committee being exclusively formed of League Members it is conceivable that Hindu interests in the province will be exterminated if such a "State" comes into being. The present activities of the League Ministry have provided more than sufficient evidences of attitude towards the minorities.

Sind University Bill

"We cannot permit our culture to be threatened, it is our life blood, not even next in importance to food and drink," observes Mr. Durgadas B. Advani, President, Sind Provincial Educationist Conference and ex-Mayor of Karachi in a statement condemning the Sind University Bill. In his statement he throws light on the part played by Mr. Jinnah in making this Bill more stiff and more rigid for the minorities. The statement given below adds another to the already piled up documents which prove how minorities are being oppressed in provinces under League Administrations. The hollowness of the League leaders' pretended concern for the minorities and their real desire to convert the minorities into slaves needs no fresh proof today.

Mr. Durgadas urges the minority communities of Sind to start at once with the organization of a separate 'National University' to protect the educational and cultural interests of the minorities of this province. Such a University, he affirms, could be established even within a year if sincere efforts were made from now. He could not conceive of any power on earth which could come in the way of this National University getting recognition. He also contends that the clause introduced by the Government in the last section of the Sind University Bill prohibiting the affiliation of the educational institutions of this province with any other University except the proposed Sind University, could not become operative, and the educational institutions controlled by the minorities of this province could therefore simply ignore this ban. He had yet to learn that any Legislature could cause disaffiliation of an educational institution from any particular University. But in order to achieve the latter end, the Sind Government would undoubtedly take to coercion and intimidation, which would be a test of strength for the managing bodies and heads of the educational institutions of this province and would also call for considerable sacrifice on the part of both the teachers and taught. But he was sure that the minorities of this province would show by their conduct that they were living communities and could rise equal to the occasion.

The Sind University Bill, as passed ultimately, he says, would make higher education in the province 'the play-thing of communally-minded politicians, many of whom were not even sufficiently educated.'

Continuing, the President of the Sind Educationists Conference says, "The Sind University Bill was passed in the teeth of public opposition and in utter disregard of the legitimate interests of the minority communities. That such a Bill having no parallel in the Universities of India and of the world, should have been passed when Mr. Jinnah was here and after the criticisms of the 'Karachi Citizens Committee' were pointed out to him and to the Minister-in-Charge of Education, shows the length to which the Sind League Ministry can go. This has naturally cast a shadow of gloom over the minds of members of the minority communities in Sind. The Sind University Bill of 1947 was made worse in substance than that of 1945, and it was made still worse by the addition, at the last stage of a clause seeking to make it compulsory for all educational institutions in Sind to get themselves affiliated to the Sind University. When I met Mr. Jinnah in company with my colleagues of the 'Karachi Citizens Committee', we pointed out to him that the Bill, as it then existed, was permissive so far as affiliation went, but that if any institution chose not to have itself affiliated to the Sind University, it should, in fairness, continue to enjoy the existing privileges of grant, admission of its students to the State Colleges and employment in Government services of its alumni. Mr. Jinnah took note of this point. But far from being improved in this respect, a provision was added subsequently in the Bill making it more rigid and unacceptable ; *I feel inclined to ask if we are living in the age of Democracy and Freedom or thraldom, slavery and autocracy of the Middle Ages.* Mr. Jinnah asked us at the interview to show a spirit of co-operation : but this has obviously been made impossible by the stubborn and high-handed attitude of the Sind League Ministry in regard to the Bill and by the unbecoming jeers and jibes of the League Government benches, which followed the 'walk-out' of the members of the Congress Opposition from the Assembly hall in protest. It is amazing that the Sind Premier, Sheikh Ghulam Hussain, who always professes to be a friend of the minority communities, specially the Hindus, and who has been helped in every election by Hindu voters from his special Zamindars' Constituency comprising of both the Hindu

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and Muslim electorates, should now forget himself so far and show his ungratefulness by taking the leading part in the exhibition of this most unbecoming and rude behaviour by calling out loudly the words 'Don't come back' to the members of the Congress Party at the time of the walk-out. It is nothing short of an effrontery and an insult to the minorities of Sind. That another Minister of the Sind Government, Mr. Pirzada Abdus Satar,. should, after all this, ask now for our co-operation, is only adding insult to injury."

We would like our friends, the anti-partitionists of Bengal, to note what is happening in Sind.

The House of Commons Debate

The British Government's motion asking the House of Commons to approve its policy of transferring power from Britain to India by June 1948 has been carried without a division. The Opposition amendment declining to accept the Government's policy of transferring power by the announced date was defeated by 337 votes against 185.

"The British Government believed profoundly that it would be better to have an all-India Government if they could possibly get it"—declared Mr. Attlee in a final official utterance on the policy to be followed in India till transfer of power on behalf of H. M. G. The whole trend of the official utterances revealed H. M. G.'s sincere desire to maintain Indian unity and their eagerness to hand over power to one Central Provisional Government.

During the debate Sir Stafford Cripps explained that in declaring their India policy and their determination to quit by June 1948, it seemed essential to H. M. G. that the initiative should not be lost to them. In the Government's opinion no hesitation should be made and no policy of indecision should be adopted. He said that there were fundamentally two alternatives. Firstly, attempts to strengthen British control on India on the basis of expanded personnel in the Secretary of State's services and considerable reinforcement of British troops. That could have been done but that would have meant the prolongation of British stay in India only for another 15 or 20 years. "Secondly," said Sir Stafford, "we could accept the fact that the first alternative was not possible and make a further attempt to persuade Indians to come together while at the same time warning them that there was a limit of the time during which we were prepared to maintain our responsibility while awaiting agreement. One thing, that was quite obviously impossible, was to decide to continue our responsibility indefinitely —and, indeed, against our own wishes—into a period when we had not the power to carry it out." Outlining the dangers of prolonging British stay in India for more than a decade against the wishes of the Indian people, Sir Stafford said that it would be politically impracticable, both from the national and international points of view and would arouse much bitter animosity of all parties in India. The first alternative was, therefore, ruled out as both undesirable and impracticable. Regarding the second, Sir Stafford said :

> We were, therefore, determined to pursue our co-operation with the Indian communities and to make every effort to assist them to come to an accommodation. We took the view that the fixing of a definite term, during which they must either come to an agreement to set up a united independent government for all India or else break up the country into smaller and weaker units, should provide the strongest inducement to them to sink their differences and to act together.
>
> It seemed to us that as it was clearly impossible for us to contemplate an indefinite stay in India under constant pressure to side with one party or other in communal disputes, we must in fairness tell all parties when time would arrive by which they must have settled their own differences or risk clash of forces and communities in which we should take no part.
>
> It is not right that we should allow ourselves to be put in the position of imposing the will of one community upon the other by exercise of force, the facts of the situation are hard and difficult. But they must be faced and they flow not from some sudden and hurried decision, but from the whole historical development of the Indian situation.

Sir Stafford emphatically declared that in the course of the great final experiment the British Government had taken the right step. The Government were not prepared to let fear of difficulties prevent them from doing what they believed to be right. The fixing of the date of June 1948, constituted, therefore, an honest and frank acceptance of the facts of the situation. As regards the minorities, Sir Stafford said :

> What I have already said covered to some degree the position as to the minorities and their protection, but in addition to that there are provisions which the Cabinet Mission laid down in accordance with the promise of the Prime Minister on March 15 last, that this matter should, so far as we could influence it, be dealt with in the new constitution. The Minorities Commission which has now been set up to advise the Constituent Assembly as to the proper measures of protection to be incorporated into the constitution will, we hope and expect, make full provision for minority protection.
>
> It is to be noted that all the minorities are represented in the Constituent Assembly and the Minorities Commission, the only gap is that left by the Muslim League who would not thank anybody for calling them a minority. We believe that judging by the way matters are proceeding there will be ample protection for the minorities in the new Indian constitution. That is the only way in which effective protection can be given for they must ultimately repose upon the tolerance of their own fellow Indians for their safety and freedom. There will be nothing any outside power can do if there is intolerance or unfair treatment.

Regarding the future relationship between Britain and India, Sir Stafford said :

> Government have always stressed the fact that we in this country would welcome India as a partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations but we have equally emphasised the point that we do not seek unwilling partners. If the Indian people wish it we shall be only too glad to see them associated with the British Commonwealth of Nations and we believe that from that association they like ourselves and other dominions, would derive great benefit. But there is something more important and precious than any such formal association, that is, continued friendship between the two countries cannot grow and flower in an atmosphere of restraint.
>
> Friendship must be freely given and not forced or held by chains of power. It has always seemed to me a profound mistake to believe that we could accomplish a mutually advantageous relationship with India by control over that country against the will of the people in however modified form.

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The only true basis for our future friendship is absolute freedom of choice on both sides and I believe that this latest statement of the British Government marks the final clearing away of those influences which have militated against full and free friendship in the past and that it is, therefore, a great and valuable step to our continued close and friendly relations with a free India of the future. Most statesmanlike views have been expressed by Pandit Nehru and others and with this good feeling between the Indian and the British people, I trust, statesmanship may find ways and means to bring about agreement between the Indian communities.

It must be obvious, I think, to anyone who objectively studies the present situation that there is really only one way in which all these various difficulties can be overcome and that is by co-operation of the Indian parties. It is their problem and for it they alone can find a solution.

Whatever may have been the misunderstanding and differences that have divided Indians and the British Government over the past few years, and whoever may have been at fault, we have now made it abundantly and inescapably clear that we intend by June, 1948 to withdraw our control of India in favour of that freedom which Indians of all communities have persistently demanded.

Our policy and action has been based upon acceptance of the Indian claim that they are worthy and fit for self-government and anyone who has the privilege of knowing their leaders would not for a moment doubt that claim. They have their own difficulties which are indeed great, they too find themselves enmeshed and entangled in the skein of their own historical development.

The Conservative Opposition

Sir John Anderson was the chief Opposition speaker on the first day's debate. Recalling that in December last he had described as a 'cardinal blunder' the handing over for practical purposes the executive powers to representative bodies without being first assured that steady progress had been made towards a satisfactory constitutional settlement, Sir John Anderson said, "I think and believe it my duty to say frankly that the British Government are making even a greater blunder now. All were agreed on the ultimate objective in India but success should not be hurried unduly." He sharply disagreed with the British Government in fixing a definite and final date for handing over power. Dealing with the question of defence in the usual Tory fashion and lamenting for "those solemn pledges," Sir John asked what about Assam, the problems of Western Bengal and Calcutta? He simply posed the question but did not ask the Government to divide Bengal and Punjab where the Muslims by virtue of their majority in one portion of those provinces claimed to include them in their Pakistan and wanted to rule over the Hindus and Sikhs who constituted majorities in other portions of the two provinces. He had not the fairness to tell the House that the League had no right to claim domination over a minority which was just 5 per cent short of their number. He has enough intimate knowledge of provincial administration in India. *It was he who was primarily responsible for Muslimisation of provincial services in Bengal in utter disregard for the efficiency of the services.* It was again he who had enunciated the "hasten slowly" policy for the League in their attempt to capture power by bringing the administrative machinery within their grip. He, therefore, lacked the honesty to ask the Government to take immediate steps to free Western Bengal and Eastern Punjab from the clutches of a party which refuses to agree to a joint administration on the basis of joint electorates on the pretext that they would be under the rule of 75 per cent Hindus in India while at the same time claim an absolute right to rule over 45 per cent of people within a dominion described by them as Pakistan which, on basis of separate electorates, means rule of one community upon another.

Regarding the minorities, Sir John dismissed the claims of Muslims and the Sikhs with the remark that they were well able to look after themselves. Indian Christians, and Anglo-Indians, according to him, presented no great difficulty. In his opinion, the position of the Depressed classes were the most difficult. There were 60 million of them and they were widely scattered belonging to many different castes and different races. He declared that the Depressed castes did not want equality, that was the last thing that they would desire. But in reality, the first thing that the Depressed classes do want is equality with other Hindus and they have been steadily getting it. The barriers of caste are being quickly broken down and the social disabilities so long imposed upon them removed. They are getting equal facilities for education. As regards Sir John's homily about the Depressed classes, we would like him to view the Depressed class village of Haimchar in Noakhali where havoc has been created by the hooligans of the Muslim League. A British Governor armed with all the powers for the protection of minorities, has failed to protect their lives, property and honour of women, nor has been able to rehabilitate them in that hapless village. The meaning of the crocodile tears shed for them by the Conservatives is now well understood even by the illiterate members of the Depressed class. Next he expressed more of his hypocritical concern for the tribal communities and said, "They want something different. They want to be assured in the occupation of their land to be protected against exactions of the money-lender." If they could not be granted this protection during two centuries of British rule, heaven only knows how Sir John Anderson wants to assure it to them within the next 15 or 20 months, the period for which the British may stay here at the most.

There were mainly three points in the Opposition's charge against the Government :

> Firstly, their action, which he described as reckless, in allowing the Indian leaders to form a Government without assurances of progress towards constitutional developments. I suggested that it was bound to react disastrously on the services and I was right, Sir John said.
>
> Secondly, the Government was guilty of complete failure to take measures even to consider the measures necessary for the future maintenance of efficiency. In that regard even now much might be done. Thirdly, in the matter of date what was described as a tremendous experiment was, in his opinion, an unjustifiable gamble.

Sir John then moved the motion for the Opposition. It reads :

> That this House, while reaffirming its determination to provide for orderly attainment by India of self-government, as soon as possible, is unable to accept the British Government's latest declaration on Indian policy which by fixing an arbitrary date, prejudices

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the possibility of working out a suitable constitutional plan either for a united or divided India, which ignores the obligation expressed to the minorities or sections of opinion, which contains no proposals for security or compensation for members of the Indian services and which offers no help to or association with, India in her hour of destiny.

Churchill on Labour Government's India Policy

Mr. Winston Churchill, Leader of Opposition, was the main opposition speaker on the second day of the debate. He suggested that the problem of India should be handed to the United Nations for solution. Mr. Churchill described the Government headed by Pandit Nehru as a 'complete disaster.' He declared it was a mistake to entrust the Government of India to a leader of caste Hindus, Mr. Nehru. Regretting that no statement had been made as to the reasons for the resignation of the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, Mr. Churchill said, "It is an unwholesome way of conducting public affairs in time of peace that a Minister or a Viceroy should be dismissed or should resign and not feel it necessary to self-respect to explain to the nation the reason of the departure." Declaring that the Indian political parties do not represent the great masses, Mr. Churchill said, "In handing over the Government of India to these so-called political classes you are handing over to men of straw of whom in a few years no trace will remain."

Mr. Churchill summed up his funeral oration on the dying Indian Empire with the following words :

> To the departures in principle, there deemed to be added a formidable list of practical mistakes in handling the problem during the past year since the Cabinet Mission was sent out. Some of the mistakes might have been made by the Government and some by the Viceroy but they were both jointly responsible for all.
>
> First, the attempt to formulate a constitution and press it on the Indians instead of leaving to the Indians, as had been promised, the duty of framing their proposals—that action, however well intended, had proved to be devoid of advantage and must be rated as a mistake.
>
> Secondly, there was the summoning of the so-called Constituent Assembly on altogether inadequate representative franchise. An assembly so called into being had absolutely no right to decide the fate of India and express the wishes of the great masses of India.
>
> Thirdly, there was the dismissal of eminent Indians composing the Viceroy's Council and handing over of Government of India to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. This Government of Mr. Nehru has been a complete disaster. Great degeneration and demoralisation in the already weakened departmental machinery in the Government of India has followed from it.
>
> Thirty or forty thousand people have been slaughtered in warfare between the two principal religions. Corruption is growing apace. People talk of giving India freedom. Freedom has been restricted since this Interim Nehru Government has come into power. Communism is growing apace (Government laughter). It has been found necessary to raid and suppress Communist establishments and centres which in our broad British province we do not do here and have not ever done in India.
>
> It was a cardinal mistake to entrust the Interim Government to a leader of caste Hindus, Mr. Nehru. He had good reason to be the most bitter enemy of any connection between India and the British Commonwealth.
>
> That must be regarded as the third practical administrative mistake, apart from those large departures in principle which might be charged against the present Government in this Indian sphere.

Speaking immediately after Mr. Churchill, Mr. A. V. Alexander declared, "History may record that Mr. Churchill's speech this afternoon has been the principal factor in preventing the sides coming together." What the British people wanted was long-term standing friendship with the Indian people. He thought that for one in position of responsibility and authority to get up in the House of Commons and talk in this way of leaders of this kind was fatal. Deprecating the use of any suggestion of forcing a settlement on India, Mr. Alexander said, "I am as certain as I stand at this box that if we followed a procedure like that we certainly would have been on the road to ruin." Referring to the protection of minorities, Mr. Alexander said, "In the case of minorities, the position that we have always taken, was that in a constitution framed by Indians, there ought to be provided proper protection for the minorities and I think it is only fair to both the leading parties in India to say that never at any time have they ever taken any other line but are anxious and willing to make the fullest legal freedom for these minorities whatever class they might belong to." Dealing with Mr. Churchill's remarks about Pandit Nehru, Mr. Alexander said, "I do not know whether Mr. Churchill intended an attack on Pandit Nehru. He is the most able, cultured and experienced person now at the head of the Interim Government and I believe that he and his colleagues, if they are given a fair and reasonable opportunity to co-operate with the other great communities in India, will be able and willing to lead in bringing India through her present difficulties to one of power, influence, prosperity and peace."

Mr. Churchill interjecting : "I made no attack on Mr. Nehru, except to say that he had good reason to be our bitter enemy, having been interned ten or twelve years in gaol."

Mr. Alexander : "I should be very glad if at any time Mr. Churchill repented a little of some of the attitudes he has taken."

Mr. Churchill : "I do not repent at all. I went out of my way when last I spoke on India to draw the attention to Mr. Nehru's action in ordering troops to fire on his own co-religionists in Bihar when Government officers had failed in their duty. I have not said anything derogatory to Mr. Nehru's character."

Mr. Alexander continuing said : "I am certain that what British people want is to have a long-term standing friendship and brotherhood with the Indian people."

Dealing with the question of the time limit of 14 months he said that the Opposition had been dealing with the question of India for a long time. They had five years in building up of the 1935 Act, they had the subsequent Cripps Mission and all the work of the Cabinet Mission.

Mr. Alexander continued : "If the people of India would come together and co-operate in the fight of these circumstances it is perfectly possible

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that they will be able to draft a constitution within 14 months. It may well be that there will be certain matters of administration which will call for adjustment and which may not be operating at the time fixed of June, 1948, but it can well be, if they wish, that they come to a settlement and that the constitution can be formed and sufficiently advanced for a Provisional Government at the Centre to be set up and for adjustments to be made afterwards."

Winding up the debate on behalf of the opposition, Mr. Butler said, "It would be natural in any new initiative that attention was focussed on the chief aims of self-government within certain areas or, to use the Government's own expression, with certain parts of the country. If there is a new initiative it must be because, if once Government has been started in various parts of the country that these parts being closely interdependent our aim should be a fusion of divergent claims into mutual obligations at the Centre."

In reply to the debate, Mr. Attlee said, "The warning we have had from India is that the danger of delay of hanging back is as great as the danger of going forward." He candidly admitted that the days of British Raj are past and the British Government had to make up their minds that those days were past.

Referring to the rundown of the administration, Mr. Attlee said the device suggested by Sir John Anderson was turned down by the Coalition Government in 1945. There were Conservative cries of 'in war time' and Mr. Attlee added : 'It was in April 1945, pretty near the end, was it not ?'

He continued, 'We took this matter up when the Cabinet Mission went to India. I myself thought that some strengthening would be useful, but we were told that it would not be possible. If it had been possible to strengthen slightly the British cadre, it must be remembered that India is governed in the main by Indians with only a few British. A great mass of services are under the provisional government. Indian civil servants were looking to the future. They had stood up wonderfully under the strain of war, because they knew from all declarations that had been made that British Raj was coming to an end.

'You have as a matter of fact to govern India through Indians and the conditions are not such that you can throw over what has been done and go back to Section 93 government in other provinces. It just does not work out. The mere strengthening of government would not carry it through if you were going to take a line in opposition to the political forces in India.

'Mr. Churchill suggested that political people do not count very much, that the great mass of people are not very much interested. I agree they are not much interested. But after all you have to govern India through educated Indians. You cannot suddenly take people from the depressed classes and do so. The national feeling runs right through all Indian classes and that is why you cannot carry on against the will of the Indian people. All our advice has been that strengthening in that way will not get over the difficulties.'

Mr. Attlee agreed that the time they had set was short, but they were strongly advised that it was desirable to fix a date.

Replying to Sir John Anderson's suggestion that there ought to be two stages, one to allow India to decide whether there should be one India or several, and the second for the framing of the constitution, Mr. Attlee said :

> The effect of that would be to divert the mind of Indian politicians from one particular issue and you would in fact get delay. Sir John Anderson thought it was a great mistake to bring Indian politicians into the government, but the essence of the Indian problem was to get Indian statesmen to understand what were the real problems they had to face.
>
> Although the British had given Indians the experience of office in the provinces, at the Centre they had taught them irresponsibility, instead of responsibiity. It was not good to be always in the opposition. It made for irresponsibility. It was essential to get politicians of all communities into Government to understand the problem. Sir John Anderson rightly stressed the complexity of the problems. All the more reason why Indian politicians must be given the experience of how complex they were.
>
> The British Government believed profoundly that it would be better to have an all-India Government if they could possibly get it. Their object had been to get Indian politicians to look at this problem and see what it meant to India. He disagreed with Sir John Anderson when he said it was wrong to put responsibility as soon as you could on the Indian politicians. One of the faults of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms was that they taught irrespossibility, not responsibility. 'We had given Indians all the pleasant jobs and retained the difficult ones for ourselves.'

Finally, Mr. Attlee said that political advances would have been easier if undertaken earlier when the administrative machine was stronger. He frankly expressed the belief that there had been too much delay, too much hesitation, too much fear to go forward, but having reached the present stage, Britain cannot go back and cannot remain as she is.'

Interim Government's First Budget

The Interim Government's first budget, presented by Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, was proclaimed all over the country as the "poor man's budget" but very soon this optimism died down. The conflict that arose later over the Business Profits Tax and the Capital Gains Tax has left the impression in the public mind that the Congress High Command has yet to come to a definite conclusion about its dealings with Indian Big Business magnates.

The Budget reveals a heavy deficit of over Rs. 48 crores. Its provisions of taxation of the richer classes and concessions to the poor, such as the abolition of the salt tax, has been acclaimed as a sincere attempt to eliminate the glaring disparities between the income and standards of life of the wealthy classes and the vast multitudes of the poverty-stricken masses of India. Abolition of salt tax means loss of Rs. 8 crores. The minimum exemption limit for Income Tax has been raised from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 2,500. Under indirect taxation, the Finance Member proposed that the export duty on tea be increased from two to four annas a pound. He announced a graduated tax on capital gains.

The Finance Member proposed to appoint an Economy Committee of officials and non-officials to make proposals for economy in expenditure and the elimination of extravagant expenditure. He announced

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the Government's decision to nationalise the Reserve Bank. He proposed to bring a measure for the control of speculation on the Stock Market and commodity and bullion exchanges. He also proposed the appointment of a Special Commission to investigate the vast accumulation of wealth.

The following figures give the budgetary position of the Central Government since the war started :

(In crores of Rupees)

Year	Revenue	Expenditure	Deficit
1939-40	94·57	94·57	..
1940-41	107·65	114·18	— 6·53
1941-42	134·57	147·26	— 12·69
1942-43	176·88	289·05	—112·17
1943-44	252·06	441·84	—189·78
1944-45	335·57	496·71	—161·14
1945-46 (revised)	360·66	505·61	—144·95
1946-47 (original estimates)	311·65	355·71	— 44·06
1946-47 (revised)	336·19	381·47	— 45·28
1947-48 (on existing level of taxation)	279·42	327·88	— 48·46
1947-48 (on new levels of taxation)	311·21	327·88	— 16·96

The Finance Member, however, did not fail to express the League objective of Pakistan while, in the course of his discussion of post-war planning and development and allocation of expenditure for such purposes between the Centre and the Provinces, he emphasised that until the authority or authorities to whom the Central Powers would be transferred are known, it would not be prudent to rely on the present system of provincial and Central finance based on the existing constitutional structure. With his eye on the mirage of Pakistan, his accent was very much on regional planning.

The Finance Member announced relaxation of Controls and at the same time declared the intention of the Government to set up a Commodity Prices Board which will assist and advise the Government in the formulation and administration of an appropriate and consisteht price policy.

Although long-term plans, the execution of which is entrusted to the Central Departments, may need review in the light of the new situation, the Finance Member said that everything possible would be done to foster development on a provincial and regional basis. A sum of Rs. 45 crores for development grants and Rs. 32 crores for loans to the provinces have been provided. The manner in which the Central Development grants are being spent in the League provinces may lead one to think that the money is being misused for the furtherance of communal interests. Grants intended for the development of primary education are being grossly abused. In an earlier issue, we had dealt with the attempts of the League Administration in Bengal to Muslimise the whole department in flagrant disregard of all canons of a decent and civilised administration. The Public Service Commission is not consulted while creating fat-salaried posts and filling them surreptitiously with men of far less ability than would normally be available. The whole education department of the province has become a tool in the hands of the League for a planned denial of education to those who are the torch-bearers of Bengal's education and culture. Large sums of money have been sanctioned out of the Central grants for the construction of buildings in the schools and colleges in which the League is interested while the proposed grant for the expansion of the University Science College has been abandoned. We do not understand how grants for the construction of district and sub-divisional offices, buildings for circle officers and residences of circle officers and their staff, and police buildings come under the Central development plan. Nearly fifty lakhs of rupees have been used for these purposes while only a lakh of rupees has been set apart for the improvement of only high school buildings to be "selected" by the League Ministry. We equally fail to understand how the provision for Rs. 1·17 lakhs for the appointment of additional circle officers come under the development plan while only Rs. 65 thousand could be found for the improvement of 50 'selected' high schools of the province. We consider it most urgent that the Central Grants should be spent under the direct supervision of the Central Government and the manner in which money was being spent should be rigidly scrutinised.

The Business Profits Tax came in for a good deal of controversy and at times a crisis in the Interim Government was threatened over this issue. A compromise has at last been reached which however do not seem to have pleased the capitalists in the country. This tax would serve as a factor in the decentralisation of industry and would prevent concentration of capital in fewer hands. Time for a rigid application of the principle involved in this tax has not yet come, but it is, no doubt, a welcome move in the right direction.

Provincial Budgets

National economies have been disrupted by the war. The future is uncertain everywhere. Economic policies are in a state of flux. This general condition all over the world has been amply reflected in the provincial budgets for the coming year. Everywhere there had been the same story of inflation, high prices and multiplication of employment without a corresponding expansion in industrial equipment. So with the end of the war, scarcity and high cost of living coupled with retrenchment and demobilisation are causing distress and disputes everywhere.

In addition to these post-war miseries, this year has also experienced a rise in communal tension and political insecurity. Naturally, some sorts of hesitation and uncertainty are writ large in almost all the budget speeches. This shaky state of politics of the day has cast a gloom over the revenue prospects although most governments will have to provide for additional expenditures on relief.

Coming to the budgets proper with this background, the first point to be noted is that all provinces have ambitious development schemes, in which compulsory primary education, public health and the growing of more food figure predominantly. Another common feature of this year has been the incurring of deficits almost universally with but few exceptions. This year is likewise singular because of its paradoxical departure which credits the usually deficit provinces of the North-Western Frontier and Sind with surplus budgets while Bengal, so long regarded a rich province, is faced with the heaviest deficit. Of course, the war had been uneven in its effects on Bengal and the hands of the provincial administration also can not

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in any way escape their culpability. A province-wise study of the budgets would amply substantiate the above conclusions. To start with the North-Western Frontier, the budget holds out the prospect of a surplus of Rs. 2,23,000 in 1947-48 as against increments in the deficit in the past years from about Rs. 15,00,000 to Rs. 25,00,000. This change-over from the position of deficit to that of surplus again, is associated with an addition in expenditures due to newly increased scale of pay and the development plans to be completed in 1952. The proposed levies are on sales of commodities in general and that of motor cars, motor-spirits and lubricants in particular. Such a tax while having the administrative merit of a sales-tax would not be regressive as its incidence will be upon the rich. Thus a positive fiscal outlook on the part of the provincial government is mainly responsible for the change in the financial prospects of the province.

Next comes Sind, as the Punjab could not present her budget for political reasons. The Sind budget estimates total revenues at Rs. 9,24,08,000 and total expenditures at Rs. 9,20,97,000 leaving a surplus of Rs. 3,11,000. The Finance Minister has proposed a twofold tapping of the Sales-tax. The general sales-tax is expected to yield a revenue of Rs. 50,00,000, while the increase in the rate of Petrol Tax would yield an additional sum of Rs. 12,00,000. Indicating the lines of expenditure, the Finance Minister and Premier Mr. Hidayetullah said, "In five years we should be far on the way to complete compulsory primary education and our medical facilities, both preventive and curative, should be far in advance." Thus with this budget Sind begins to implement her 'master post-war plan.' But it must be noted that the surplus in Sind actually masks a deficit of some Rs. 78 lakhs, as the estimated revenues include land sales—really a capital transaction.

The Central Provinces has been able to present a surplus budget. Total revenue is expected to be Rs. 13,04,18,000 while total expenditure figures at Rs. 11,46,87,000 leaving a surplus of Rs. 157 lakhs. The estimated revenue includes Rs. 66 lakhs from a new tax on sales and enhancement of the existing rate of other taxes. On the side of expenditure, Education occupies the principal position. The other principal items are shared by the 'Grow More Food Campaign' and programme for industrial development. Like all other provinces, the Central Provinces has also in view a five-year plan of economic development. The aim of this plan is raising of the provincial standard of living through a balanced development of agriculture and industry. Accordingly, emphasis on conservation of forests and irrigation correspond with increasing governmental interest in the promotion of heavy and cottage industries. But the point of distinction to be noted in this connection is that, villages are to be the primary units of the future planned structure. The Finance Minister made it clear that villages would have senior basic schools, health assistants, Nyaya-panchayats, veterinary stockmen, agricultural finance and multi-purpose co-operative societies. In the field of education too, the authorities were planning to conscript matriculates and graduates, so that universal education might not have to wait for long.

Bombay's budget for 1946-47 has showed a surplus of Rs. 5·92 lakhs with revenues estimated at Rs. 38,91,26 lakhs and expenditures contemplated being Rs. 38,85,33 lakhs. The principal changes in the lines of expenditure are an increase of some Rs. 295 lakhs on Education, Rs. 49·70 lakhs on Public Health, Rs. 24 lakhs on Irrigation and Rs. 17 lakhs on Rural Development. But neither any new levy nor any enhancement in the existing rate has been announced. On the other hand, an addition of Rs. 1½ crore is proposed to be added to the already existing Rs. 12½ crores 'Post-war Reconstruction Fund.' An additional sum of Rs. 3 crores, inclusive of Central grants, is to be added to the same fund in the next year. The Finance Minister also gave an outline in cost-estimate of the provincial five-year plan. In the 90-crore plan, Communications alone will account for Rs. 10 crores, Agriculture and Education each for more than 16 crores and Public Health for roughly Rs. 10·05 crores.

Uplift of Harijans, nationalisation of Electric power, diffusion of education, intensification of prohibition, abolition of betting on races and imposition of some one or two new taxes characterise this year's budget of the Madras Government. The budget shows a small surplus of Rs. 57,000, the estimated revenue and expenditure for the ensuing year being Rs. 49,73,38,000 and Rs. 49,72,81,000 respectively. This surplus in reality hides a deficit. The normal revenues have been estimated at Rs. 48,24,38,000, and Rs. 1,49,00,000 have been transferred from the Reserve Fund to meet the excess expenditure over revenue and to show a small surplus. The budget takes credit for an additional revenue of Rs. one crore from the levy of Agricultural Income Tax, Rs. 35 lakhs from the increased Motor Spirit Tax, Rs. 42 lakhs from the Entertainment tax at one-third of the cost of each ticket. While these are the lines of increase, abolition of betting on races would cause a loss of Rs. 18,47,000 to the Government.

Development of communications, promotion of industrialisation, generation of hydro-electric power, and irrigation constitute the salient features of the post-war plans of Orissa and Assam. Budgets of both the provinces for the current year show a deficit mainly due to heavy expenditure on the development plans. The deficit in Orissa amounts to Rs. one crore and ten lakhs, while the same in Assam stands at Rs. 32,28,000. More than a third of the total Rs. 7 crores and 19 lakhs, expenditure in Orissa is earmarked for reconstruction schemes; while Assam's deficit is mainly due to the fact that the budget for the next year includes Rs. 5,08,26,000 for various post-war development schemes.

The United Provinces has budgetted a deficit of Rs. 47,26,100 striking the balance between her total estimated expenditure of Rs. 40,60,46,500 and estimated revenue of Rs. 40,13,20,400. On the side of expenditure as much as Rs. 16 crores are covered by projects of capital development. The provincial government proposes to issue treasury bills to the tune of Rs. 5 crores which will further be supplemented by a Central subvention of Rs. 7½ crores and a Central loan of Rs. 5½ crores. On the revenue side, the Government accepts voluntarily a loss of Rs. 60 lakhs by bringing 7 more districts under prohibition. By way of compensating this loss, the Government have increased the rate of tax on Entertainments. An Increase is also expected in the yield of land-revenue from the proposed reform of land-tenure.

This budget of U. P. is praiseworthy. But compared to the budget of Bihar, U. P. has to yield points of merit to the former. The principal features of

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Bihar's budget are the steady piling up of a Post-war Reconstruction Fund. This fund has been created out of repeated surplus-budgets during the latter years of war. This fund will now be further supplemented by Central grants and loans. In this positive asset of having a provincial fund, Bihar has parallels in Bombay and Assam. Wartime fortunes and administrative initiative now enable Bihar to take up at once in hands. the task of implementing multi-purpose power projects.

U. N. Trade Policy in India

United Nations are going to have a conference very shortly in Geneva to consider the question of tariff policies of the various member countries in the perspective of U. N. O.'s declared policy of free trade. Pending final conclusions, to be recommended at Geneva, the Preparatory Committee on the United Nations' trade policy has already forwarded two suggestions. First, the agreements, terminable after three years, will be multilateral. That is, if one member government agrees to concede any reduction of tariff to another member country, the concession must not be a bilateral one confined within the two nations only. Other member nations will get the same concession automatically as a matter of course. Secondly, no member is to be granted release from the terms of the agreements unless it is able to secure a substantial agreement of other members behind the case for such a release.

Both the recommendations have been opposed by the Indian representatives at the Preparatory Committee meeting. Inequity and rigidity of the terms account for this opposition. While India gets some facility in one single country out of an agreement thus reached, all other members, in addition to the nation at contract, are entitled to the concession to be granted by India in mutuality. Thirdly, India cannot come out at her will. She will have to wait for the maturity of three long years even if she finds it damaging to continue the agreement.

In this disquieting background, the Commerce Member Mr. Chundrigar addressed the joint meeting of the Trade Policy Committee and the Consultative Committee of Economists. He clarifies the concessions into two groups, namely, those to be conceded by India and those to be asked for by India. Naturally, interests of Finance and Industry predominate in all his calculations. Outlining the set of considerations, which will influence the grant of concessions by India, Mr. Chundrigar observes, "The requests received from other countries have to be scrutinised from another angle. We have to judge the effects of any concessions to be granted on customs revenue, development of domestic agriculture and industry, on supply of and consumption of the commodities needed by the consumer and the producer. . . . Great care has to be exercised in keeping out of these discussions all such items whether protective, or revenue items, in respect of which it is felt that any reduction of duty might prejudice or retard the growth of Indian industries." The policy he proposes to follow as to the concessions to be asked by India can be summarised in the following two clauses: (1) Tariff concessions to be asked by India for goods of which India is the principal supplier. (2) Concessions to be asked for commodities in which India wants to expand her exports. Such a policy deserves no criticism provided it can really be implemented in practice. But the difficulty in this connection is put forward by the conflict involved in the Indian interest for articles, of which India is the principal supplier, and those in which India deserves to expand her exports. India, for instance, occupies a principal position in the supply of jute, cotton, tea, oilseeds, manganese and mica, in each of which world will face a shortage. But India can hardly encourage their export in the interest of her own economic development. This point deserves more clarification by the Commerce Member.

Mr. Chundrigar has also expressed his willingness to lead the Indian delegation to the Geneva Conference. It is a laudable venture on his part no doubt. But the delicacy of such a position will be that the Government of India will be finally committed to any terms he may concede in the Conference. Any hasty concession under such circumstances may prejudice the interests of Indian industry and commerce. It is with this apprehension in mind, that the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has proposed the setting up of an Advisory Committee of Representatives of Trade and Commerce before sending the delegation to Geneva.

Asian Relations Conference

The Asian Relations Conference has been a great success. It has achieved in its first session what Europe failed to attain during the past century and a half, from the Vienna Conference down to the League of Nations and the U. N. O., namely, unanimity in the vital problems of human life and relations. Twenty-two countries of Asia were represented in the Conference, with the important omission of Japan. They were not official representatives of their respective governments, but, as Rev. Hopkins points out, they were workers at the grass-root level whose opinion in the long run outweighs that of governmental officials. The real importance of the Conference lies in the type of people which it is composed of.

Mahatma Gandhi truly represented the soul of India, when he said, "If you want to give a message again to the West, it must be the message of love and message of truth. The West today is despairing of the multiplication of atom bombs, because the multiplication of atom bombs means the utter destruction not merely of the West but of the world. It is up to you to tell the whole world of its wickedness and sin." Gandhiji said that Asia must spread this message with the greatest emphasis and she would complete the conquest of the West. If all of the Asian representatives put not only their heads but their hearts together and understood the secret of the message of those wise men of the East and if they were worthy of that great message—*truth*—then they would easily understand that the conquest of the West would be easily complete and that conquest would be by love.

The age-long message of Asia has an enormous value for humanity. It has great value for modern civilisation in the West. In spite of all the great advantages of the West there is something strangely lacking there and because of that lack they have come to this pass when with all the good things of the world before them, yet they quarrelled and thought in terms of war. Asia and only Asia can show them the true path to freedom and lasting peace. But for that Asian unity was needed. The foundations of Asian unity have been well and truly laid at the Conference.

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The Shape of Renascent Asia

"A free Asia will be a left Asia," observes Louis Fischer in one of his recent articles. The significance of the remark is that Asia is going to avail herself of a short-cut through historical evolution. In history, the transition from feudalism to social democracy has been brought about through the agency of capitalism and nationalism. In other words, the trade-unions and international socialism had to fight their ways into the sphere of freedom against the monopoly of the once revolutionary system of national capitalism. So these movements came to be styled as leftism as they had to function in opposition, overtly where the capitalism was a democracy of the English type and underground where it was an absolutism on German lines. Now, Asia is also on the way of transition from feudalism. Naturally, capitalist nationalism has an historical role for the maturing countries of Asia. The instance of Japan is just a typical example. Japanese capitalism modernised Nippon and gave a fillip to the Asian renascence. Japan was deemed to be the model for Asian revolution for a long time since the Russo-Japanese war. The powerful nationalist movements in other Asian countries like China and India have everywhere been controlled by the national bourgeoisie there. In this context, the observation of Louis Fischer appears to be very sweeping.

On second thoughts, however, the observation seems not so very much out of place. A left Asia will mean an internationally inclined and social-democratic Asia. That is, externally countries of Asia will transcend over their respective narrower nationalisms, and internally they will be directed by the political and economic rights of their citizens. Probably, Fischer foresees such a likelihood.

To understand its feasibility we may look back to the very recent history of the world after the end of the war. News of the post-war world have been full of Asia. Japan's exit was followed by flare-ups in Indonesia, Indo-China, Burma and last but not least in India. The re-entry of the Dutch with the support of British bayonets was opposed tooth and nail by the Indonesian Republic—a baby of the last world war. Similar resistance was offered by the Annamese to the come-back of the French power there. The Burmese National Army forced a promise from the reconquering British just at the very outset. India lined up with the countries of South-East Asia. This restiveness, however, was not confined to Eastern Asia alone. Middle Asia was also equally unquiet. Upsurges, in some form or other, took place in Iran, Palestine and Egypt.

The fulfilment of the remaining burden of the verdict is, however, conditioned by a hypothetical development. Asian economy is, with few exceptions, a colonial economy. "The pre-war economic and social situation in Asia was one in which the thin veneer of industrial modernisation only partially overlaid ancient pre-industrial societies and the living level of the mass of the people was one of poverty. Today, the need is for a new and much more rapid and comprehensive effort to modernise productive methods with the object of making tools of modern technology, available within the reach of all people," observes the U. N. Secretariat, in course of its survey of the Asian economy. "It would be better for Asia and all the United Nations to regard the reconstruction not as a return to some pre-war form, but as a first step in the vast readjustment under which the peoples of Asia with the assistance of the United Nations would master modern technology in rapid, but balanced economic development."

American Desire for a Stable India

In a special article to the *Bharat Jyoti*, Louis Fischer explains how Britain is busy disentangling herself from the mass of economic and financial disaster and how for the sake of survival she is reducing her commitments and liquidating her empire. Nobody can take Britain's place in that empire—not even the United States. Washington is, therefore, scanning the horizon for solvent partners to re-inforce the buttress of democracy. The genuine lovers of democracy in America are watching the emergency of a Free India which they hope will be the pole of stability in Asia. Fischer writes :

> Whoever doubts that England intends to get out of India misleads himself. The British economic and financial disaster is so grave that the Attlee Cabinet must reduce its commitments not only in India but in Egypt, Palestine, Turkey and in several European countries.
>
> The question that perturbs America is how the resultant vacuum will be filled. If an independent India can become an active factor for world stability, none will be happier than the highest authorities in Washington. Even greater satisfaction would greet any Indian contribution to the prosperity and political stability of the Near and Middle East.
>
> Britain's financial straits are such that new tasks and responsibilities are being thrust upon the United States immediately. The American public is reluctant and unprepared to assume them. The federal administration, therefore, hopes that India, avoiding domestic turmoil, will become the pole of stability in Asia.
>
> It is for this reason the United States Government is more than ever concerned with the internal developments in India. The average American, none too conversant with Indian affairs, makes a facile calculation. He says, "The British have maintained law and order in India for many years. The British are withdrawing from India soon. The Hindus and Muslims are at odds. Therefore, civil war in India is inevitable."
>
> The official mind in Washington does not follow this over-simplified pattern. Nevertheless, information has reached the capital that a mood of fatalism exists in India in regard to civil war. According to this information, many Indians would welcome a clash between the chief religious communities in order, once and for all, to clarify the situation. Only events in India will dispel this conception.

Meanwhile, Fischer believes, a sober restatement of the facts would help. Most Americans, for instance, are surprised to learn that Muslims do not constitute the bulk of the Indian armed forces. It rarely occurs to them that despite riots and food shortages, India is bustling with economic activities and full plans for even greater activity. Headlines in American press create the impression that nothing happens in India except stabbings and political crises. Fischer points out that Asaf Ali's advent in Washington coincided with the heightened realisation in top American official circles of the complications which Britain's economic crisis introduced into American foreign affairs. Explaining Washington's attitude, Fischer writes :

> For the present, these complications are confined to several countries in the Mediterranean area but it is

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feared that Britain may be forced by money shortages to pull out of European regions closer to home. Washington, therefore, is seeing through dark glasses. I have the definite impression that American officialdom would be immensely relieved by the emergence of a strong India which could be the nucleus of a united Asia.

China cannot play that role now because of domestic disunity.

Nothing is further from the American mind than the desire to pursue political and economic imperialism in India. America's hands will be full elsewhere with the urgent task of plugging the gigantic holes in the fabric of peace reconstruction caused by Britain's economic plight.

One hears the most serious persons in Washington saying, "England's finished—England's through." This may be an unduly dismal view yet every day brings additional concrete evidence of the contraction of Britain's foreign and political activity. These circumstances place new burdens on America's shoulders. The shoulders are strong but unwilling.

The average American would rather live well at home than assume overseas burdens however beneficial to the pocket and peace they may eventually prove. And the average American's private mood becomes a decisive official fact through the unwillingness of his congressmen to vote money for the United States Government's political and financial operations abroad. It is remarkable how poor the Government of a very rich country can be.

Conditions are forcing the United States to scan the world horizon for solvent partners in the business of reinforcing the buttresses of the democratic world. Aid will be accepted from, and in the end, aid will be given to every quarter.

Rau Committee Report

The Hindu Law Committee, set up to evolve a uniform code of Hindu Law, has recently submitted its report to the Government of India. The Committee consisting of Sir B. N. Rau (Chairman), Dr. Dwarkanath Mitter, Principal J. R. Gharpure and Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri (members) and Mr. K. V. Rajagopalan (secretary) began its labours in January, 1944. The reforms suggested by the Committee are very important and deserve careful examination. The Committee could not be unanimous in its opinions and Dr. Dwarkanath Mitter has recorded a dissenting minute opposing the codification of Hindu Law and the changes proposed in the draft code on the main ground that there is no demand for them. In answer to this objection of Dr. Mitter, the majority report says: "The eyes of the world are upon her now and it would be more than a misfortune if, at this juncture, she were to fail to enact within her own borders a Hindu code in which there was equality before the law and in which disabilities based on caste or sex were no longer recognised." The report adds: "Road accidents in a city may be few, but humanity requires that provison should be made for them when they do occur. And so the real question to be considered is not how many or how few demand the changes proposed, but whether the proposals themselves are on the right lines and worthy of acceptance."

An important recommendation of the Committee is that the right by birth and the principle of survivorship should be abolished and that the *Dayabhaga* Law should be substituted for the *Mitakshra* throughout the country. In making this particular recommendation the Committee has been moved by the paramount need for taking a definite step towards evolving a single law for all Hindus in India. This and other recommendations relating to succession of property must be read subject to the important qualification that they do not apply to agricultural land.

In regard to intestate succession to the father's property, the Committee has expressed the opinion that the half share provided for the daughter (whether married or unmarried) in the Bill prepared by the Hindu Law Committee of 1941, is the best solution for the present. The daughter, however, is to get double the share of the son in the mother's property as a make-weight for the half-share in the father's property.

The Hindu woman's present limited estate is to be converted into an absolute estate. The Committee does not believe that Hindu women, any more than others, are incapable of managing property and that they are likely to be duped by designing male relatives. The reasons given in the statement of objects and reasons annexed to the Intestate Succession Bill prepared by the Hindu Law Committee of 1941, in favour of enlarging the estate to an absolute estate are in the opinion of the Committee strong and sufficient.

The Committee suggests monogamy to be introduced as a rule of law. This is suggested for the purpose of preventing the husband from deserting the wife at will and contracting a second marriage. To check the increasing tendency towards desertion and remarriage and to put men and women on an equal footing as regards the marriage tie, the Committee recommends that the time has now come to prohibit polygamy among Hindus by law. The Committee points out that Bombay has already legislated for this purpose.

According to the Committee, divorce is to be permitted under certain conditions, such as where either party to a marriage has, without a just cause, deserted the other for a period of not less than five years; or is of unsound mind and has been continuously under care and treatment for a period of not less than five years; or has been guilty of such cruelty to the other as to render life unsafe. The Committee observes: "We are confident that provisions we have suggested will only give relief in hard cases and cannot be abused. They steer a middle course. They do not make divorce too easy. Nor do they make divorce impossible." The Committee emphasises that "the provisions are purely enabling ones and that there is absolutely nothing to compel a woman to sue for divorce if she does not want to do so."

The Committee after quoting ancient texts points out that among various Hindu communities divorce does prevail even now as a custom. The higher caste Hindus, who have not the custom of divorce among them, can secure divorce by a temporary profession of Christianity or Islam by one of the parties. Divorce was allowed to certain Hindus of Malabar by Madras Act XXI of 1933: either party to a Malabar or Marumakattayam marriage may get rid of the tie by simply filing before a Court an application for the dissolution of the marriage. But, witnesses belonging to the communities governed by that Act, of undoubted credit and authority, pointed out to the Committee that the number of cases in which this provision for divorce was utilised was negligible.

A number of other changes have been proposed by the Committee. The provisions regarding civ-

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marriages have been included in the draft code. The restrictions relating to inter-caste, *sagotra* and *sapravara* marriages are to be removed. Caste restrictions regarding adoption are to be abolished. The Bombay ruling, giving authority to a Hindu widow to adopt a son to her husband, where he has not prohibited an adoption by her, is to be extended throughout British India.

In conclusion, the majority report says : "We are convinced that the proposal to codify Hindu Law is a sound one and that as in Baroda, it will prove a boon to Hindu society. The original sources of Hindu Law lie scattered about in a multitude of works. A code which sets out in simple language the provisions of the Hindu Law and which will be accessible to all literate persons in the country, through the medium of translations will be an inestimable blessing. Moreover, we cannot afford to ignore either world opinion or India's own recent declaration of certain fundamental rights. It seems to us that a considerable body of thoughtful opinion favours the codification of the Hindu Law and the new changes which we have incorporated in it. The code is favoured by the vast majority of the younger generation and this is the circumstance from which we have derived the utmost encouragement. For, it is the young who will be governed by the code."

India's Population Problem

In an article published in the *Bombay Chronicle Weekly*, Reginald Sorensen, a Labour Member of the British Parliament who visited India last year with a Parliamentary Delegation, opposes the view that India's growing population is a threat to her progress and argues that the great resources latent in such a huge population will solve the problems arising from it. He writes :

Freedom and liberty have varied translations. The liberation of India from imperialist servitude may still leave the mass of her people the serfs of hunger and poverty. It was partly due to democratic misery that so many in Europe were deluded into accepting Fascist and Nazi shackles in the belief that economic security would be their compensation. India's supreme task is to avoid that betrayal by proving that a Free India will free India from economic wretchedness.

Despite the avowal that this will be done, and the production of proposals and plans to show how, there are those who remain cynical. They insist that fundamentally Indian poverty is due to her alarming expansion of population.

It has not been simply Nazis and Fascists who have utilised the alleged pressure of population as a justification of aggressive national policies that evoked war. The contention was that a virile people needed living-space; and the demand for as much of the earth and its treasures as was necessary to secure *Lebensraum* possessed a primal, instinctive right. In this, the genetical problem of human multiplication and the historical problem of human covetousness were hopelessly confused.

There are those, however, who morally repudiate this perversion yet who soberly contend that a vital human problem does exist. They point to the impressive increase in the population of India from 305,647,000 in 1921 to 388,997,000 in 1941, and the approximate further increase of 5,000,000 annually. Alongside this is the fact that production of staple foodstuffs has not increased proportionally.

This, it is alleged, demonstrates the Malthusian axiom that human fertility constantly tends to outstrip available subsistence: and therefore India's general standard of life is found to remain desperately low.

In view of such a morbid conclusion one needs to glance at the vital statistics of Britain. Between 1801 and 1931 the population of England and Wales grew from 8,893,000 to 39,952,000, an increase of 350 per cent. Yet, although 1931 was a year of economic slump the wealth and social amenities of England and Wales remained immensely superior to either 1801 or India in 1931.

Evidently, increase in population does not necessarily involve greater misery! British industrial expansion, her vast overseas trade, and better distribution secured by the pressure of organised labour and social legislation substantially raised Britain's standard of living. Let it also be admitted that Britain reaped a harvest from her "imperial estate" !

It does not follow that retreat from imperialism must mean British economic regression, although private fortunes secured by capitalistic and imperialist enterprise will diminish. Actually, there is no inherent reason why economic advances in one land should involve impoverishment in another, for the more wealth created in one part of the earth should mean greater resources for trade and enjoyment both for the people in that area and elsewhere. This, however, is providing internal and external democratic social control and co-operation replaces competitive or monopolistic economic processes. Ultimately, it should prove good for Britain and the rest of mankind for India to achieve beneficial economic transformation.

It is fully recognised in the modern world that the Malthusian contention is subject to drastic modification by the vast quantitative and qualitative improvement of agriculture and methods of production. There is much uncultivated land in India and much more under-cultivated. The need and scope for industrial expansion is vast.

Patent System in India

That India is a century behind Europe and America in the process of industrialisation, will be evident from a comparative survey of the Patent System in India and abroad, now published by the Controller of Indian patents and designs. The total number of applications for Exclusive Privileges or Patents has been 2,610 in India in 1946. The average number of patents granted annually during 1930-37 in the western countries, on the other hand, is contained in the following table :

Average number of Patents granted by countries

U. S. A.	48,697
Germany	20,627
France	20,025
Great Britain	18,417
Italy	10,634
Belgium	7,315
Switzerland	7,307
Czechoslovakia	3,613
Japan	4,845

While this table shows the position of India in the world, it does not reveal in the last what is the share of the indigeneous patents in the Indian quota. During its existence in India since 1856, the patent system has resulted in a multitude of applications for

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Exclusive Privileges or Patents. The total number of such applications in general and those originating from Indians in particular will be noticed in the following table :

Year	*Total applications*	*From Indians*
1856	33	—
1900	492	45
1925	1,000	71
1946	2,610	266

It is thus evident from these tables that India occupies the lowest position in the countries mentioned, and lags far behind the highly industrialised countries. It is also clear that the bulk of the Indian patents has been granted to foreigners. In this connection the following table will be of further help showing the percentages of number of patents granted to nationals and foreigners in various countries :

Country	*Nationals*	*Foreigners*
U. S. A.	86·8	13·2
Germany	74·2	25·8
France	70·1	29·9
Britain	48·3	51·7
Japan	76·0	24·0
India	10·0	90·0

It is then explicit most vividly that "the role of the patent system in India is comparable to the role of a 100-horse-power-engine turning out 1 horse-power-work, ninety per cent of which is for the benefit of the aliens."

It has been the experience of the leading industrial countries which have developed their industrial structure on the basis of free private enterprise, that the Patent System has provided a great incentive to inventors for evolving new inventions, and has also helped the development of new industries based on inventions. Some idea of the extent to which American industry has been based on American patents may be obtained from the fact that in 1937, a single American corporation owned nearly 8,500 patents ; another owned more than 5,000 patents ; there are some 22 corporations each owning, more than 500 patents. The American experience thus teaches the obvious lesson that the only answer to the prevailing scarcity of technical equipment in India should be to develop Indian inventions under the protection afforded by the Indian Patent System.

In fact, the Patent System is concerned with the encouragement of inventions and with the protection of new industries. It is so, because the principle behind the system requires that if anyone by the exercise of his inventive faculty, introduces an industrial invention into the country, he may, for a limited period, claim the exclusive right of working the invention for profit. The system seeks to promote industrial progress on the presumption that the exclusive right granted to the patentee would have the effect of :

(*i*) stimulating inventors to evolve new inventions ;

(*ii*) inducing them to disclose the inventions to the patent office, so that, the information may be made available to the public ;

(*iii*) attracting capital for investment in the development of new inventions ;

(*iv*) protecting enterprises based on new inventions from the risk of competition during the period of development ;

(*v*) getting the inventions dedicated to the public on the expiry of the patent.

As industrial India has not been thinking in terms of patents, it is worthwhile to examine in the first instance, what alternatives are being involved at present for industrialising this country. The most important of these proposals that are engaging attention in this connection are :

(1) That Indian industries should be protected by tariff and subsidies; and (2) that India should import machinery and technical talent from abroad.

But a resort to the above measures should be preceded by an examination into the working of the Indian patent system in the light of the progress of Indian inventions. The field of Indian inventions has expanded considerably during the past 90 years. The inventions which originated in India in the early days of the system of granting Exclusive Privileges were largely concerned with 'punka-pulling devices,' 'chulas,' fuels and oil-mills. During the Swadeshi movement in 1905, there was a lively activity in spinning and weaving appliances, water-lifts, lamps, sugar-cane mills, oil-mills, and other small industries. Greater and greater impetus was given to the small industries by each wave of the Swadeshi movement and at present the range of small industries is very extensive. Therefore, the Indian patent system should be subjected to the test of following questions :

(*a*) If the Patent System is, in fact, a powerful device for promoting industrial development, why is it that in spite of the existence of the Indian Patent System for about 90 years, the system has not hitherto played an important part in fostering Indian industries based on Indian invention ?

(*b*) Is the neglect of the Patent System attributable to any inherent flow in the fundamental basis of the patent system itself, or to any defect in the working of the system obtaining in India ?

(*c*) Has the neglect of the Patent System been due to any illusory faith which industrialists have in the efficacy of secrecy ?

(*d*) Is there any lack of inventive talent in India qualitatively or quantitatively ?

(*e*) How far is the paucity of Indian patents due to neglect of research, both fundamental and applied ?

(*f*) How far has the ignorance about patent-matters held up the progress of inventions and patents ?

(*g*) How far have political factors been responsible for damping of Indian enterprise, as regards inventions and patents ?

(*h*) How far has the backward state of Indian industries reacted upon the output of inventions ?

(*i*) What has been the effect of the fact that 90 per cent of the Indian patents are obtained by foreigners ?

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CURRENT POLITICAL TRENDS IN EUROPE

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

It is being increasingly felt that the real index to Europe's future is Germany, that it is the shadow which haunts each Big Three meeting and hangs like a menacing shadow over every peace conference. The shape of events in Germany must necessarily mould most of Europe. Every big power had long realised it. Russia had hopefully and assiduously nursed in the red bosom of Moscow, a prospective German national cabinet, with exiled German Communists as its core laid over later on with layers of captured German officers, who chastened but not discouraged by defeat began to dream of a new renovated free Germany enjoying Russia's strong friendship.

The Anglo-American powers similarly cherished the hope of a Germany under the Western hegemony, for it should not be forgotten that Germany has always been Britain's best customer and *vice versa*. The Allied race to Berlin was unrestrained. Though the war is over, that race still continues. That is why German political life moves in an unreal world and will continue to do so as long as the crucial issue—its relations with Russia and the West—is sought to be side-tracked or camouflaged. Nevertheless this is an issue which is reflected in the alignment of political parties in that country. For that issue will also reflect the present political evolution within the country as well as the shape it will assume in the future. And as Germany is the heart of Europe, what happens there is bound to mould the rest of that continent. Europe's history within recent memory amply bears that out. It must, however, be borne in mind that Germany has been infected for well over a decade by a single party system. In fact, the growing generations throughout the Nazi period were sought to be filled with an apprehension of democracy on the ground it tolerates a multi-party State. But a poll taken sometime after the close of the war revealed that nearly half were in favour of more than one party but wanted that they should be large major parties, not little factional fragments; only one-fourth was for one party while the remaining one-fourth declined to answer or remained indifferent.

In the British-American zones there are actually four big parties: two Right and two Left. The Conservatives are the Christian Social Union and Christian Democratic representing the big interests and their efforts to get rid of the restrictive regulations of the occupying authorities and follow the old capitalist line: no government interference. But it has no vital being in the body politic of the people. On the Left, the grouping is between the Socialists, Social Democrats and the Communists, S.P.D. and K.P.D. as the two are known. The struggle between these two may as in the pre-war period set the pattern for Europe. But the evolution of these two is sharply uneven between the Russian zone and the Anglo-Saxon zone. For, in the former, the occupying authority is pushing ahead with what has been ironically called a shot-gun marriage between the S.P.D. and the K.P.D. The German Communist Party which is the instrument for this merger, insists that the Fascist element is still the most powerful in the country and can only be eliminated by a strong united Left. There is everything to be said for this. But experience shows that while Nazi totalitarianism needs to be destroyed, the democratic purpose will not be served by substituting Soviet dictatorship in its place. The Socialists are convinced that the German Communists function as an arm of the Russian occupying authorities and that they are neither independent agents nor democratic. The Socialists have also read the warning in the recent results of the other European elections, the shying away of electors from the Socialist Party because of close alignments with the Communists. Actually a poll among the non-Communist German workers showed three out of every four opposed to this alliance. In the American zone, the S.P.D. has a voting strength of from 28 to 46 per cent, while the Communists show a uniform strength of 10 per cent. In the Russian zone, the Communist control however prevails, executed through its instrument the Socialist Unity Party. In fact, every kind of means was adopted in the recent elections there, even preventing people from voting for the opposition parties wherever this party did not have complete slates of local candidates, rendering the opposition impotent practically everywhere in that area. The 40 per cent vote against the merger is therefore all the more surprising and significant. Since the fusion in the Russian zone, the Communists are making a frantic effort to achieve it all over Germany for the Communists are still a minority while the Socialists are more popular and the Socialists are making a determined effort to resist the Communist move and whch has resulted at last where the free vote has had a chance, in a major defeat for Russian policy. This has in turn affected the policies of the main occupation powers there, and is partly resulting in an evasion or postponement of a settlement of the German issue. Russia is far from keen on the unification, on which she was once set, as she begins to lose confidence of controlling the whole of it immediately. The other two, England and America, have in fact already made a move in the direction of a merger of their zones, for they are confident now that Germany won't go Communist in a hurry. Once again the sharp struggle between the Socialists and Communists is vitiating the entire political atmosphere and weakening the fight against reaction and fascism and deflecting the real issues of basic economic and social character from the central focus.

Apart from the merger, the Socialists oppose the Communists on three other important issues: While the Socialists prefer a decentralised State with greater autonomy to the provinces, the Communists favour a strong centralised government. Once again the Communists stand for a closely knit rigid working class party while the Socialists wish to keep theirs loose enough to absorb elements from the other classes, for they say that it was on the support of the impoverished middle classes that Fascism came to power, therefore, Social-

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ism must now win them over. Last but not the least the two are split widely over the "guilt clause," which was the red-herring dragged across the trail of the interim pause between the two World Wars. The Communist Party accepts the theory that the entire German nation should bear the guilt of the War and Nazi atrocities. The Socialists, on the other hand, hotly resist this suggestion.

There is, however, a more Left section rising out of the Social Democratic Party. The younger and newer elements who are not affected by the background of the pre-Hitler days. These apart the trend is more to the Right than the rest of Europe probably as recent polls have revealed. The new trend has been for all non-Socialist and non-Communist elements to come together in a sort of a catch-all-group called the Christian Democratic Union. This trend is very much in evidence in practically every country of Europe today (which is not under Soviet control) and is proof of a revival more of church influence, not so much of pure religion, and the desire also of a section to make common cause between denominational groups and the social-minded in order to give it a sentimental rather than a realistic or Marxian bias to political parties thereby diverting and then controlling the revolutionary possibilities of the situation.

In Germany a combination of the old Catholic centre and the Bavarian Party forms its core, although Protestants of this way of thinking have also joined it in large numbers. "Dialectical materialisation was evolved as the anti-thesis to the other-wordly religiosity which appeared after the breakdown of the Christian synthesis in the middle ages," so says Tom Sargent in one of his articles in *Left*, "Marx at one and the same time sets out the doctrine of creation through conflict of two opposite poles. It is nonsense on the authority of Marxism to talk of Marxism replacing ; it is complementary to it, and most Christians have been too blind to recognise that Marx was one of the Major Prophets. The next development of society and human thought is a new synthesis of Marxism and Christianity which will shatter both the intellectual conceit of Marxism and the spiritual conceit of Christianity." These views in short represent a certain cross section which seeks to camouflage the real problems of the European masses by introducing extraneous matters which are beside the point.

But comparatively, while the poll showed 46 per cent Left sympathies, the Communist support was as low as 10 per cent or sometimes even less.

The reasons for the rightward swing are not simple enough for easy analysis, for it is partly the result of a decade of reactionarism. It is also a reaction from the violence and high tempo of Nazism, for conservatism seems somehow to hold out security, probably because it offers conditions of familiarity and partly freedom from the tension of change. The widespread antagonism towards Russia is also in a way responsible for it, and as a result in some of the local elections, the worst type of reactionaries have won. It is all the more disheartening since the Left is so widely divided and the S.P.D. standing to lose its existing vigour by following policies that are obviously fallacious such as that the German working calss can be united with the German bourgeoisie and that the middle classes can be won over to democratic Socialism. It is a genuine Socialist Party alone that can root out the long-embedded Nazi virus. But the aggressiveness of the German Communist Party in the Russian zone and its attempts at similar exploits elsewhere, seems to be driving the Social Democrats more and more towards the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, it is now equally perceptible that the Socialists in the Russian zone will soon lose their identity in the Communists and the Left wing of the Party will break away on the principle issue of Socialism.

Let us now turn to its sister State, Austria, tiny yet once full of dynamics, which has been more than once the cockpit of European conflicts. The Government here is a coalition of three parties ; Socialists, Communists and the Catholic Volks Partie (People's Party). The last named is a direct descendant of Dollfus's and Schuschnigg's Christian Socialist Party. This party polled the highest vote in the last elections, 50 per cent; Socialists following with 45 per cent and the Communists bringing up the rear with a mere 5 per cent. This was a big eclipse for the Communists who in the days immediately following the first exclusive occupation of that country by Russia, had enjoyed a brief intermezzo of glory under Soviet patronage.

The offices are also distributed between the three groups. The veteran Socialist leader Dr. Karl Renner heads the Government. Under him as chancellor is Leopold Figi, leader of the Catholic Volks Partie. This party has in the course of its transformation from the Catholic Socialist. assumed a more chastened air, shed some of its old notorious members and bowed to a programme of nationalisation and the like.

This tiny State is at the moment administered by four conflicting powers, all of whom know as well as the Austrians do, that they are there, not to keep off a revival of Nazism, but to outwit each other. "We are quite powerless," declared the Austrian Parliament in a resolution demanding sole Austrian control over the movement and sale of Austrian products, at home or abroad. Gedye, the Vienna correspondent of the London *Daily Herald*, recently revealed the following state of affairs :

> "The Viennese have had no fuel for the winter, for, one power holds large stocks of coal which it will sell back to Austria only at the world price—just double the domestic price. The direct cause of the stoppage of the train service was the exhaustion of coal reserves by the demand of one power for hundreds of special troop trains for manoeuvres. For months one power has insisted on the export of Austrian coal to Germany to feed factories there. One power thinking that another power is preventing its getting due quantities of Austrian oil, is holding back Austrian coal and livestock which the Austrian Government wants to transfer elsewhere. The textile industry in one zone is forbidden to receive starch from another and has to import from abroad at four times the domestic price. While potatoes rot in one depot because a local commander refused to let them leave for hungry Vienna. Similarly movement of milk was also banned, cutting Vienna children's scanty rations by 6 to 8 thousand litres a day."

And Gedye adds desperately, "One group alone is happy—the camouflaged Nazi who whispers, and wasn't Hitler right." For an appraisal of the other countries' political colouring the elections which have been taking place in recent months may afford the trend

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spotters some interesting indications of the directions in which the streams are flowing, that is, of course, where free elections still obtain. But it must, however, be remembered that the political situation in Europe is still very fluid.

For while there has been a widespread breaking of old allegiance, the new lines do not as yet show firm forms. For, general life has completely broken down and is still in too much of a flux to give anything beyond broad indications. It is only when life gets stabilized that more pronounced patterns may emerge. Still notwithstanding the fluidity of the situation, certain trends stand out in bold relief : the urge to liquidate monarchies and the opposition to capitalism. Even where the right has succeeded in emerging in the shape of religious denominational parties as in France, Italy, Belgium and Holland, it is on the strength of the Left programmes that they have shrewdly adopted ; and wherever people have been able to enjoy the right of a free vote, they have definitely turned their backs on monarchy. We may, therefore, say that the pull today is no more between Socialism versus private property, but rather the varieties of Socialist forms. But on closer observation, we find the situation more complex than that. For the parties which have emerged in Western Europe with pluralities if not with majorities, though all committed to a planned economy and extensive public ownership, portend different trends. It is only when we study their background that we can grasp their significance.

After three long years in which the Pope said as little as possible he boomed out on last Ascension Day—the eve of the elections in Europe—and like any other head of modern state, he went on the air and declared a virtual war on Socialism. Obviously, too much was at stake with the growing Socialist-Communist majorities in the West, the swing against monarchy in Italy, the tightening grip of the Soviet closing in on the South-East. Then the tide seemed to turn a little with the failure of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Paris, Churchill's broadside against Russia and the new sequences that followed. On the crest of this Pope Pius XII sailed back into the arena of international politics to assume command of all those forces which were supposed to have been laid low in the World War blitz. As in the eighties when the thrones of Europe were likewise shaken and the Church of Rome had lent its iron hand to steady them, so now, when the old order was being threatened once again, the hand which was shaped to bless took up the sword anew. But the manner of wielding had of necessity to be different if the ruined structure at least in the West was to be salvaged. For the Left was too powerful to be frustrated by completely discredited quasi-fascist groups, too reminiscent of the recent horrors of a war they had brought on. Equally powerful were the aspirations of the common people for greater socio-economic equality and justice. The times called for a party that would have a Marxist flavour without being Marxian and sufficiently advanced programme to be able to rally the progressive forces. and incidentally draw votes away from the genuine Left. Thus names like Christian Democrats in Italy, the Mouvement Republican Populaire in France, sounded just right. These two parties with their two brother parties in Belgium and Holland won a signal success at the polls, returning the largest number of deputies, thereby replacing in some of the countries the Communist and Socialist parties. The militant address of the Pope calling one the "evidence of history to show the church's incessant solicitude to protect the peoples against the "despotism of princes careless of the common good" certainly worked. There was hardly a Catholic in France, for instance, who did not go to the polls in the election that followed immediately while in Italy all the priests and nuns turned up in full strength at the polls. It should, however, be realised that the church alone cannot be held accountable for this swing. For other factors we must peep into the Left yard.

In the first elections there was a definite desire on the part of the electorate to commit its representatives to a Socialist State. Nor was this a mere freak or reaction to the war. It was a definite political stage, a deliberate phenomenon. It was a positive urge like the May First demonstration in Paris when a million workers are said to have marched in formation gay with floats and banners bright with the slogans : "Work, Produce,"—yet these very same people rejected a constitution framed by these same parties. The significance of it is that while the people have committed themselves to give Socialism a trial, it has no desire to stomach a single-party rule. For, although at the moment the new States were being sponsored by both the Left parties, the more chances were that the more aggressive Communist party gradually destroy the Socialist party. The emergence of the Catholic groups is more an evidence of this than any swing to the Right. The word Liberty still has a magical charm for these people of war-torn Europe, and it was the magnet which wooed away so many votes from the Socialists and Communists since they seemed to sail together. In short the recent election results in Europe, on the whole, may be taken as the red light against totalitarianism, and not a deviation from the Left. For as Andre Siegfried, the noted French writer, explained in Figaro, "France remains as before a country of the Left, and it was all authentic Left which determined the result of elections." In fact, even the masses that follow the Communist Party cling so wistfully to the idea of "Liberte" that in their later manifestos the Communist leaders have had to fall back once more on such old-fashioned words and sentiments.

Obviously the Socialists too have begun to realise this. In several places the Catholic Groups won more at the expense of the Socialists than the Communists. The weakness and undecisiveness of the Socialists was also partly responsible for the rise of the Communists for instance in France.

The French Socialist Party has lost a million votes in just over a year, while the Communists and the Catholics have each gained about half a million votes, and the Right Groups about a quarter of a million. It was a year in which the French electorate was called on to decide on the shape of its political future by voting a constitution for the country. In October, 1945, 96 per cent voted in favour of changing over from the 1875 Constitution to a new one. In May, 1946, they voted down the first draft, in October, 1946, it accepted the second. Therefore, it may be safely assumed that the popular verdict on the parties was not altogether unconnected with the Constitution. But that hardly explains why when the Socialists and Communists both supported the same Constitution, one should have won and the other lost—an analysis

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of the votes shows two things : First, that the Socialists have lost their hold over the industrial workers ; secondly, they lost to the M.R.P., who in turn are losing to the Right wing. The crux of the problem seemed to be the relationship of the Socialists towards the Communists. The Socialists seemed unable to make a clear-cut demarcation on this, its Right and Left wing dividing on how far to go in co-operation with the Communists. In fact, the last, Socialist Party Congress indicated a triumph for the pro-Communist section. But this only served to throw the Party and the public reaction to it, into greater turmoil. As Andre Philip said at the Congress referring to the pro-Communists that they were "leaving this earth in order to take the trip to the moon." Actually there seemed in practice little occasion for this rapprochement, for as another speaker pointed out, as fast as the Socialists moved nearer the Communists, the latter moved farther away, and made great capital out of what differences there were.

The result was that the electorate got alienated, one section for being what they felt was just a weak limitation of the Communists and therefore deciding to vote straight Communist, while the other section got definitely prejudiced by the pro-Communist tendency and turned to the M.R.P. This "obsession with the danger of attraction of Communism" as it has been tersely described by a writer, has tended to unfortunately deflect the Socialist Party's attention from the core of vital issues, and drive its members into an insularity that is but the negation of internationalism which is the basic character of a Socialist. The Party will be able to redeem itself only if it succeeds in proving itself as *a Left alternative* to the Communist.

Inside the "Iron curtain" as Churchill has crisply called it, a more or less common pattern is followed, with slight variations. There is an interesting fact about Yugoslavia which is typical of the technique prevailing in those dimmed-out areas. While the Communists continue to hold full control there, and the other parties have become mere ciphers, the Communist Party as such remains illegal ! There is an intriguing incident connected with this which throws a flood of light on the whole state of affairs in that country. Dragoljub Jovanoic, leader of the People's Peasant Party, rose to his feet in the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, and spoke firmly and with deliberation : "I want to talk about the Communist Party . . . In the army, in the exercise of power, in the People's Front and especially in the press and our cultural life, the Communist Party plays such an important role that it is impossible not to take it into account . . . If we proceed to strangle Social and political forces, if we beat down their leaders and make their activity impossible, we may bring disaster to the new Yugoslavia . . . In our Republic, we have separated church from State. It would be desirable to separate Party from State also, and thereby liquidate all resemblances between our new order and Fascism."

One thing is, however, clear, a Europe of contrasts in riches and poverty, of domination and subjugation, of "national" rivalries and fears, is a weak Europe and therefore a standing menace to world peace. To talk of a confederacy of some of the semi-capitalist States or totalitarian, gathered up regardless of economic factors, as capable of founding a unified Europe is to misunderstand the very nature of the problem. A united Europe can only be founded on the mass of the people, the common man, the peasant and worker ; *on the common economic interests of the whole* and not on the countless differences of the multitudinous cultures ; nor can it wax under the interference and domination of foreign officials and army, steeped in the most reactionary capitalist tradition. Equally a dissected and ruined Germany will infect the entire continent like a bacilli and logically any part of the world similarly diseased must destroy harmony and order everywhere else. Engels in the eighties foresaw the huge economic preponderance that a world war would give America (and now almost equally Russia) leaving Europe but the choice of sinking back into an outmoded agrarian economy, unless it went forward to Socialism. That choice undoubtedly faces Europe today and it will indeed be a catastrophe for not only Europe but the world if the present tendency Europe betrays of immaturity and lack of a rationalistic frame of mind by turning either to the Vatican or to the Kremlin, is not speedily arrested. For it shows the want of a strong inner-political conviction which drives its people to seek solace in established dogmas for their sustenance. It is for the common people of that unhappy continent to strive together for unity against all oppression until the backbone of capitalism is broken and socialism established in all its vigour.

We have to think of the European situation today in terms of the real issues which face the masses of people and not the entanglements woven by career politicians. Although it may be overstatement to declare that Europe is the graveyard of ideologies, it is quite to the point that ideologies are greatly interpreted in terms of calories. The basic issues are hunger and the warmth of shelter. Parties are evaluated in the final analysis in the context of economic recovery and the measure of reconstructed human existence, not abstract ideas.

———:O:———

There is no birth and there is no death. There is only the spirit seeking evolution in higher and higher stages of life. That is the history of India. That is the history of Asia. And I bid you all, whatever your faith, whatever your creed, whatever your tongue, remember there is no birth, there is no death. We move onwards and onwards and onwards, higher and higher till we ascend to the stars. Let us move towards the stars. Who shall hamper our ascent to the stars ? Who will bid us 'halt thus far and no farther.' We do not cry for the moon. We pluck it from the skies and wear it upon the diadems of Asia's freedom.

—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu at the Asian Relations Conference on March 23, 1947

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LONDON LETTER

From MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

28th February, 1947.

It is some time since I wrote a London Letter for *The Modern Review*, but it seems, as if February, 1947, will long be remembered as one of the most decisive and revealing of months in England's history. It has been an extraordinary month : everything seems to have happened at once ! Of itself the worst winter for a hundred years would be a major ordeal to a people already run down by seven years of war. But the intolerable cold brought in its wake the far greater blow of a complete set-back to our hopes of 'recovery.' For months we had faced the fact that we must put up with the shabbinesses and frustrations of Austerity and send everything that would sell to be sold abroad. Only in this way could food imports be paid for and a margin of foreign exchange built up until at last the safety line was reached when it would be possible to give some attention to the needs and the lacks of the starved home market. But the cold which rolled down and settled on the country for week after week put back such hopes indefinitely. (Going without electricity between the hours of nine and twelve in the morning and two and four in the afternoon—even at home on Sundays—was not enough. And no one can guess the sheer misery of numbers of unfortunate shop assistants in shops in which the cuts meant that there could be no heating in the place *all day*.) Factories have had to close. And not only is our export drive reduced to a crawl but Austerity is more austere. Sweets, home-canned foods, cigarettes, are all running out in the shops. Clothing manufacturers say it will not be possible now to meet the new issue of coupons which begins next week. (32 coupons have to cover everything though a woollen frock may cost 11 or 12 coupons and a coat-and-skirt as much as 18. Sheets, towels, drying-up cloths, all have to be paid for with coupons). The ration is not a third of what is needed even by any reckoning. I have heard women in queues at Woolworth's agreeing : 'You don't get enough to keep yourself decent.'

Still all are agreed that this ruinous cold has had one good effect. It has woken up every frozen one of us to a realisation of the kind of world in which we find ourselves. First and foremost shortage of coal, lee-way to make up, has spot-lighted the shortage of man-power. Somehow this man-power has got to be found and this means a combing out of unnecessary man-power at home and abroad. Perhaps, we cannot even find the men to carry out necessary foreign commitments. In that case some modification must follow in our foreign policy. We may have to reduce our armies in Germany and in Greece. We are certainly going to take our armies out of Palestine. This means that America, who has in us the one stable, democratic Power with whom she can act in Europe or indeed in the world, will have to take on more of our 'outside work.' She must certainly play a more helpful hand in Palestine. Indeed her Zionist intransigents, startled by a long overdue reproof from Mr. Bevin, are already beginning to change their tone. But the wickedness and folly of these men who themselves never intend to leave the United States and settle in Palestine ! They have not denounced the resort to terrorism ; they have raised impossible hopes in the breasts of millions of would-be Jewish immigrants ; they have given the Arabs every reason to fear and detest the prospect of being delivered into the hands of dollar-Jewry. That well-worn cliche 'Save us from our friends' must be heavy on the heart of every well-intentioned Zionist.

To return to the subject of shortage of man-power. It is now one of the major pre-occupations of Western Europe. Even before the War it was an anxiety always gnawing at the back of men's minds. It persuaded us along the unhappy path of miscalled appeasement. It unnerved France. It determined our strategy. Now we must do something about it. And for good or for ill, at this critical moment, there is in Europe—in the Displaced Persons—a flotsam and jetsam of human misery waiting for a future to be given back to them.

To English people these Displaced Persons are far more of a phenomenon than they are to people abroad. Belgium has always employed Poles in her mines. Paris, between the Wars, was swarming with Russian aristocrats turned taxi-drivers. Most surprising of all, considering what Germany has done to France in three wars in less than a hundred years, General de Gaulle was recently advocating not merely bringing in German workers but giving them French nationality as well ! But English people, and perhaps especially the English working-classes, do not take kindly to the prospect of admitting foreign competition into their ranks. It will be remembered how slow the medical profession was to give a helping hand to the many refugee Jewish doctors who would have liked to set up practices here. Similarly, the workers generally, remembering years of slump and unemployment and struggle to maintain their wage rates, are reluctant to admit foreigners on equal terms lest when a slump comes they are 'laid off' rather than the foreigner. Foreigners in the past have tended to run over to England, work all the hours of the day there are, and then run off again when they had made their fortunes. There is an understandable fear of being undercut by men who come to work but not to live. So all things considered, it is not surprising if the Government has had to feel its way very gradually in this matter. Four experts have left for Germany and Austria to see what volunteers are available for our cotton industry, now short of 100,000 workers. They hope to bring back a report which will be submitted to the Government, the Cotton Board, the employers and the operatives. But in the meantime France has a mission out there collecting not facts and figures but 50,000 *men*. Belgium is also in the field—she is after between 15,000 and 20,000 mine-

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workers—and there are even three South American Republics in the quest! So, we may find ourselves left with the left-overs.

And what, before we leave the subject, are the Displaced Persons thinking about it all? How weary they must be for a settled job and a settled home and a future without any more uprootings. They must feel even more anxious about security than the people they are coming to work amongst. It is to be hoped that everyone will feel the wisdom of admitting them to citizenship in the countries where they work. To hasten on the process of assimilation—and to awaken the sympathy rather than the distrust of the natives—it is to be wished that they could be billetted in private households, rather than segregated in camps or hostels as is at present suggested.

A very different but conspicuous feature of life in post-war England must now be commented on. It is important not merely on its own merits, or perhaps demerits, but because it has a real bearing on the present labour shortage. I refer, of course, to the Football Pools. For some reason—boring food? watery beer? boring clothes? few raw materials for private hobbies? general war-weariness seeking an easy stimulant?—participation in football pools has in recent months become pretty well universal. Barristers, accountants, char-women, I have met them all and they have all won something! (The char-woman filled up her father's coupon for him at random and won over £40). An aspect of it that makes one feel uneasy is to see the people waiting about in the streets when the newspapers are due to come along. They wait about for news of their winning in the same way that after D-Day they waited in the streets for news of the men in France. Football pools, a completely non-productive and in fact obviously inflationary enterprise, is said to be by now our fifth largest industry and to employ from 50,000 to 70,000 women who, if they were engaged in the clothing industry, could end clothes rationing within twelve months. Plainly this is not a wholesome state of affairs and I for one wish the Government would take the bull by the horns—it is not so much a non-party as an all-party bull and they would be universally execrated and abolish pools altogether. No hardship would be involved since there is plenty of work available. And since an occasional gamble never did anyone any harm—and it would obviously be unjust to put down one form of gambling whilst allowing other kinds—I wish the Government would take the winds out of the sails of those who would accuse them of robbing the poor man of his recreation and institute instead a couple of State lotteries. A State lottery once or twice a year would not upset the body politic, not for very long. There would be no hanging about the streets, week after week, waiting for the newspaper van to come along. We did have a State lottery once and out of the profits we built the British Museum. But whenever a State lottery is suggested, the cry goes up that no Government could ever give such a sanction to gambling as this would imply. Think of the Non-Conformist conscience, etc. But I suggest to these people that the non-Conformists, on the contrary, might conceivably admit that here was a case when the lesson from the Parable of the Unjust Steward might well be applied. A Government which abolished the nervous habit of waiting on the football pool results, and substituted instead a twice a year extra special flutter, might be wiser in its own generation than the children of light who would have nothing whatever to do with gambling, not even to stop the rot of the football pools. Anyway this seems an occasion when responsible citizens should take some action.

A flair for democracy, a sense of political responsibility, is a curious thing. It seems to be inherent in some nations and others cannot acquire it however much they may take thought. Though they have often let themselves be stampeded in the factitious excitements and alarms of a General Election, over and over again the British people have revealed their political sense. A recent Gallup Poll is an admirable illustration. The poll revealed first of all that Mr. Winston Churchill was by far and away the most popular man in the country, and next that he was not the people's choice for Prime Minister. Not even the Tories wanted him. Their choice was Mr. Eden. My own feeling is that the Tories would be mistaken in either choice. . . .

Speculating about the next Prime Minister must be rather depressing to the holder of that office. But fortunately Mr. Attlee seems to be in the best of political and private health. Post-war reaction however is taking its toll of his Government. Miss Ellen Wilkinson, who in the old days thought nothing of joining in a hunger march and who in the blitz was out every night inspecting shelters, has died suddenly and unexpectedly of bronchitis. Mr. Herbert Morrison is in hospital with thrombosis. Mr. Bevin is worried by his blood pressure. Supposing the doctors ruled out any more exertions for Mr. Morrison or Mr. Bevin? Incidentally it is not only those in authority who are feeling the reaction after the War. The young do not seem to be as tough as their elders. You hear of every office that the young typists are the first to go down with influenza. A fishmonger commented that it was always the young ones who fainted in the queue.

And now a new era is beginning for India. She has behind her a glorious past—a heritage of which any nation might well be proud. Ever since I first set foot on her shores in 1910, I have spoken, written and worked for a better understanding between India and Great Britain. I have pressed on Government after Government in this country the necessity of fixing a date when India would have her own Government in her own hands—full self-government. After long discussions with Indians of all shades of opinion, finishing up with talks with the late Mr. C. R. Das in Calcutta and Mr. M. R. Jayakar in Bombay early in 1924, I brought home and placed before the Government here a scheme for full self-government for India with a fixed date for its full accomplishment. In these days I was a voice crying in the wilderness. Now at last a date has been fixed and I feel my work has not been in vain.

I am aware of and have protested against the many blunders and mistakes made by the British in India. The fundamental one, to my mind, is that when an Englishman goes to Australia he becomes an Australian; in Canada, he becomes a Canadian; in New Zealand, a New Zealander, but in India he remains an Englishman. He does not in India identify himself with the people and become one of them as he has done in other Dominions.

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AN OPEN LETTER TO THE INDIAN PUBLIC ON EDUCATIONAL POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

By Prof. TARAKNATH DAS, ph.D.

I

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to editors of Indian newspapers and magazines for affording me the opportunity to express my views on the so-called new policy of "expert training" and higher education of the Government of India, by sending five hundred Indian students to England and five hundred to America annually.

I am gratified to know that these articles have made a large number of Indian intellectuals and students very happy, because I have given expression to their views; while others are very resentful because I have dared to tell unpleasant truth about squandering poor Indian taxpayers' "blood money" for creating a new class of Indian office-holders from the upper middle class and the rich while neglecting the interests of the poor and not giving proper attention to development of Indian institutions as it should have been done long ago. I am really happy that there has been some heart-searching and in some cases heart-burning among Indian politicians—nationalists—officials, educators, industrialists and the privileged classes. I hope that this will bring about some favorable reactions towards inaugurating policies I have definitely mentioned in my article "Open Letter to Indian Educators," published in *The Modern Review* of November, 1946, (pages 348-350).

II

It may interest the Indian public to know that certain influential Indians have taken special objection to the following paragraphs of *The Modern Review* article:

"Recently rich Indians have begun to send their undergraduate sons and daughters to the United States. American university authorities in some cases have been gracious enough to admit them to universities, when literally hundreds of thousands of American students—better equipped educationally—are not getting the opportunity to enter colleges. But the worst thing about these immature students in the American universities is this: Except in rare cases, they do not show good results and in many cases they show such bad results that after two terms, they are asked to leave universities. This happened in M. I. T. and other institutions of the highest standing. This has lowered the prestige of Indian universities and has even made difficult for desirable first class students getting admission in these institutions.

"It may be well to let the Indian educational authorities know that because of the poor results made by some Indian students in American universities, the general average of Indian students is lower than that of the Chinese and Latin American students, *in spite of the fact that some Indian students in America, specially Calcutta University scholars, have achieved excellent results in their higher studies.*"

Of course, I do not retract a word from the above statement because it is the truth which should be known to the Indian people. But some misunderstanding has come to pass, because I have made special mention of the "excellent results achieved by *Calcutta University scholars.*" It has been suggested by some that this statement is wrong and has been made "due to Bengalee provincialism." Thus I owe it to myself to explain fully what I had in my mind when I mentioned about the success of *Calcutta University scholars,* I did not mean Bengalee students, graduates from Calcutta University, but I meant that body of Bengalee students, less than a dozen, who were sent to American universities as "Rash Behari Ghosh Travelling Fellows," "Guru Prasanna Ghosh scholars," "Palit scholars." They have acquitted themselves well, not because they were Bengalees, not because they studied in Calcutta university, but they were qualified research scholars and at least mature students with ability and experience. Surely, Watumull scholars, some of Tata scholars and individual students from various universities of India now in the United States have made good results, but *as a body, Calcutta University scholars* in the United States have done excellent work. Let me mention a few names of these scholars, so that there will be no shadow of doubt regarding my statement:

1. Dr. Sachchidananda Banerjee, M.B., B.Sc., D.Sc. (Calcutta)—Ghosh Travelling Fellow—who did not care for an American degree, but made splendid work in the field of diabetes while working at Cornell and Wisconsin Universities. Before he left India he was a member of the Faculty of Indian Institute of Tropical Medicine and Science College, Calcutta University. He has been chosen for Coates Medal of Calcutta University for the best researches in Medicine during the last five years. Several of his papers have been published in American journals.

2. Dr. N. Das Gupta, D.Sc. (Calcutta)—Ghosh Travelling Fellow—he was given a Teaching Fellowship at Stanford University while carrying on special research in the field of Bio-Physics. Several of his papers have been published in American scientific journals. Dr. Das Gupta did not come to America for a higher degree. Dr. Das Gupta has returned to Calcutta to carry on his teaching work there.

3. Dr. S. Palit, D.Sc. (Calcutta) did not come to America for a higher degree from an American University, but as a Calcutta University scholar, he was given a research Fellowship at Stanford University for special work in the field of Oil and Paint Technology and he is now an Honorary Research Fellow in Brooklyn Polytechnic.

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4. Dr. H. K. Acharya, D.Sc., a Ghosh Travelling Fellow from Calcutta University. He was a Teaching Fellow in Stanford and also was for some time carrying on research under the auspices of Canadian National Research Council and also at Imperial College—Department of Technology—in England. By this time he might have returned to India to assume teaching responsibility at Calcutta University.

These four Calcutta University scholars had their doctorates and they did not think of seeking for degrees; but they were interested in making themselves more proficient in their own field of work so that they would be able to raise the standard of Calcutta University.

There are other Calcutta University scholars who have taken higher degrees in American Universities and others who are working for their Doctorate while carrying on special research in their own fields of study:

1. Prof. Chandra Sekhar Ghosh, M.Sc. (Calcutta) was a member of the Faculty of Physics Department of Calcutta University and came to the United States for higher studies at M. I. T. He decided to take regular Electrical Engineering Course at M. I. T., because by doing this, he will be able to be more effective in his teaching work. For his excellent work, he took his M.Sc. in Electrical Engineering and was given free tuition scholarship for two terms. After finishing his Electrical Engineering work at M. I. T. he has studied his subject at T. V. A. and is now in Canada, studying various hydro-electrical projects, etc. He will also rejoin the staff of Science College of Calcutta University.

2. Dr. Arabindo Bose, M.Sc. (Calcutta), Ph.D. (M. I. T.). Dr. Bose came to M. I. T. to study Food Chemistry. He was one of Guru Prasanna Ghosh scholars, who according to terms of award of scholarship was to specialise in some subjects which would be helpful towards development of Indian industries. Mr. Bose has an excellent record as a student and research worker and has received, through the co-operation of his professors, practical training in various factories. He has gone to England on his way to India. He will give some of his time in industrial development in Bengal and at the same time become a part-time teacher in Calcutta University or College of Engineering and Technology at Jadavpur.

3. Mr. Jnan Ranjan Basu Mallik, M.Sc. (Calcutta), came to U.S.A. to join M. I. T. to specialise in Mechanical Engineering in the field of Refrigeration and Air Conditioning, as a Guru Prasanna Ghosh scholar. He did his work creditably and when he took his M.Sc. he was chosen a member of honor of engineering society and he also enjoyed scholarships from M. I. T. He, through the efforts of his professors, succeeded in getting practical training in America and also taking further training in England has gone back to Calcutta where he will serve an industrial concern and at the same time be a part-time lecturer on refrigeration at the College of Engineering and Technology at Jadavpur.

4. Mr. Subodh Ch. Mukherjee, M.Sc. (Calcutta), came to U. S. A. as a Guru Prasanna Ghosh scholar of Calcutta University. He joined M. I. T. He has taken his M.Sc. in Chemical Engineering and worked for several American firms as research Chemist and has won scholarships from M. I. T. and is now a candidate for D.Sc. After his return to India, he will devote his time and energy for teaching and development of chemical industries.

5. Mr. Kamalesh Ray, M.Sc. (Calcutta), came to U. S. A. as a Guru Prasanna Ghosh scholar and is now studying River Engineering at California Institute of Technology. He will try to master this special type of Engineering which will be useful to India in many ways.

6. Dhirendra K. Kundu, M.Sc. (Calcutta), who was assistant to Prof. Meghnad Saha at Calcutta University, and sent by Calcutta University to study in the field of nebular physics has made an enviable record while working under Dr. Poole at Ohio State University. He has read three papers before meetings of American Physical Society. He will, after his return to India, devote his life in teaching.

Calcutta University scholars have made excellent results not because they were Bengalees, not because they studied in Calcutta University, but because they were better trained and mature students who came to America for a definite purpose to carry on higher studies and who would use their energy to raise the standard of higher education in India.

My record in the field of helping Indian students during the last forty years is known to many and only those who have a kind of "Bengalee-phobia" will say I am partial to Bengalees; but those who know my work will have to admit that I have helped Indians without any spirit of provincialism. I preach that the doctrine of "India First" should be the guiding principle for all Indians.

III

From the Government of India Information Service cable from New Delhi, February 1, 1947, I learnt that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as member for Education and Arts in the Interim Government during a Press Conference has made certain statements regarding problems of Indian students in Great Britain and the United States which are not in conformity with my views on the subject; and therefore I shall express them for the benefit of further discussion by the Indian public:

1. Maulana Azad is thinking about "strengthening the organization in the United Kingdom and the United States of America for dealing with Indian students' problems as quickly as possible." I sincerely hope that Maulana Sahib is not contemplating to appoint a few more British University trained Indians to new jobs in America and Britain to look after the welfare of Indian students. The thing that is needed is that only a small number of properly qualified Indian scholars should be sent to foreign countries and there should be facilities in India for training Indians for the service of Mother India. The best trained Indians will go out for higher studies with the definite understanding that they will teach the subjects they studied abroad. This was the way Japan developed her national efficiency.

I do feel much more can be accomplished in India within a shorter period in training teachers, etc., than sending some girls to America and England.

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Let me explain my position by concrete example : It is a fad in India that young women should go to Teachers' College, Columbia University to learn all that is best in the field of "Education." To be sure that the Teachers' College is one of the best institutions in the world ; but that does not mean the subjects taught in Teachers' College cannot be taught in India. In fact, 90 per cent of the subjects can be taught in India even by trained Indians and by hiring a few American, British or other foreign experts. To find out if I am right in my conclusions I have consulted several students, men and women from Indian universities, (not Calcutta University alone) who are studying at Teachers' College about this point ; and all of them are in agreement with me. For instance, some Indian students at Teachers' College are studying Rural Sociology under one of the foremost authorities and he is giving them instruction on solution of rural problems of India (He was in India some time ago to study the subject for his benefit). My contention is if the same professor was engaged by one of the Indian universities and if the Government of India selected fifty students who have studied various phases of educational and social problems of India up to M.A. level and have then taken the course with the professor and have carried on field work and "case studies" etc. on Social Service, in India, they would have accompished much more than they will do by studying at Columbia. I venture to say many of these scholars who are studying social problems and rural reconstruction at Columbia have never lived in Indian villages, will not go to villages and they are thinking only about some good jobs in connection with the provincial and national government.

2. Maulana Azad said in connection with his Press Conference :

> "The Deputy Educational Adviser to the Government of India, who recently went abroad and visited many universities where Indian students were studying, *reported that he had received almost invariably satisfactory reports about them.*"

I venture to say officials make official reports for official reasons and at times these reports become half truths. If I may say so *the private report of the Deputy Educational Adviser regarding the result of Indian scholars in U. S. A. was, as I understood it, "he was disappointed that on the whole their result was not the best as he expected."* These terms "almost invariably" and "satisfactory" need explanation. Lest there may be misunderstanding, I wish to say that given equal opportunity and when Indian students of merit work to attain the best, they are "second to none" as students. Why the students selected by the Government of India and whose expenses are borne by the Government of India have not the very best result should be explored by the authorities with the help of those who may be unbiased.

3. The Indian students who are going to Great Britain and U. S. A. with fat scholarships cannot be pioneers. In the United States some 40 years ago Indian students did the pioneering when they earned their livelihood by working and won Fellowships in American Universities in competing with others.

The Government of India should not have sent the scholars without proper arrangements for their stay in British homes or college hostels. We are told :

> "The Government have already set up at considerable expense a hostel for Indian students in London and another at Edinburgh. It is proposed to establish another hostel in London, if suitable premises can be found to serve as a reception and transit camp."

One Indian student after reading this news-item told me that *Indian students' hostels in London and Edinburgh may be called "Indian students' 'ghetto,"* because they will be living apart from the British and other students. If the lakhs of rupees which have been spent in building hostels for Indian students in the United Kingdom were used to develop Schools of Education or special laboratories in connection with Engineering colleges or hiring most eminent British professors who would inspire Indian professors for higher type of efficiency then the sum would have been well spent ; but as it is the poor Indian tax-payers' blood money has been virtually wasted.

If Indian nationalists are interested in raising Indian national efficiency in an effective manner in the field of training Indian workers, then they may just well learn from the activities of American missionaries in India. This is a very hard pill to swallow ; but the fact is that there is no institution in India where systematic "Social Service" work or Applied Sociology is taught, except in Tata's establishment in Bombay where not more than 30 students can be trained annually (it may be less in number, as I was told). But American Y. W. C. A. and other organisations have sent to India American experts—teachers and social workers—to establish a school of Social Service which will train actual Social Service workers. That was the way Allahabad Agricultural College, Isabella Thoburn women's College have developed.

Lastly, I again say that with the pious intention of training experts, the Government of India is aiding the rich and upper middle class and doing very little for the poor. Government of India instead of building hostels in London should spend that money and hundred times more to give scholarships for those who will become school teachers in villages and also provide living wages for these teachers.

India needs Agricultural High Schools of American type which teaches farming and not merely high-sounding Agricultural research institutes of India. India needs Technical High Schools of American type in every district of India. Engineers with high efficiency cannot develop industries without the aid of efficient workers.

IV

I must speak my mind and I am willing to be corrected if I am wrong. I was told that the idea of sending so many students to England was advocated because by that way a part of "sterling balance" can be used ! I have seen Indian leaders and their advisers and others spending money like water, on the ground they were representing Indian interests in international conferences. Many of the representatives of India were chosen because they had very important connections. I am afraid that many of the students were chosen in the same fashion.

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I shall suggest that Maulana Azad and others should devise some means by which they will be sure that Government of India scholars were not going to be mere job-hunters. *I suggest that there should be no guarantee for jobs, but they will have to offer themselves for service to India in some form and also they will have to pay back poor tax-payers' money which they will spend in foreign country, in some form of service.* More scholarships for the poor students. More money should be spent for training teachers and making education free and compulsory. More money should be spent in India to make Indian universities second to none in the world. More efforts should be given to bring the best scholars from all parts of the world to teach in Indian universities and only very best selected young scholars be sent for higher studies with the definite understanding that after their return to India they must teach in Indian universities and institutions. Let Indian industrialists pay for training experts in India. Let the Government of India introduce graduated income tax on industries to provide funds for development of training facilities in India.

The present programme pursued by the Government of India is a modified form of Macaulay's idea that Indians to learn what is good must go to England which some leaders think of as "their intellectual and spiritual home." *India must create facilities in India to train her experts as Russians are doing and the Japanese did.*

New York,
February 12, 1947

P.S. 1

LACK OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES FOR INDIAN STUDENTS IN ENGLAND

In Great Britain, Indian students generally do not get special opportunity for practical training in industries. An America-trained Indian scholar, (Ph.D. of M. I. T.) recently in England, in a letter (Feb. 10, 1947) gives the following information :

> "England is quite a disappointment to me. Here the good industries are very suspicious about foreigners and of Indians particularly. They do not even allow us to visit their factories. Working with them is out of question. I am trying to go to India as early as I can . . ."

Under the circumstances, is there any sense in building Indian students' hostels in London and other centres, and thus wasting poor Indian tax-payers' blood money ? In case of necessity, hire foreign experts to build factories in India and give training to Indian students in India, and *make special arrangements for practical training of Indians in foreign lands, before sending any Indian students abroad.*

P.S. 2

A letter from an Indian Lecturer of a Government College (India) addressed to Dr. Taraknath Das :

Dear Sir,

I read with great pleasure your article in *The Modern Review,* November, 1946, on "An open Letter to Indian Educators." I really appreciate very much what all have been said there and the way they have been said . . . .(—) University has declared me in October, 1946, eligible for Ph.D. degree. For the last two years I am working here as the lecturer in Economics handling classes up to B.A. (honors). We are required to take 23 classes a week and very little time we get to read literature on our subjects. Those who are privileged, are getting scholarships from the State and are going abroad. The professors of repute either do not get time or do not like to keep up touch with us, who some time trouble them. The college libraries are always extremely poor ones. Even in the universities for carrying on research on social subjects, there is not ample provision. Another thing that strikes me is that unless I get a foreign degree I cannot make my position economically better. As you already know we get a "starvation wage" and are required to spend more money on dress than on books. We cannot purchase any book, no decent intellectual life is possible. The society shuns our company and the Government ask us to "live still more plain." However, even men like—(an eminent Indian educator) prefers one foreign B.Sc. (Econ.), (London) to one Ph.D. of Indian University, all other conditions remaining the same. So, I seek your advice. I am one of your "under-privileged" and cannot afford the luxury of going abroad for study. But I am not at all content with the present, I refuse to submit to foul tendencies of the society, government and other so-called intellectuals. So, please help me through your letters by giving valuable suggestions. It is no good my complaining. I have first to establish myself according to the accepted standard for judging one's worth.

18. 12. 46 *Sd.—*

Comment by Dr. Taraknath Das :

Indian professors on the top level should carefully digest the implications of this letter. I have dozens of more bitter letters from Indian M.A.'s and M.Sc.'s about their grievances. I may say some scholars with great merit and with double foreign degrees (not British, but Ph.D. from Germany and D.Litt. from Paris or an American degree) do not get equal opportunities, because they do not have proper connections. I know a case of a scholar of this type from Bengal, teaching for twelve years in Calcutta University and has produced excellent studies in his field, but has not yet succeeded to get a permanent position.

For 75 years Indians have been going to foreign countries—to study at Oxford, Cambridge, etc. In India, there has developed a kind of Oxford, Cambridge or London University fraternity in universities and politics as well. Great Indian educators, politicians, who are so often acclaimed as great patriots should give some of their efforts and wealth to develop proper educational facilities in India for Indian people and not merely for the privileged rich.

New York,
February 16, 1947

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INDIA'S INTERNATIONAL OPIUM POLICY

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

II

Second Hague Conference of 1913

Signing the Hague Opium Convention which had been all that had taken place merely implied agreement with the objects of the First Hague Conference —a thing quite different from ratifying the Convention. It had been expected that all the twelve Powers which had signed the Convention would also ratify it by December 31, 1912, doing which implied that they would give effect to the articles. This, however, did not happen for most hung back. It was therefore that the Second International Opium Conference was summoned at the Hague on the 1st July, 1913, under Article 23 of the Convention by the Netherlands Government to which had been entrusted the duty of inviting all the Powers which had signed it in order "to designate delegates to examine into the possibility of depositing their ratification."

As the result of informal discussions, some Powers which had not sent delegates to the First but had done so to the Second Conference were persuaded to sign the Convention. These totalling thirty-six were as follows :

Germany, United States, Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Spain, France, Great Britain, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Peru, Russia, Salvador, Siam, Uruguay and Venezuela.

Among these, twenty-seven agreed to deposit ratifications in accordance with the twenty-third article of the Hague Opium Convention.

Three Powers, Germany, Great Britain and Portugal, all represented at the Conference, reserved ratification until Austria-Hungary, Peru and Switzerland had agreed to ratification.

The position at the end of the Second Hague Conference was summarised by the United States delegation in the following terms :

> "As the result of five years' leadership on the part of the United States, an international convention imposing strict international, and requiring equally strict domestic laws, for the relegation of opium and allied narcotics to strictly medical channels has been signed in the greatest good will by all but ten nations of the world and agreement to ratify the instrument made by nearly all of the signatory powers."

That these expectations were not fulfilled is proved by the fact that by the middle of 1914, only forty-three Powers had either signed the Hague Convention or intimated their intention of doing so and that only twelve of the signatory Powers had actually ratified it. Turkey and Servia, both opium-producing countries, had flatly refused to sign the Convention,

Third Hague Conference of 1914

The Third Conference was called on the 15th June, 1914, at the Hague in accordance with the third section of the Final Protocol of the previous Conference which provided that

> "In case the signature of all the powers invited by virtue of paragraph 1 of Article 23 shall not have been secured by the 31st December, 1913, the Government of the Netherlands will immediately invite the signatory powers on that date to designate delegates to take up the question whether it is possible to put the International Opium Convention of January 23, 1912, into operation."

The following thirty Powers sent delegates : Germany, the United States of America, the Argentine Republic, Belgium, the United States of Brazil, Chile, China, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Spain, France, Great Britain, Guatemala, Haiti, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg, the United States of Mexico, Montenegro, the Netherlands, Persia, Protugal, Rumania, Russia, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, and the United States of Venezuela.

When the Conference met, it was found that some countries the people of which had nothing to do with the opium traffic either as traders or consumers were apathetic. Others while approving the international anti-opium drive on humanitarian grounds, expressed their inability to ratify the Hague Opium Convention because of "constitutional difficulties in carrying out its provisions." The worst case was that of Germany which openly declared its unwillingness to give up its trade in narcotics (morphine, cocaine, etc.), and in instruments for their administration, "unless the Convention was approved by all the invited Powers, especially Turkey, which otherwise might continue to supply the market." Probably taking advantage of this stiff attitude, Great Britain, while supporting the Convention, unavoidable as a signatory to it, and its enforcement, obligatory only after its ratification, revealed great unwillingness to put it in force "unless all Signatory Powers (Germany especially) should concur." It further appeared that France and Russia sympathised with this view though their pronouncements were not very strongly worded.

The Final Protocol of the Third Hague Opium Conference signed on the 25th June, 1914, expressed the opinion : (1) That it was possible to bring the Hague Convention into effect though some of the invited Powers had not signed it up to that time ; (2) that it could come into effect as among the signatory Powers as soon as it was ratified by them and by those who had expressed their intention to adhere to it the date for which would be that fixed under Section 1, Article 24, of the Hague Convention; (3) that if ratification had not been completed by all but only some among the signatory Powers, these

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latter could put the Hague Convention into effect with effect from December 21, 1914; (4) that the opportunity to accede to the Hague Convention remained open to those Powers which had not yet signed it.

The above document was signed mainly on account of the leadership taken in the matter by the American delegation under instructions from the United States Government. Its aim as indicated in the speech delivered by its leader at the end of the Conference was as follows:

"1. An earnest desire to make the Anti-Opium Convention of 1912 effective soon;

"2. A sincere wish that all nations shall join;

"3. A willingness to put it into force between a limited number of Powers under proper conditions;

"4. A definite intention to do this only in such form as will not foster nor permit a profitable monopoly in opium for the abstaining Powers."

Be it noted that in all the three International Opium Conferences at the Hague, India had not sent any delegates and that Great Britain had done what it had done in her own behalf and in behalf of her colonies and dependencies including India. It may, therefore, be held that till Britain had ratified the Hague Convention the British administration in India was under no immediate obligation to give effect to it.

An Allowable Inference

The three Hague Conferences held during the period 1912-14, undoubtedly proved that the nations participating in them had realised that the international traffic in habit-forming drugs had to be stopped not merely because of the damage suffered by the addicts themselves but also because of their power to destroy national integrity and man-power. It was recognised that the conflict between them and civilisation was irreconcilable and that whoever participated directly or indirectly in traffic in them, no matter how high his position or under what pretext he covered up his greed, was an enemy of civilisation and of humanity.

Such information, necessarily brief, as has been placed before the reader and all of which has been taken from official sources tends to show that though the gravity of the drug problem had been clearly realised, there was considerable hesitation in wholeheartedly adopting measures to solve it when they implied reduction in either the revenue of the State concerned or in the profits of the people engaged in the traffic in narcotics. It was the United States mainly which, having no financial interest in the opium trade and, some of the nationals of which had been tempted to the habitual use of drugs by the contraband trade, had pulled and pushed other Powers into seriously considering the drug menace and then induced them to enter into an international agreement, the Hague Opium Convention, to fight the evil. But the official proceedings of the three Opium Conferences fail to show that every other participating nation was as keen as this great country to grapple with and solve this problem. In fact, a well-known observer of the time referring to the Conference said that

"It was no earnest gathering of the nations of the world, aroused to a white heat over a great moral issue and determined to put things right . . . From the outset, each country with great financial stakes in the opium traffic was determined to safeguard those interests at all hazards. Every conceivable objection and reservation was made that could be made, and it is not surprising that the resultant treaty leaves much to be desired."

Opium and the League of Nations

It has been held by many that the projected international drive against opium and kindred habit-forming drugs would have been won but for the outbreak of the First World War soon after the meeting of the Third Hague Conference. The hope expressed that the Hague Convention would come into effect from the end of 1914, at least among those Powers which had ratified it, was not realised. The western countries which, one by one, were gradually drawn into the war were too busy to devote their time and energy to what, for the time being at least, had come to be regarded as a comparatively unimportant matter.

The little progress made towards the realisation of those aims which had been responsible for the Hague Convention can be easily realised if we recall the notification issued by the Netherlands Government in August, 1919, to the interested Powers. It stated that

"The Convention had been ratified by Denmark, Siam, Guatemala, Honduras, Venezuela, the United States of America, Portugal, China, Sweden, Belgium, Italy, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Brazil, Ecuador, Uruguay and Spain. The Protocol for the putting into effect of the Convention had been signed only by the United States of America, China, the Netherlands, Honduras, Norway, Belgium and Luxemburg. The Convention was therefore in force only as among the Powers last specified."

The United States, nearly always the leader in this matter, once more began paying attention to the problem immediately after the end of the war and it was this country which came first of all to realise the gravity of the opium evil.

Referring to this fact, the official representing the American executive on the National Narcotic Board speaking at a meeting of the Congress in June, 1924, said:

"The (first) World War prevented further action and it is only within the last three or four years that we have caught up with the intent of the treaty (Hague Convention). It was purely because we have little by little adopted repressive measures controlling the manufacture that we now see that the drug addiction problem was really a bigger thing than people at first thought."

It was felt that something should be done to carry on the good work already performed by the three international conferences and, to that end, advantage should be taken of the situation created by the First World War. Accordingly, the peace treaties between the Allied Powers and their former opponents drawn up at the Peace Conference and signed in 1919 and 1920 provided for bringing into force the Hague Opium Convention and Special Protocol by including in each of them a special article on the matter.

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The ratification of these treaties automatically brought the Hague Convention into force in the following twenty-five countries: Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain and possessions, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Siam and Uruguay.

To the above list should be added the United States of America. This country did not sign the Treaty of Versailles, but Article 295 of it, the substance of which has been given above, was incorporated in the treaty restoring friendly relations between it and Germany. This was signed on the 25th August, 1921.

It was only after this that India was represented in opium conferences through delegates nominated by the British administration in India.

An important fact brought out clearly after the end of the First World War was that the absence of an international agency for keeping alive those apprehensions which had led to the summoning of the Hague Conferences was responsible for the gradual slackening of efforts to combat the drug menace on the international plane which alone could be expected to put an end to it for good. It was therefore that a further step was taken under the treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, Trianon and Neuilly. This consisted of the following provision under Article 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations which reads as follows:

> "Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League * * * *
>
> "(c) will intrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs."

"Legitimate" Opium at the League of Nations, 1921

On the 15th December, 1920, the Assembly of the League of Nations, its final authority, with a view to discharging its obligations in regard to the international control of opium, adopted a resolution authorising its Secretariat to collect "information as to the arrangements made in the various countries for carrying out the (Hague) Opium Convention, the production, distribution and consumption of the drugs, and other necessary data." An Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium, the most important function of which was "to secure the fullest possible co-operation between the various countries in regard to the carrying out of the Opium Convention," was also brought into existence.

At the first meeting of the Advisory Committee held in May 2-5, 1921, it made the following among other recommendations:

> "2. That a report should be made annually to the League by each country which is a party to the Convention, on the execution in its territory of the provisions of the Convention, with statistics of production, manufacture and trade."

It is obvious that this recommendation was one which touched India as a large opium-producing country. Under it, she was requested to supply information about the quantity of opium produced and distributed and the steps taken by her to give effect to the Opium Convention.

Following the usual procedure, this suggestion was forwarded to the Council of the League of Nations which met in June 17-28, 1921. It was on the last of these days that the representative of China introducing the report of the Advisory Committee said:

> "Heretofore, except perhaps in China, international legislation has been directed towards the progressive limitation of the traffic in opium. A growing conviction, however, appears now to prevail in many countries that the nations of the world will be well advised to agree also upon a programme for the progressive suppression of the production of opium. For it is felt that to deal with the Opium problem satisfactorily it must be dealt with at the very root or source, and to this end the cultivation of opium should be reduced progressively and eventually limited to strictly medicinal and scientific purposes."

This gentleman, Dr. Wellington Koo, today an international figure, then moved the following resolution:

> "The production of (raw) opium should be limited to the strictly medical and scientific needs of the world."

When this resolution was being discussed by the final and sanctioning authority of this international organisation, the Assembly of the League of Nations, the representative of the British administration in India, nominated by it and therefore no spokesman of National India, though fully aware of the disapproval with which its drink and drug policy was viewed in our motherland, proposed an amendment to the effect that raw opium should be produced in quantities sufficient to meet the "legitimate" needs of the world. And, what is more, with the assistance of those nations not genuinely interested in the abolition of the opium menace, he succeeded in getting it accepted.

The basis for the change as given in the comments contained in the report of the Fifth Committee of the Opium Advisory Committee is as follows:

> "The Indian Delegate has informed the Committee that the number of properly equipped hospitals and dispensaries in India is inadequate to the needs of the population, which over vast areas is without medical assistance. In order to cope with the diseases with which some of these regions are constantly infected, the population has cultivated the opium poppy from time immemorial, and habitually takes opium in small doses as a prophylactic or an effective remedy. It is this use of opium which cannot be styled purely medical, *i.e.*, that which is prescribed by a physician, that the Committee has in mind in using the term 'legitimate'."

The effect of the change in the wording was that it sanctioned the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium for both eating and smoking purposes, these being regarded as legitimate, legal and well-recognised ways of using the drug in certain parts of the world.

It was thus that the revenue derived from the sale of 7,755 chests for export and the issue of 6,182 chests of opium for internal consumption, amounting to more than three crores, was saved to the Central

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Government which, under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, was controlled by British officials who had nominated their own spokesman to the League Assembly.

The object of the Hague Convention was to put a stop to the non-medical use, that is to say, to the abuse of the narcotic. Not even remotely was it intended to sanction this type of use as legitimate. The substitution of "legitimate" for "medical and scientific" by the representative of the British administration in India utterly nullified the whole purpose of this international agreement.

The above incident proves the correctness of the opinion expressed at that time by anti-opiumists that some nations like the United States with high ethical standards, others less unselfish but not financially interested, and still others politically and militarily unimportant, nonetheless desirous of helping forward the good work, were sincerely desirous that the Hague Opium Convention should be given effect to. But their efforts bore no fruit because they were opposed by Powers which drew large revenues from the traffic in drugs.

In this connection, we should not overlook the very important fact that, as implied by the name borne by it, the Opium Advisory Committee could do nothing except make its recommendations to the Council of the League of Nations. The very slender power to control the traffic in opium therefore lay with the Council and, ultimately, with the Assembly which only could accept or reject them. The great weakness of this Assembly composed of the different nations constituting the League was that, as previously shown in the discussions on the international drug menace, each nation, as a writer who has made a special study of this problem, has said,

> "Contributed exactly what it possessed in honesty of purpose and idealism, neither more nor less."

Suggestion of Import Certificate System, 1921 and 1922

The second important recommendation made by the Advisory Committee, May 2-5, 1921, to the next higher authority, the Council of the League of Nations, was worded as follows :

> "4. That the Council should suggest the adoption of the following procedure to the Governments which are parties to the International Opium Convention, in order to enable them to carry out their obligations under Articles 3 and 5, and under Article 13, of the Convention :
>
> "Every application for the export to an importer of a supply of any of the substances to which the Convention applies shall be accompanied by a certificate from the Government of the importing country that the import of the consignment in question is approved by that Government and is required for legitimate purposes. In the case of the drugs to which Chapter III of the Convention applies, the certificate shall state specifically that they are required solely for medicinal or scientific purposes."

This resolution suggested that opium, morphine, cocaine, etc., would be exported on condition that the Government of the importing country certified that the drugs sent to it were required for "legitimate" and "medicinal or scientific purposes." It is significant that here, the export of raw and smoking opium referred to in the third and fifth articles of the Hague Convention for purposes other than medicinal and scientific, was allowed provided it was sanctioned by the Government of the importing country. In the case of morphine, cocaine, etc., however, it was made clear that the Governments concerned should certify that they would be used for medicinal and scientific purposes only.

This was accepted by the Council on the 28th June, 1921, and later on by the Assembly of the League of Nations on the 30th September, 1921.

As many opium-producing countries including India had not carried out this suggestion of the League of Nations, the Advisory Committee at its meeting held towards the end of April, 1922, adopted the following among other resolutions.

> "(2) That it is most desirable that the system of Importation Certificates unanimously adopted by the Council and Assembly of the League should be brought into force by countries in Europe, America, Africa and Australia not later than September 1st, 1922, and by other countries not later than January 1st, 1923 ; and that the Governments should be asked to adopt the form of Importation Certificate proposed by the Advisory Committee."

This resolution was passed by the Council of the League of Nations on the 16th May, 1922.

The explanation for the delay in carrying out the above recommendation by the British administration in India which, as shown elsewhere, was, under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, responsible for everything connected with the opium traffic except the internal consumption of the drug, is to be found in the report submitted to Parliament entitled *India in 1921-22*, on page 227 of which we are told that

> "People forget that India is only one of the four great and several small opium-producing countries of the world. Of these, Persia and Turkey stand outside the Hague Convention altogether, while China . . . now produces something like 70 per cent of the world's total supply."

It was also said at that time that India had adopted the system of selling the major part of the opium exported direct to the Governments of the opium consuming countries. Credit was taken for this praiseworthy step which it was contended, had been adopted without the application of any pressure from any quarter. It has, however, been suggested, perhaps not quite charitably, that the principal reason for this had been the desire to sell a certain quantity which would not vary from year to year at a more or less constant price thus avoiding fluctuations in it inevitable under the monthly auction sale system then in force. But the one thing clear is that the British administration did not adopt the certificate system recommended originally at the beginning of May, 1921.

As nothing was done by an overwhelming majority of the opium exporting countries including India, the Advisory Committee at its meeting held on the 1st September, 1922, passed the following resolution :

> "2. The Advisory Committee notes with regret that a number of Governments have not yet replied to the Secretary-General's letter of

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May 30th, 1922, on the subject of the introduction of the import certificate system, and that comparatively few of the Governments who have replied have definitely agreed to bring that system into force on the dates suggested by the Committee. No objections have been lodged by any Government to the system in itself, and its early, and, so far as possible, simultaneous, introduction by all Governments appears to the Committee of the utmost importance.

"The Committee therefore recommends that the attention of all Governments which have not yet agreed to bring the system into operation on a fixed date should again be invited to the matter, and that its vital importance should be emphasized as strongly as possible, as also the urgent necessity for the early and universal adoption of the system."

This was approved by the Council of the League of Nations on the 2nd September, 1922. The Assembly after considering the above matter passed the following resolutions :

"1. The Assembly, being convinced that the most practical means of exercising control over the traffic in dangerous drugs is by means of the import and export certificate system, and believing that only international action can make this system a success, urges on all Governments the vital necessity of adopting this import and export certificate system without delay."

In addition, to meet the point raised by some opium exporting countries like India that countries like Persia and Turkey which had refused to be bound by the Hague Opium Convention had gone on supplying the drug without caring to ascertain whether the dealers in it had obtained import certificates from the Governments concerned, the Assembly on the above-mentioned date expressed the view that

"The Governments which are Parties to the International Opium Convention should be asked to agree not to issue licenses for the import of opium, or the other drugs to which the Convention applies, from any country which has not yet ratified and put into force the Convention, and adopted the system for the control of exports and imports."

This may be regarded as an example of making the best of a bad bargain, in other words, it was an attempt by the League to limit as far as possible the ambit of the evil.

India's Acceptance of the Import Certificate System

If what has been said above is a correct statement of the situation, as can be easily proved by a reference to the proceedings of the Opium Advisory Committee, the Council and the Assembly, it follows that the British administration did not adopt the import certificate system on its own initiative but that it was persuaded to do so at the instance of the League of Nations. It is amusing therefore to find its adoption described in the following language on page 753 of the *Indian Year Book* for 1935-36, an Anglo-Indian annual regarded, rightly or wrongly, by the people of this country as an almost semi-official publication :

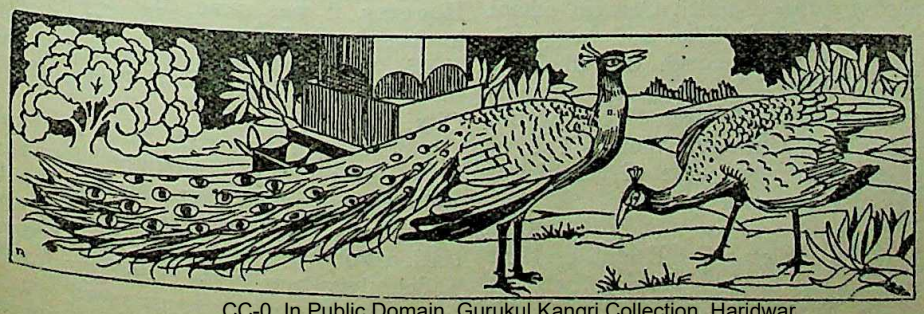
> "The Government of India introduced, with effect from 1st January, 1923, a certificate system recommended by the League of Nations, whereby all exports of opium must be covered by certificates from the Government of the importing country that its consignment is approved and is required for legitimate purposes."

As a member of the League of Nations and as one of the countries which had voted in favour of the acceptance of the import certificate system, it was obligatory on the India Government to give effect to it and it does not therefore seem correct to assume, as appears to have been done by the writer quoted from above, that the British administration was entitled to any special credit for discharging its obvious duty.

It has also been maintained by anti-opiumists, with at least some show of justice, that our British rulers who had never relished the charges levelled against them of deriving a large part of Indian revenue by facilitating indulgence in a vice banned in their homeland, by people not ruled by the Crown, welcomed the Import Certificate system as it, from their point of view, offered a very satisfactory way out of a difficult situation. With its introduction, buyers of India opium for export had only to produce import certificates from their Governments, when they were permitted to bid for the drug sold in the auctions held every month in Calcutta. That this is no flight of fancy on the part of the anti-opiumists is proved by the following extract from the book mentioned above :

> "So far as India was concerned, the new system was welcomed because it removed from the shoulders of the Government of India (that is the British administration which, under dyarchy, was responsible for the export trade) all responsibility in regard to opium consumption in the importing countries and laid it upon their own respective Governments."

(*To be continued*)



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THE ROLE OF ARCHITECTURE IN FUTURE CIVILIZATION

By PAUL ZUCKER,

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The function of architecture as an element of any future comprehensive civilization will be determined to a much greater degree by the attitude of those who look at and walk through the buildings than by that of those who design and construct them. In other words, the relationship between the "producer" and the "consumer" of architectural values will be defined rather by the consumer than by the producer. The consumer, the general public, will decide precisely what it is going to consume, whether for them the architectural values are primarily of a technical, an aesthetic, or a social character.

Any prognosis on the role of architecture in post-war society must take into consideration its development in the United States during the past hundred years. A brief survey will show how different American eclecticism between 1830 and 1880 was from European eclecticism during the corresponding period. In Europe, the classical period was followed by a Gothic revival, which, in all its nationally differentiated nuances, was brought about by the influence of the Romantic movement in literature and philosophy. The succeeding period of Renaissance imitation, supplanted after about 1890 by a recapitulation of Baroque forms was not stimulated by any general literary or intellectual movement. It was based on a rather arbitrary change of visual taste, supported by the continuous tradition of the Ecole des Beaux Arts.

In the United States, the Greek revival lasted much longer, up to the Civil War and even, with some modifications, into the twentieth century. The Gothic influence was confined to very specific tasks, principally religious and educational buildings, in which it has maintained itself down to the present. Even some commercial buildings were erected in Gothic forms, as late as the first two decades of the twentieth century.

While in Europe the various recapitulations of earlier periods relieved each other successively, in the United States, the styles of the past, in more or less modified form, were used concurrently. The breakthrough around 1890 of a definitely modern American architecture, advanced by the so-called Chicago school under the leadership of Louis Sullivan and his pupil, Frank Lloyd Wright, was not enough to eliminate the eclectic tendencies. Although the great commercial buildings in Chicago showed clear traces of the developing functional school, Chicago's World's Fair of 1893 unfortunately swept a new vogue of eclecticism into the focus of popular interest.

The "Imperial Facade," as it was later called, attempted to reach in its structures, different as their functions may have been, a compromise between Roman architecture in Parisian coloring (Ecole des Beaux Arts) and the practical needs of a growing economy. It was a compromise made almost entirely at the cost of the latter. A standardized style of pseudo-monumental architecture developed, used variously for railroad stations, court houses, state capitols, libraries, and private residences. Objectively it must be stated that from the point of view of these "period architects" the elementary architectural feeling for space and detail was a subtle one. The preference for this "representative" borrowed style was so general that the movement initiated by Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright died quietly away. Today it is considered the beginning of modern functionalism, although it was actually more a kind of purifying materialism, primitive in its way, but a necessary step toward overcoming the eclectic historism of this generation.

It was only after the First World War that a start was made toward overcoming the schism between architecture and technology. Stimulated on the one hand by works of Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright and on the other by the functionalistic schools of Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany, something very like a revolutionary elemental trend came into existence.

This trend approached architectural problems from an angle very different from that of Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. It expressed itself first and most forcefully not in monumental structures and elegant private estates, which had long been considered the main task of architecture, but in entirely different realms. It was engineering that gave the new movement its strongest stimulus, since in that field functionalism was a matter of course. Thus industrial architecture—(industrial plants for Henry Ford and and various corporations) ; bridges (George Washington Bridge, New York City ; Golden Gate, San Francisco, Calif., and many others); dams (Tennessee Valley Authority structures, Boulder Dam, etc.)—was the first document of a new architecture which immediately evoked public appreciation.

The stylistic development of the tall office building, the skyscraper, kept close step with the artistic achievements of the predominantly technical structures. However, it was some time before the pseudo-Gothic business cathedrals, of the Woolworth building type (1913), were replaced by clear-cut, plastically articulated masses such as Rockefeller Center (1930) in New York City.

In comparison with these structures, other types of buildings only gradually found a corresponding architectural articulation. During the 1930's individual examples of schools, hospitals, reformatories, administration buildings, and post offices began to demonstrate a definitely new style based on functional principles and going beyond that, expressed a new spatial feeling. Even the private house, though reluctantly, followed the new trend. Adaptation to the natural environment,

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and simplification of domestic life by an efficient lay-out, created wonderful solutions.

In contrast to these individual solutions, the greater number of housing projects still relied, for the individual house-unit, mainly on pseudo-Romantic colonial village imitations, masterfully laid out though they were from the social, hygienic, and technical point of view. Although some projects after 1935 marked a step in the new direction, administrative bodies on the whole were not ready to believe that the public could appreciate the simpler forms of the new architectural development.

So much for what has been done! Now, what of the possibilities of future development and the integration of architecture into the general pattern of future civilisation?

Architecture in its broadest sense does not mirror a period by specific aesthetic means alone, but by its very physical existence and practical function, is itself a part of the epoch which it reflects artistically. Today, the very topic of architecture is changing and we must investigate, as said above, not only the "how" but even the "what." Structures for traffic (airports, bus terminals, highways, bridges, etc.), industrial architecture (dams, power stations, plants of all kinds), and housing projects will dominate post-war building construction. These structures certainly do not represent what former generations associated with the idea of architectural values from the aesthetic point of view. In their conception, the problems of engineering and technique wiuld have completely overshadowed artistic considerations. Due to the experience of the functionalistic period of the last thirty years, we now take the synthesis of practical needs and artistic values as a matter of course. However, even the most artistically minded architect, the most constructively minded engineer, must now begin to conceive of his task not only in terms of form or in terms of construction but also in terms of social function.

Without any doubt, social changes will develop in the post-war period. There will be new types of hospitals, of reformatories, of day nurseries, of recreation facilities, of shopping facilities, of old age homes, of sanitariums for the working classes, etc. These buildings will show a new architectural form, shaped by a new human conception. In other words, neither the long-ruling ambitions of monumentalization and representation, nor the newer ones of mere technical expediency, will be the decisive factors, but the articulation of human life in its social relations.

Are the social planners ahead of the architects, or do they lag behind? Will the industrialization of the building process (prefabrication) mechanize architectural forms? Or will specific spatial feelings, subconsciously existent in a generation, express themselves in using these new techniques and materials? Will the changing pattern of society create a primarily collective type of shelter? Will there be, in the future world, room for individual creative inventiveness? Immediately the interdependence of all these problems with the more complex topic of general city and regional planning becomes obvious.

In a great and ever increasing segment of industry, *planning* has been a matter of course throughout the last thirty years. There the stimulus for planning, however, was competition and an economic attempt to regulate production, distribution, and consumption. Here the primary impulse is a social one, with the technical and aesthetic betterment as secondary results, byproducts.

The new style, as the history of the last three decades proves, will not be found through mere functionalism which completely lacked emotional warmth. Architectural expression indeed assimilated the new technical possibilities of construction and material, but in doing so, succeeded aesthetically only where function was the sole content of the artistic task, as in industrial architecture. It failed where the content was primarily a human one, as in the private house, the settlement, the public building. Here only the expression of human feelings can create convincing forms which in their oneness carry style beyond functional truthfulness.

It would be utterly ridiculous to prophesy the kind of architecture that will be created. We may only assume that it will not indulge in any formal details, but will be much more concerned with the articulation of large spatial organisms, of which the single building-unit will be just one element. Functional solution of all practical needs being taken for granted, the aesthetic problem will be primarily the organization of space and volume, the adaptation of forms to the perception of quick-moving masses, and the expression of social integration of the respective communities. This may sound very general. But it would be premature to base a more definite prognosis on any architectural solution already in existence. In speaking of creative individuality, however, we are fully aware that this individuality will never be entirely independent. The organization of the highly integrated complex of technical, social and artistic problems which a modern building or group of buildings necessarily represents, can be achieved only by team-work.

No single personality, not even one specific group of people, either of architects, of contractors, of engineers, of administrators, or of big business heads, will be able to create independently the prototype of any future architecture. It is team-work that is essential, less self-expression and more interest in the life we live together and in the work we do together. Social orientation must balance functional expression.

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H.M.G.'s STATEMENT ON FEBRUARY 20 AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

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It may be stated straightway that the statement of February 20 leaves the matters in issue between the Congress and the Muslim League on the fundamental questions whether the Congress having accepted the statements of May 16 and December 6, issued by H. M. G., is entitled to stay in office and whether the Muslim League having not accepted the statement of May 16 nor of December 6 is entitled to stay in the Interim Government. The contention of the Congress was that the Muslim League having gone back on its acceptance of the statement of May 16 at a later date is not entitled to stay in the Interim Government. The Muslim League contention, on the other hand, is that the Congress having not accepted fully the 16th of May statement and later on the statement of December 6 is not entitled to stay in the Interim Government. Therefore, this plain issue which was pointed out by both the parties to the Viceroy and through the Viceroy to the Secretary of State and the Prime Minister should have been tackled but there is no mention of any solution on this point. On the contrary, what is apprehended is that the Muslim League will still function in the Interim Government and not join the Constituent Assembly.

I am afraid, the statement renders the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly almost infructuous and even if a constitution emerges with the help of the Congress and other minorities in the Constituent Assembly with the Muslim League only abstaining therefrom, the British will ignore it. Therefore, there is a clear indication that the Constituent Assembly has been reduced to the position of nullity whose decisions would not be binding upon British Parliament. Under these circumstances, will the Constituent Assembly, which has begun functioning for the last few months and enormous amounts have been spent thereon out of the Public Exchequer of India, continue ? It is reasonable for the public to know whether it is the intention of H. M. G. that the Constituent Assembly should stand still or function, whose constitution-making would be accepted in toto by British Parliament.

In my judgment another issue of great constitutional importance should have been tackled by H.M.G., namely, whether the members in the Constituent Assembly chosen by the Muslim League should not be asked to vacate their seats as when they were elected the Muslim League had clearly stated its adherence to the 16th of May statement from which they later on resiled.

In my opinion, the members of the Muslim League in the Constituent Assembly have no right to continue as members and the Muslim seats therein must be declared vacant and fresh elections to those seats must take place.

The bold portion of the statement is the decision of H.M.G. to quit India in June, 1948. The Congress insisted upon the British quitting India and definitely stating the date. But there is no mention whether the British Army will also quit bag and baggage. What about the British vested interests ? Would they be also liquidated by June, 1948 or will they be subject to negotiations ?

The statement leaves it extremely vague whether the British Government would give power to the Congress or the Muslim League. Will they hand over the power in the provinces where the Congress Ministries are functioning to the Congress and where the Muslim League Ministries are functioning to the League or, will it be arbitrary and capricious, dependent upon the sweet will of the British Government ?

There is no mention whether the provinces are entitled to negotiate independently with the British Government or whether it would be the Federal Union itself that would be solely authorised to negotiate. If it is the intention of the British Government that the provinces would be allowed to negotiate independently with the British Government, then it must be stated clearly that a new situation has arisen not foreshadowed in the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

What about the Indian Princes ? It seems that each one of them would, in June, 1948, be put on a footing of fullfledged sovereignty as that appears to be the intention from H.M.G.'s statement. If this is so, it must be stated that it is, indeed, highly undesirable and H.M.G. owes it to the public of India to make this position quite clear. There is nothing unconstitutional in transferring paramountcy to the Union of India. The Butler Committee Report on paramountcy and its transfer has not been accepted by all constitutional lawyers in India without demur. On the contrary, the propositions propounded in the Butler Committee and later on enlarged by Sir William Holdsworth, one of the members of the said Committee, in the *Law Quarterly Review* of October, 1930, could not be accepted as laying down correct principles regarding paramountcy and its transference and if a reference on this question be made to the British and Indian jurists I think, the answer would be to the effect that there is no legal or constitutional bar to the transference of paramountcy to the Union Government of India. In fact, the genesis, content, development—the whole concept of paramountcy, have not been correctly laid down either in the Butler Committee report or in Sir William Holdsworth's article referred to above.

I may state that H.M.G.'s statement may be likened to the statement of a husband who tells his two quarrelling wives to look to him as their sole guardian angel, to tend, comfort him and enliven him with a strong warning not to look to anyone else for help or support for, since the old man assures the wives that he would breathe his last in June, 1948. He would bequeathe all his earthly belongings to both of them as he thinks fit, with this reservation also that he may give to the wife who serves him most faithfully all belongings and possessions. What guarantee is there that the old man would not go back upon the

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statement having already issued four statements, none of which are identical but on many points diametrically opposite. Both the Congress and the Muslim League have been told to court on British Government as best as each of them can and warned against looking towards U. N. O., Russia or America. The inevitable result will be that during the period in issue, namely, 16 months from today—the unusually long period of gestation, there would be a race, the British think, after issuing the statement in competing with each other for basking under British favour for scaling down the Sterling Balances, for entering into the most agreeable trade agreements with Britain, for the protection of British vested interests on the best of terms, and possibly insisting upon an alliance by virtue of which India would be bound hand and foot to British foreign policy and domestic economy.

On the whole, the statement leaves one cold. The immediate issues have been shelved. The Constituent Assembly seems to be suspended in mid-air. Will H. M. G. issue one more statement which should have the seal of finality telling definitely the full implications of the statement when read in conjunction with the 16th of May statement and 6th of December statement. Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, has gone back upon what he stated in the House of Commons when sending out the British Cabinet Mission to India, namely, that no minority community shall have the right to veto the progress and political advance of the majority in India. The statement does not seem to redeem that pledge. The Cabinet Mission proposals also proceeded upon the same assumption but unfortunately it is not to be seen in the statement of February 20.

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MY CHRISTIAN CHURCH : ADAPT OR QUIT

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

A nightmare has been haunting us for some time past, the nightmare of churchianity. We, a section of the Indian Christians, have been feeling a sense of dichotomy for the last few years. The sense of divided loyalty has been felt in the heart of our hearts ; but that inner tension has remained inarticulate until now. The time is come for us to voice our inner pangs and seek a mending or ending of this long-drawn agony of our mental and spiritual martyrdom.

India is the classical land of religion and philosophy. India's legacy has always been to seek and find unity, harmony and synthesis between various streams of thought that are born or brought into this country of venerable antiquity. Modern psychologists have spoken a lot about the race consciousness submerged into the ocean of the great Unconscious in which our tiny specks of consciousness are afloat as so many islets, which has now become an experimental truth and an experienced reality for me. Somehow or other, at some stage of our spiritual pilgrimage, the cultural heritage and the race consciousness of a given nation begin to assert themselves and we are shaken to the very foundations, to the very core of our personality. We struggle and strain to be as loyal as we can to the doctrinal and ceremonial impositions of an external religion compatible with the gradual unfolding of the Kingdom of God that lies buried within ourselves. It is here where the tension begins and the gulf between the external religion and the personal religion and strictly psychological realisation, begins to widen. Today in India, I know for certain, there is a section of Christians who feel the inevitable tension between the Churches of the West and that form of Christian gospel, the Gospel of "Jesus and him crucified," the message of Love and Service, grafted on to the soul of India, asleep in the unthinking many, awake in the thinking few.

Standing as we are at the open doors of independence, it is rather sad for us to see the ecclesiastical hierarchy in India busy in proposing and securing communal advantages for their respective churches. *The Guardian* of Madras, reputedly the organ of the progressive forces of Protestant churches, is pleading for Christians to profess and propagate their faith, even with foreign personnel and money. The Catholic missions are tightening every nut and screw of that essentially Roman form of Christianity to be squeezed into the heart and soul of India. What they have advocated, and have failed to achieve, in modern Europe, they are trying to introduce in India, which today is not industrially and scientifically as advanced as many of the Western nations. Numerically Christianity is the third religion in India. Does any sane person think that Christianity, if really loyal to the truth of the Gospel, would ever need legal and canonical protection for its life and expansion ? Truth is its own defence, its own evidence, its own apologetics. The Gospel of Jesus is far too superior to what the Churches present or parade them to be. The Gospel of Christ does not need these humiliating appeals, useless memoranda, flimsy props and isolationist policy.

The Archbishop of Madras in a memorandum submitted to the Education Minister in last December, has stated : "All youth movements, including scouting and guiding, which cater for the training of the youth, are essentially educational." The implication was that there should be special and privileged provision for the Catholics to educate their children in a "Catholic way" with little or no interference from the State. Denominational schools and colleges are outdated in Europe. In India we have enough of communal cancer everywhere. Would the Indian Catholics add another cancer of their own ? We have enough of caste barriers in India. Would the Indian Christians add their own castes in this impoverished and exploited land ? We have had enough of subjection and domineering authority from abroad. Would the Indian Christians invite more forms of foreign intervention and foreign name and holy label of "religion"?

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Quite apart from the Gospel of Jesus and the eternal message of the crucifix, what distinctively Catholic education they intend to impart to the Catholics of India? Is there any Catholic chemistry or Hindu physics? There may still be a Church of Rome or a Church of England; but is there any Italian mathematics or English thermodynamics? In a century when all the known and unrevealed forces are rushing and converging towards world-unity, it is not only an anachronism, but also a great barrier for us, the Catholics and Protestants of India, to forge ahead, to march forwards, truthwards, spiritwards.

The ecclesiastical authorities in India have entrenched themselves under the impregnable fortress of "divine authority" and the laity is given only that amount of freedom that is compatible with the untouchability and inviolability of the ecclesiastical authority. The *ecclesia discels* have to follow the lead of the *ecclesia docens*, with meekness and docility. The right of free inquiry and open discussion are all interdicted or curtailed. When the free-thinking Indian Christians are trying to emancipate themselves from useless props and discredited shackles of medieval obscurantism, the ecclesiastical authority are determined to hold on to their position without much consideration for the spirit and soul of the civilisation of *Bharatvarsha*. I cannot recall one single instance when the patronage of any of the Christian churches has been lent to promote free inquiry and unbiased study of the cultural heritage of India. If they study the Upanishads, the Ramayana, or the Mahabharata or our ancient and venerable *shastras*, it is done only with a view to refuting us and to buttress the western forms of Christianity in India. Have they forgotten that the entire Greco-Roman culture and civilisation were accepted, embraced and absorbed by Christianity, which grew and fructified on the immortal legacy of Rome and Athens? Even today when a French boy or an Italian student studies his Virgil or Plato he feels and relishes the fact that he or she is an heir to the great heritage of the ancient Greco-Roman world. Yet, who among the Indian Christians, who follow the leadership of the Church officialdom, feel or discover his or her identity and oneness with the cultural heritage of India when he reads the *shastras* and scriptural lore of India? I see greater freedom and broader outlook on the part of the white missionaries in the sixteenth century when a stalwart Jesuit like Roberto de Nobili isolated himself from his colleagues and threw wholeheartedly into a more fruitful apostolate of adaptation. But today, alas, an outstanding Indian Catholic like the late Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya became an outcaste to the official Church. Sadhu Sunder Singh, whose knowledge of Christianity was restricted to the evangelical forms only, had to confess that he did not belong to any of the existing churches, whether Catholic or Protestant, whether Conformist or non-Conformist. According to the verdict of the official interpreters of the Christian Churches, especially among those narrow and Bible-bound sections of the Protestart churches, men like Gandhi and Tagore, prophets like Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, are all obstacles in the way of Gospel work in India. I know only too well some of the Church officials who think and speak of Gandhiji as "the enemy of Christ and his Gospel." If Gandhiji, Tagore and Vivekananda are the enemies of Christ and of his gospel, pray, who are the friends and helpers of God, which every Christian church claims to represent? Perhaps those leisured few, landed proprietors, and the canonical bigots of the Church officialdom?

Our watchword is acceptance. India is the classical land where cultures and races come and go, mix and blend, give and take; the land where the greatest synthesis and unity have been sought and achieved. Can we betray or forsake this cultural heritage of our country? Because we are labelled as Roman Catholics, Anglo-Catholics, Methodists or Latter Day Adventists can we deny ourselves, our whole past, that cultural past which is the pride and glory of our hearts, just merely to say "yes" to a few white catechists or their vice-gerents picked up, drilled and fashioned in India? Come what may, we will continue to be standard-bearers of Jesus Christ, the Lord of Sacrifice, in India on Indian roads. Come what may, we shall continue to serve God and His kingdom, but with utmost freedom of mind and spirit, with little or no desire to please mortal men, whatever be their authority or infallibility, which they say they possess by a divine right.

There in the history of mankind, in the fulness of time, at the most crucial period in the history of the nations of the earth, there appeared Jesus, in a humble village of Nazareth, in Palestine, in Asia, and gave a message which even to this day shines as the light of the world. Jesus was Truth and Truth was crucified. A Church arose around the crucified Lord rooted in a living faith, in sacrifice. So, I still see that church in agony and suffering in the catacombs, that persecuted and martyrised church, the immaculate and loyal spouse of Jesus, a living witness to his eternal gospel. The divine romanticism, the ineffable poetry that is seen, felt and read in every corner, in every cell, on every wall, everywhere in the underground church of Rome, give us an idea of what the ideal Christiality is. I have seen it with my own eyes. I have felt and relished it within my own heart. A boundless vision of the mission of Christianity was then given to me and I have strained every nerve to be true to that catholic ideal ever since. Years ago, as a boy of fifteen, early in spring, when the sun was rising in the East, cheering and caressing the green land of Malabar, a voice was whispered to my ears which said: "Go, go to Rome and study Jesus and his catholic message at the foot of the crucified Lord, still alive, still to be seen, in the catacombs." I went, and by the help of Providence many graces from Heaven were showered upon me, heavenly favours which are not granted to many mortals on this earth to receive or relish. To that inspiration of my boyhood I have prayed and have struggled to be true and loyal. I have placed these cards on the table, so that none of the readers may misunderstand or misinterpret the letter and the spirit of what I am writing. It is perhaps likely that the ecclesiastical authorities may anathematize me. It may be that I should become a victim of their censure and disciplinary actions. But time will come when they will realise that what I have said or suggested is nothing but truth, a new deal, a new policy, which the Christian churches should adopt, if they do mean to survive not only the national crisis of India today, but also the general religious crisis all over the world.

What has been troubling the minds and conscience of those Indian Christians who are aware of the national and international forces, who are conscious of

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both the political and religious forces are driving us abroad, is the fact that we are being drawn to a land of bewilderment and complete loss of our national identity, nay our ideal humanity and world loyalty are being crippled by the incompetent and anti-national leadership of the church officialdom. We have tried to re-interpret the Christian dogma of Trinity in terms of *Sat-chit-ananda* and we are censured as heretics. We have tried to wed the Gospel of Christ with the *Vedanta-sutras* and we are suspected of heresy. We have placed the authority of God and His living inspiration in the hearts of men and women irrespective of labels and creeds and we are made guilty of *laesae majestatis*. We begin to expound our Christian faith using national terminology and in the most intelligible way to our fellow-citizens of this world, and our books are placed on the Index. When will this enforced servitude end? When will the Gospel of Jesus become an emancipating and freeing force in man? It is St. Paul, the first and greatest missionary of Christ who said: "Where the spirit of the Lord, there breathes also freedom." I know only too well that freedom is not license. Let license die and freedom live. Freedom and truth are convertible terms. Jesus has guaranteed that those who know the truth He came to give to the world, will become really and eternally free. But most of the institutional churches are holding us within their grip, not freeing, but fettering us all the more, not widening and deepening our vision, but mechanising and narrowing it down all the more. The more the Indian Christians grow conscious of the national heritage, of the Gospel of Jesus and the international forces that are at work today the ecclesiastical hold also will fade away proportionately. The communal cancer of the Moslem League or of the Hindu Mahasabha is admittedly very disastrous. Will the Christians of India also be led by the Church officialdom to a path where they also will clamour to form a separate caste, a League of their own, retarding and stunting the growth of the Indian Nation? Will the high and low-ranking officials of the Churches place Roman or Anglican forms of Catholicity above Human catholicism? Will the human truths and psychological living realities be sacrificed before the moloch of dead forms and logical abstractions?

Adapt, my Christian church, adapt. Grow, my Christian church, grow, not any longer rooted in the Roman Law or British bureaucracy, but on the eternal and universal seed which Jesus preached and died for. A Church that cannot understand nor adapt itself to the needs and aspirations of a given people is no Church of Christ, but an institution of a handful trained canonists and dogmatists, liturgists and formalists, which will have to quit along with the quitting British. We thirst for that Gospel which will give us life and give it more abundantly. We among the thoughful Christians of India, want to hold on to the Gospel, the inexhustible mine of Patristic and scholastic literature along with our Upanishads and Vedanta, with all that, that is great, sublime and divine in our own national genius. To those who mock at Christianity because of the rigid and inflexible legalism of officials of the Church we want to prove by our life and freedom, by our national consciousness and international understanding, that the Gospel which originated in Palestine can adapt and grow on the national genius of India, China, or Japan exactly in the same way as the Palestinian Gospel was grafted on and grew upon the cultural heritage of the ancient Roman Empire and Greek culture.

The Ecclesiastical officialdom may be yet too strong and the public opinion behind the Christian community may be still inarticulate to make a headway right now. But attempts after attempts will be made until we have divested our Christianity from that Roman, English or even Indian sectarianism and have proclaimed and stood for that universality, catholicity and acumenicity of Jesus and his gospel. We would have thought and the Indian Nation would have expected a wise, far-sighted policy and an enlightened leadership from the Churches, but we are now disillusioned. We pant for the bread of life and we are given stones. But Christ and Christianity are beyond failure whatever be the standing scandal of the Christian West and their emissaries over here either as political or religious traders.

But, you my Church, that took your birth at the foot of the Cross at Calvery, that bridged the gulfs between the East and the West, that suffered and agonised before the Edict of Milan in 313 A.D., that sent its first evangelists to this country of our birth and love, that still contains the germs and kinetic energy to revitalise and regenerate this fear-haunted, authority-ridden and war-battered humanity, you, my dear universal Church, Catholic Church of God, arise. Awake, adapt, adopt, absorb the national heritage of this vast subcontinent and grow. Through the aegis of that eternal gospel of love and freedom, lead us, our country, our humanity, to the land of lasting peace, mutual understanding and international co-operation. Grow my Church, grow! Adapt, my Church, adapt! And let the others quit!

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NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

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One of the largest of the 6,500 free libraries in the United States is the New York Public Library, a building of impressive architecture located at Fifth Avenue and Forty-second Street, in the heart of mid-town Manhattan, one of the five boroughs of New York City.

The main entrance to the Public Library of New York which contains 80 miles of book stacks

The Library was formed in 1895 by the merging of three large private libraries. It has sixty-one branches throughnut the city, located at convenient points in three boroughs of the metropolitan area. In all, the Library employs 1,600 persons. Like many other cultural institutions it is supported by public tax for free use by the people.

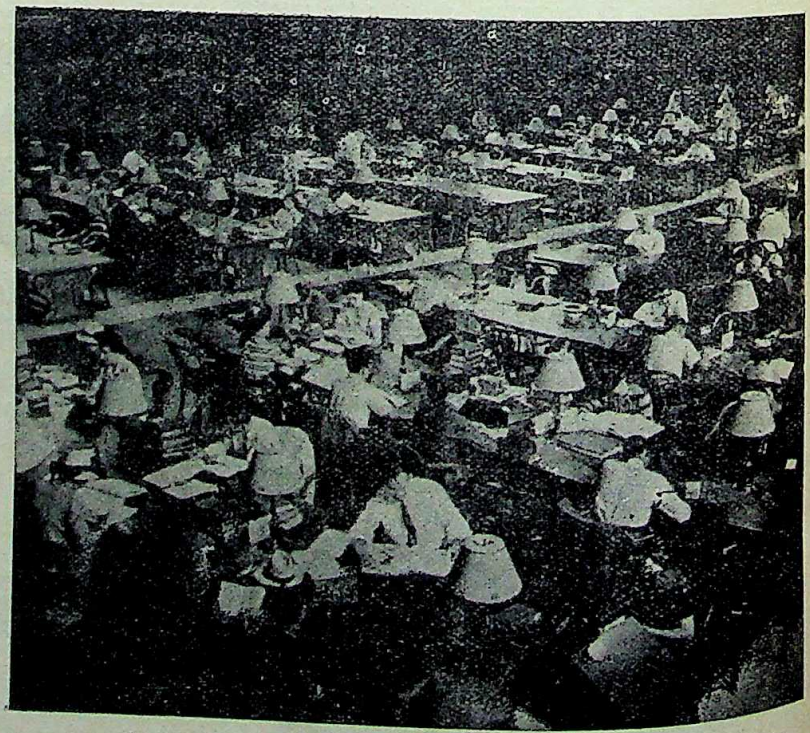
The 80 miles of stacks of the New York Public Library hold about 4,700,000 books, periodicals and documents—3,200,000 in the Reference Department and 1,500,000 in the Circulation Department. In an average year 5,000,000 volumes are consulted in the Reference Department while more than 11,000,000 are lent for home use.

The Library collection includes many rare items—among them an extensive collection of early printed Bibles in all languages, including the Lenox copy of the Gutenberg Bible; the first book printed in North America, the Bay Psalm Book; early printed editions of the Letter of Columbus announcing his discovery of America; more than 100 illuminated manuscripts of the 9th to the 16th centuries; and first editions of many of the world's classics. There are permanent and special exhibitions of paintings, prints, stamp collections and specially bound and illustrated books.

The Central Building, although visited each year by four or five million persons, is not a show place. Its reading rooms are designed for study and research. There are separate reading rooms for books on American history; genealogy; art and architecture; prints, maps, manuscripts, music; Jewish, Slavonic and Oriental literature; economics and sociology; science and technology; current periodicals and newspapers; and stage and theatrical materials.

10,000 Visitors Daily

The Public Catalogue Room and the Main Reading Room are the center of activity for more than 10,000 persons who visit the Library every day. The catalogue of 6,000,000 cards gives direct and cross reference to all books in the library. A large part of the librarian's job is to get people and book together. They help the



The New York Public Library is the pride of New Yorkers, being the seventh largest institution of its kind in the world

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uninitiated use the catalogue to find the specific material they want and direct readers to the type of books and the section of the library which will satisfy their needs.

Libraries all over the United States have collections and rooms for children

The Information Desk in the center of the Public Catalogue Room is a barometer of public opinion. All day long librarians and their assistants answer an endless flood of questions in person, over the telephone and by mail to enquirers everywhere, on everything.

The Main Reading Room occupies a quarter-acre of floor space and seats 800 persons. Along the walls is a ready-reference collection of 25,000 books which may be used without the formality of signing an application blank.

The Science Division is one of the most crowded reading rooms and most of its readers are there strictly on business. Here are books on pure and applied science and engineering, files of periodicals and patent records, and an extensive collection of railroad and electrical traction materials.

The attendance in the Economic Division has risen 30 per cent since the end of the war. Ex-service-men check on firms who offer them jobs to be sure they are good risk. Others want to know what are their chances of making good in small business of their own.

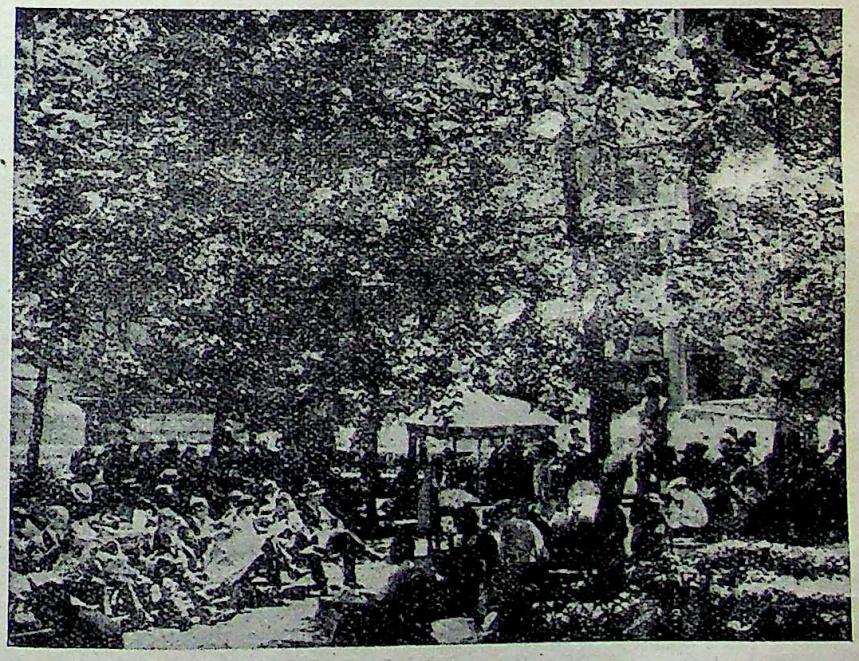
The Periodicals Room on the first floor keeps about 10,000 publications on hand and is heavily used by businessmen interested in keeping pace with industrial developments.

The Music Room with its collections of 75,000 musical scores, books and pamphlets is a favorite haunt of musicians. The musical center of the Circulation Department in another section of the city has a large collection of phonograph records which may be used in a sound-proof booth.

Special Provision for Children

The Children's Room has no age limit. At the low reading tables are tiny tots who only look at picture books; school children are borrowing books to help them in their studies; publishers, illustrators, teachers and child psychologists are there doing research work.

Nor are the blind neglected. The Library for the Blind, one of 27 regional libraries supplying reading matter to the blind in the United States with the assistance of the Federal Government, has over 26,000 volumes in braille, 1,600 talking books, 12,000 braille music scores and leading braille magazines in English, French and German. In addition, the Library edits and distributes without charge *The Braille Books Review*, a monthly braille magazine which has an annotated list of all new talking and braille books published in America and Britain.



The open-air reading room in Bryant Park, just behind the Library Building, is available for summer-time use

Special collections have been built up to meet

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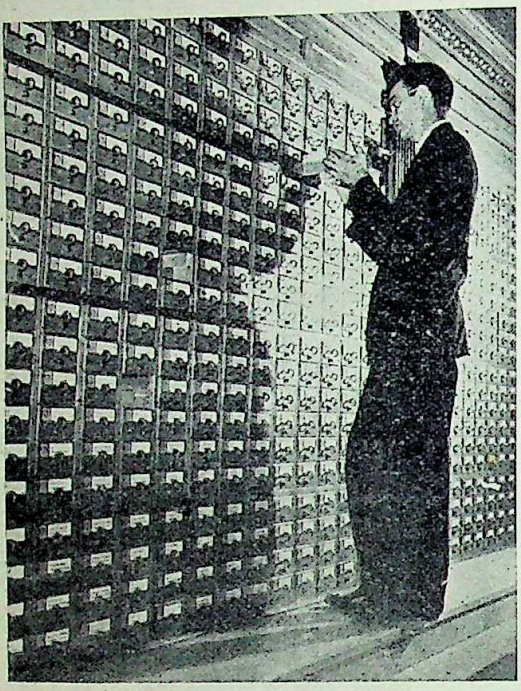
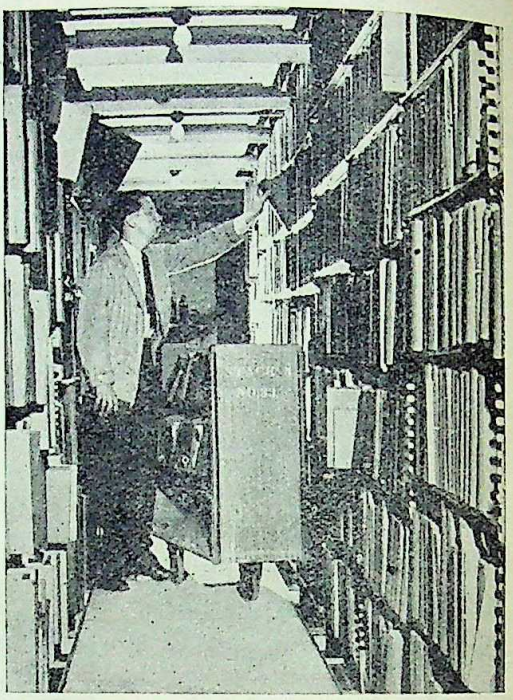
the demands of New York City's large foreign-born population and more than 500,000 foreign language books are circulated each year.

service which will make a photograph of any material in the Library at the rate of 20 cents for a medium-sized page. Recently the Library has microfilmed



The card catalogue of the main index room lists the books available at the Library



Expert attendants, guided by numbers, quickly locate books for readers

A special consultant answers a reader's questions at the information desk of the Library

The Library maintains a large book-binding plant to keep its collections up-to-date and in good condition

The New York Public Library also has a printing shop and a large book-binding plant which repairs and rebinds thousands of books a year. One of the most useful developments has been a photostat many books, magazines, and newspapers which were disintegrating, and thus will preserve their contents for the future.—*USIS.*

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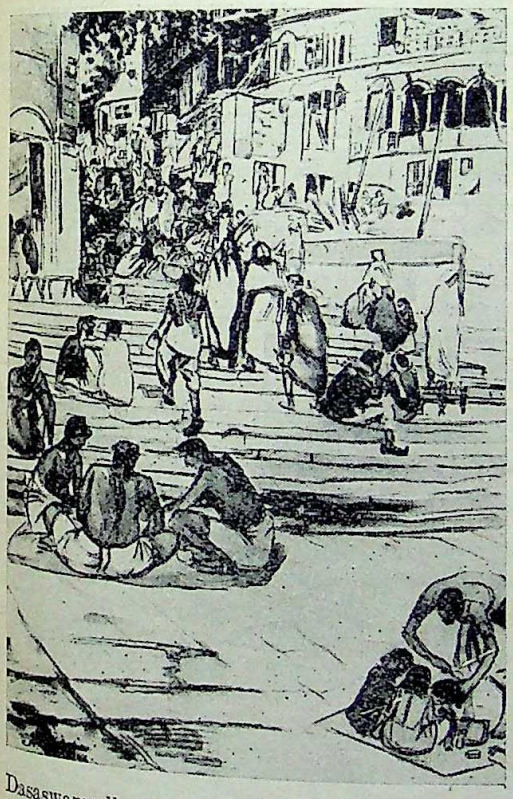
NATIONAL ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS AND CULTURE

A New Society in Calcutta

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

A mild sensation was caused in Art circles in Calcutta by the inauguration of a new society, entirely sponsored by artists of which the first exhibition was opened by Sir Jadunath Sarkar on the 8th of February last. And on the writer devolved the duty of offering an explanation, if not an apology, on behalf of the artists, for the birth of a new association, called the National Academy of Fine Arts and Culture. The very name adopted by this new society is of a telltale significance. We all know that a great society established by the late Maharaja Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore, under the name of the Academy of Fine Arts, has been functioning in the city of Calcutta and very successfully catering for the hunger for Art which has been slowly but surely developing in this great city. That elder society has indeed attained a very high status, and has commanded an All-India popularity under the untiring devotion of the late Mr. D. C. Ghosh whose sudden demise all Calcutta is mourning today.



Dasaswamedh Ghat *by* Adinath Mukherjee

The Mad Man and the Dog *by* Arun K. Maitra

This new society has adapted the name of its elder brother with the qualifying label of *National*. Personally, I am not enamoured of the title 'Academy of Arts.' It inevitably reminds one of the famous Academies of Europe—the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture and the Academy of Fine Arts of Paris and the famous Royal Academy of Arts of London. These names have undoubtedly some amount of glamour and command great popularity. But these great institutions of the art-centres of Europe have also stood for all that is narrow, all that is cheaply popular in Art and have persistently and perversely opposed all manner of new ideas and new expressions in Art, by refusing to admit works of Art which did not comply with certain narrow and conventional standards. It is not suggested that the elder Academy in this city has been run on any narrow exclusive policy or principle or that it has been unfair to any new expressions of talent. But 'Academies' have a way of getting into grooves, and confined to the narrow and limited outlooks of groups and coteries. The organizers of this new society claim that by adopting the appellation of 'National,' they have kept their doors widely open for all forms of national expressions in Art, irrespective of castes, creeds, or colours, for Art belongs to an universal spiritual brotherhood, admitting of no caste or creed excepting that of beauty and spirituality.

I have yet to explain the reasons for the birth of this new Academy, this National Association for the cultivation of Arts. A feeling has been growing up amongst artists in this city that the cause of National Art will be better served by a society, or guild exclusively composed of groups of practising artists. A guild of artists inevitably implies the highest possible standard of Art in theory as well as in practice. As

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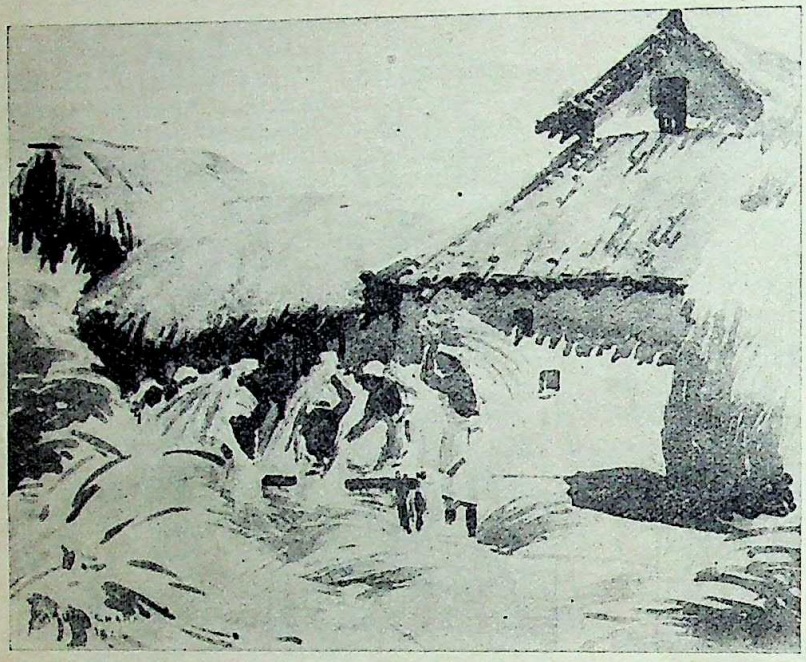
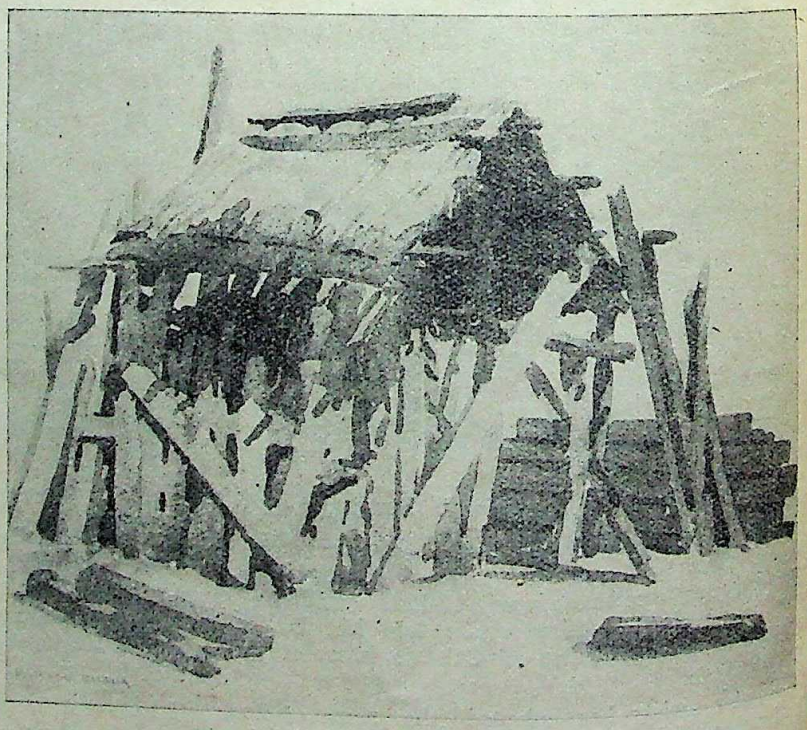
the interpreters and custodians of the highest spiritual thoughts of a nation, artists carry on their shoulders the onerous responsibility of upholding the national banner of Art at the highest possible level.



Thrashing Paddy *by* Mrs. Karuna Shah

One of the creeds of the guilds of artists in India, as in Medieval Europe, was to censor and suppress inferior works of Art ; the vow taken was only to exhibit, and put forward for the use of society, the very best that artists and craftsmen could produce, rejecting the second-rate and the inferior, suppressing the low and the vulgar. For the national worship of Beauty, only the best and the finest offerings are admissible. This, indeed, is a very high, if not an impossible, standard to set up and to attain. That such creeds existed both in India and Europe are amply borne out by the evidences of history. In Bengal during the Pala Period we had such a guild of artists flourishing under the name of the 'Varindra Silpa Gosthi,' at the head of which guild stood a great artist, named Ranaka Sulapani, commemorated in the Deopara inscription of King Vijayasena (1095-1158 A.D.)—"the crest-jewel of the guild of the artists of Varindra" (North Bengal). But this new guild of artists do not claim that they have yet attained the pinnacle of their dreams and aspirations. They have just begun and they hope to realize their dreams in coming years and they rely for their success, on the co-operation, on the patronage and the goodwill of the public, particularly of the critics and connoisseurs of pictures. For Art and Artists can only thrive in the warm sunshine of the appreciation of a cultured public and the support of generous but educated and discriminating patrons. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, our greatest living authority on Moghul history and culture, has told us, how the magnanimous patronage of the Moghul Emperor and princes helped to build up a new School of Art in India in the sixteenth century, how the name and fame of the Moghul school earned the contemporary appreciation of artists and connoisseurs of Europe, how Queen Maria Theresa of Austria adorned the walls of her palace at Schonbrunn at Vienna with Moghul miniatures, and how Rembrandt, the famous Dutch master, paid the supreme flattering compliment by copying drawings of the Moghul masters.

It is hoped that this new band of hopefuls will be able to secure the sympathy, the goodwill, the co-operation and the patronage of all lovers of art and of all friends of national aspirations.



Timber Yard *by* Mrs. Karuna Shah

The birth of this new society will inevitably remind us of similar happennings in the French world of Art in the eighteen seventies. Driven by dissensions and persecutions of the French Royal Academy, many rebellious and independent groups of artists whose

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works were refused by the Academy broke away from the old institution and founded independent societies of their own. Of these three are very well-known. The first was the Society for the Exhibition of Refused Pictures, known as 'Salon de Refuses,' started in 1863, patronized by the French Emperor himself, who allocated a Hall for exhibiting the pictures, maliciously rejected by the Jury of the French Academy which systematically excluded originality and works which might divert attention from their own productions. The second of such society was that of the Impressionist painters started in 1877 by only eighteen members. As a punishment for his support of this new group of artists, Emile Zola, the famous novelist, lost his post as art critic to a famous Parisian journal. The third society was the Society of Independent Artists, begun in 1886, which still continues to hold its Annual Exhibition. I am mentioning these events of the turbulent history of French Art for the purpose of pointing out that this new Indian Society has come into existence out of no turmoil, no dissension, no quarrel with anybody. None of their pictures have been refused by any Academy. And they bear no grudge or malice against anybody. It represents an independent movement on the part of a group of artists who are desirous of raising the level of the quality of exhibitions in this city. To raise the level of understanding and appreciation of good Art, it is necessary to take a vow to show only the best productions. Unfortunately, the time for assembling this exhibition has been very short, and whether this group of artists has succeeded in putting up a show of the best productions for the year, it will be for connoisseurs of pictures to judge and to appraise. We all know that Calcutta and various parts of Bengal have been passing through conditions which are inimical to the productions of Art. Considering all these facts, the organizers appeal to the indulgence of the public to judge their maiden efforts with mercy, to pardon their faults and to overlook their shortcomings. For, 'to know all, is to pardon all.'

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BOMBAY ONCE UPON A TIME

By B. P. CORREA

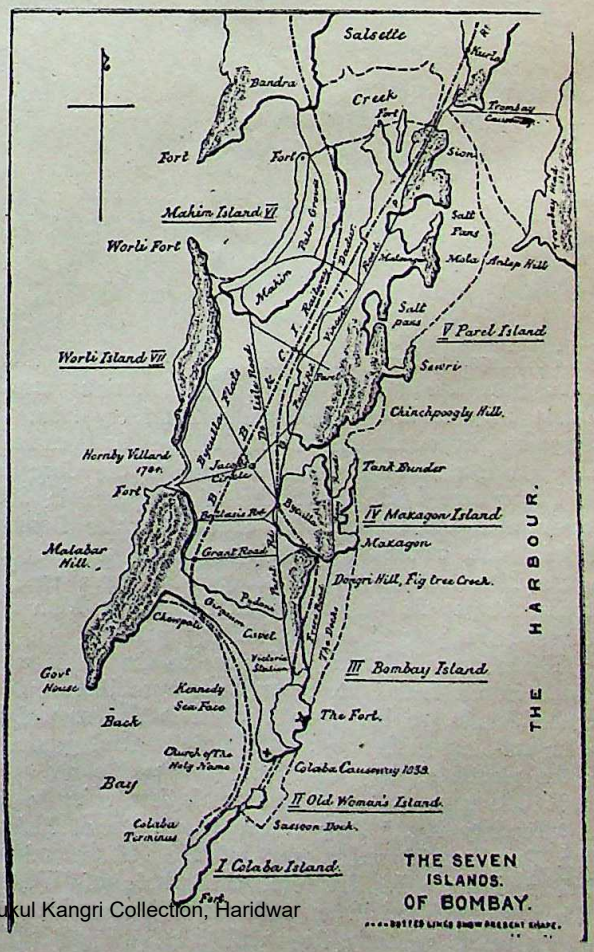
Turbulent waters lash furiously and salt sprays on the promenade and embankment at Worli, on the western sector of Bombay. Close by rise the Worli hills. Some years ago, a few workers were seen toiling among the black rocks, chipping flints with their pick-axes. Curious passersby paused to wonder whether they were digging for gold. Or were they looking for some gruesome corpse that might have been dumped near this desolate hill-tract, notorious for its murders? Here were excavators assiduously pursuing their task of digging, when at last they came upon pieces of rocks which, according to ordinary standards, would be considered neither nuggets of gold nor pitch-blende nor precious stones. What, then, did these contain, these dirty pieces of black, age-old rock? Why were the members of the group so enthusiastic. To its leader, Dr. Ardeshir Kalapesi, Head of the Geological Department at St. Xavier's College, these seemed more precious than gold. For, to him, like a crystal ball these contained not the future but the past of Indian metropolis. Here embedded lay a link in the stone-print of Bombay's geologic lay-out.

These rocks contained the fossilised remains of animal frogs, indicating that possibly fresh-water lacustrine deposit extended all over the island and further. The bodies of these frogs had evidently been deposited near the spot where they died, as the frogs had left their skeletonised imprint on these rocks.

Unearthed in 1877, while excavations for the Princess Dock were being made, were the remains of what was evidently a remarkable submerged forest about 32 feet below the high water-mark. And in 1910, while the Alexandra docks were being constructed, fresh discoveries of a submerged forest were also made. The soil in which the trees were found rooted was at a depth of 40 feet below the high water-mark.

These geological finds, along with a study of some of the rock formations and strata in Bombay, pieced together, help give us a composite picture of Bombay's pre-historic past and its subsequent evolution.

Dr. Kalapesi, one time President of the Geological Session at the Indian Science Congress, by his



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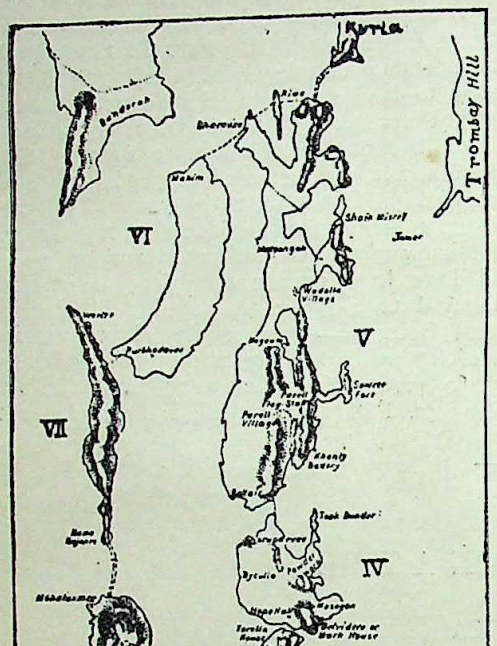
laborious and pioneering work has given us a fascinating story of Bombay—what it was and what it is. His geologic researches are an outstanding contribution to the geologic study of Bombay.



Bombay today with its sunlit marine drive, towering residentials, de-luxe hotels, luxurious movie-houses, busy mills and factories is a far cry from the straggling, unpretentious fishing village that came to King Charles II of England as part of the dowry of his Portuguese bride, Catherine of Braganza in 1661. Today with the inauguration of the Greater Bombay Project with extensive development of urban areas in the blueprint stage, Bombay will have reached another stage in its evolution in which Man and Nature have played a contributing part.

The story of Bombay takes us to the times when it was issued from the cataclysmic rumblings of the wombed earth, to her growth when it was shaped by cooler and less active elements and its final grooming by the plastic surgery of Man.

It opens in an era which geologists refer to as the "Tertiary Age," long before the dawn of history, when Bombay formed a part of the hinterland of Western India. In this era, the whole of Western India was convulsed in an outburst of tremendous and unprecedented volcanic fury and large outpourings of unbridled lava in molten floods devastated the whole of this region. Subsequent cooling of this region produced the series of rocks known as the 'Deccan traps.' This cataclysmic process happened on several occasions mushrooming several super-imposed layers. But intercalated among them were fresh-water sedimentary beds formed during the period of rest from volcanic eruptions.

During this quiescent stage, fresh-water lacustrine strata were deposited and this is proved by the fossil contents of some of the rocks found in Bombay, fossil-frogs at Worli and fossil-tortoises in the blue-black trap at the foot of Nowrojee Hill, Mazagaon. It was also during this period of rock-building activity that some of the crests of the prominent ridges of Malabar, Cumballa and Worli were formed. But after a time these volcanic storms seemed to have subsided, and the deposition of estuarine clay and marine sand began. However, it was not to be a serene undisturbed peace, and although volcanicity had ceased and molten lava no longer belched forth, earthquake-like convulsions and displacements came to alter the outer face of the land. These successive earth-movements seemed to have caused the "faulting" or breakages along the West coast and Nature carrying on her disintegrating work, it is likely that several masses had broken off from the edge of the western edge forming the seven islands—the nucleus of Bombay. The discoveries of submerged forests also indicates that following the cessation of volcanic activity, the island had undergone 'a series of subsidences and upheavals.'

Bombay of today is constituted of seven islands, formerly separated by narrow creeks, namely, Colaba, Old Woman's Island, Bombay Central Island, Mazagaon, Parel-Sewri-Sion, Mahim and Worli, which were vaguely designated as Heptanasia by Ptolemy, the Alexandrian scholar in A.D. 150. When Man makes his appearance on these islands he was yet in the Stone Age.

Regarding the origin of Bombay, Dr. Kulapesi tells us that the derivation is believed to be from the tutelary deity of the Kolis, aborigines of these islands—"Mumbai Devi" or "Mumba Ai," the patron deity of the Kolis, still worshipped as a village goddess in Kathiawar. The Hindus even today speak of the city as Mumbai. The temple of this goddess first stood on the Central Island, which in course of time, during Portuguese possession grew to be called "Mombaim." Later on during British occupation this gradually changed to Bombay and spread to the other six islands. Today some mistakenly refer to Bombay as good bay, a very apt designation considering that Bombay is *urbs primis in indies* and has one of the finest harbours in the East. Where the Victoria Terminus of the G.I.P. now stands, there stood formerly the shrine of Mumbai Devi. In 1750, it was removed, and today appropriately is situated at the western corner of the great Mumbai Devi 'tank' in the very hub of the city, a prominently Hindu quarter where the Gujaratis have naturally predominated.

The metamorphosis of some localities now grown either into fashionable spots, business centres and residential areas, is equally fascinating.

Apollo Bunder, popular Sunday-evening resort of the Bombayman, has no connexion whatsoever with Apollo. But it appears to have derived its name from a species of shrubs of trees

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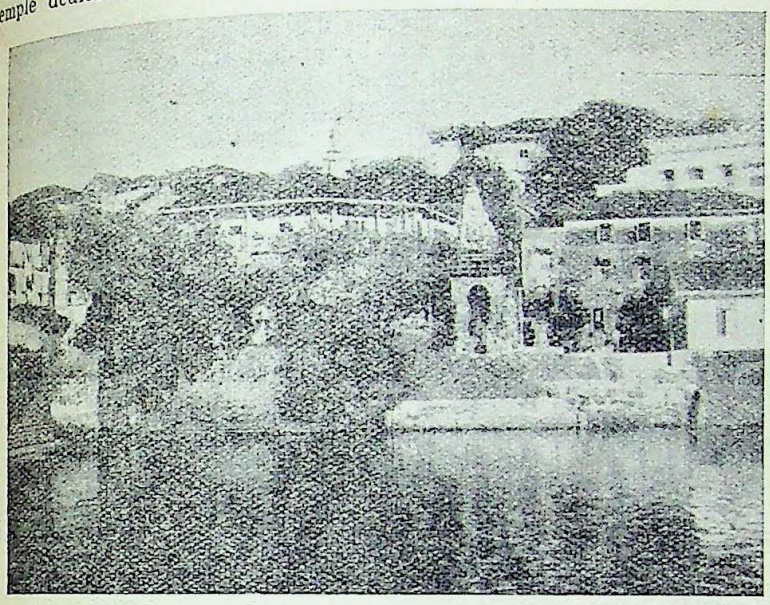
that grew on the beach-head and was known as 'Pallav Bandar,' the harbour of clustering trees, and then changed from Pallao to Pallo and finally to Apollo under the British.

On Malabar Hill is the historic Walkeshwar temple dedicated to the 'Sand Lord.' The name



Temple at Walkeshwar near Government House, dedicated to Sand Lord

Walkeshwar is supposed to have been derived from 'Valuka Ishwar,' meaning 'Sand Lord.' The present temple was built to replace the original temple built by the Silaharas of North Konkan (810-1210 A.D.), destroyed either during the Mahomedan or Portuguese suzerainty. Legend has it that Rama on his way to Lanka (Ceylon) in quest of his bride Sita halted near the very spot where the present Walkeshwar temple stands. While waiting for his brother Lakshman, whom he had sent post-haste to Kasi (Benares) to bring a 'Lingam' (Wish Stone) of supreme potency, Rama sat down on the sandy beach and fashioned a Lingam out of the sand of the sea-shore. This sand-wrought Lingam made by Rama is believed to have leapt into the sea in order to avoid defilement at the hands of invaders. While the other Lingam brought by Lakshman from Lanka is supposed to be the one worshipped in the present Walkeshwar temple.

Near the temple, on the very edge of the sea stood a cleft-like rock 'Shri Gundi' (Lucky Hollow or Holy Cleft or 'Orifice of Purification') which gave the Walkeshwar temple a great measure of its sanctity. This point located at the extreme end of the land has been styled as Malabar (Walkeshwar) Point since the days of the British. The Shri Gundi, a fancied rocky promontory on the eastern side of this landmass was Dongri or Hill-tract.

Chowpatty Beach, Bombay

Machha-grama or fish village where the Kolis are said to have carried on a flourishing fish trade was the early beginning of Mazagaon of today, from which the name is derived. Pydhoni at Kalbadevi in the days of yore was a landing stage where persons arriving from Mahalaxmi, Mahim and Salsette by boats used to land after crossing the Umbarkhadi

'Yoni' was not easily accessible because of its elevation, narrowness and being incessantly surf-beaten in the stormy season. To this sacred spot, many pilgrims imbued with a spirit of regeneration made a hazardous journey through the cleft, for it was believed that such a pilgrimage was capable of absolving all sin. The greatest personality in the history of Bombay who is said to have passed through the cleft was Shivaji, who desired to be free from the haunting presence of the murdered Afzul Khan. Among the other notable personalities that made journey through the cleft was Raghunath Peshwa, during his sojourn here as an exile (1774-1780) from Poona who sought to cleanse his soul of the guilt of the murder of Narayan Rao by passing through the sacred orifice.

Chowpatti on the central island of Bombay, on the waters of which Bombay Hindus perform some of their religious rites, means four channels and it is likely that it might have formed four channels in the neighbourhood of Girgaon, points out Dr. Kalapesi. Girgaon got its name from Giri-grama—hill village, which was situated at the foot of Malabar Hill in the neighbourhood of Back Bay. The

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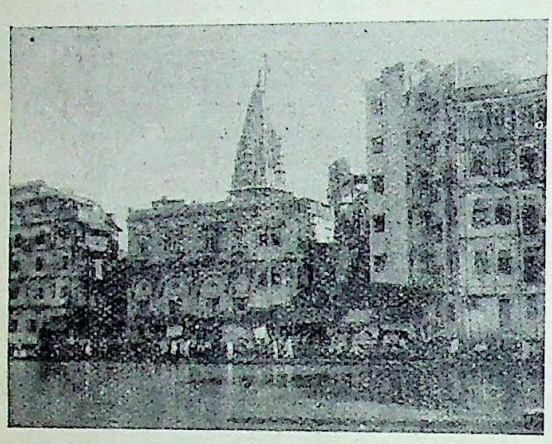
creek. The passengers used to wash their feet in a shallow creek (Pydhoni means foot wash) whilst proceeding on their way by foot to Bombay, the central island. Going northward from Mazagaon was the Parel-Sewri-Sion island which the British appear to have received readymade from Nature, for, when they came into possession of it, Mazagaon and Parel island were almost silted up.



Mumba Devi Temple at Kalbadevi

On Mahim island, one of the oldest known, lay Mahim city called 'Mahikavati' and hence the name Mahi or Mahim. It is said that during Muslim suzerainty, the shrine of 'Kalka Devi,' goddess of the Kolis was removed to the central island, Bombay. And the name Kalbadevi comes from this deity.

On the extreme south Mahim was separated from Worli, the seventh island, by a breach or channel which was dammed up in 1712. A beautiful row of banyan trees which was a prominent feature of this island gave this area its name. The name 'Wad-ali'—banyan row being applied to the whole island and it became Warali which eventually has become Warli or Worli.

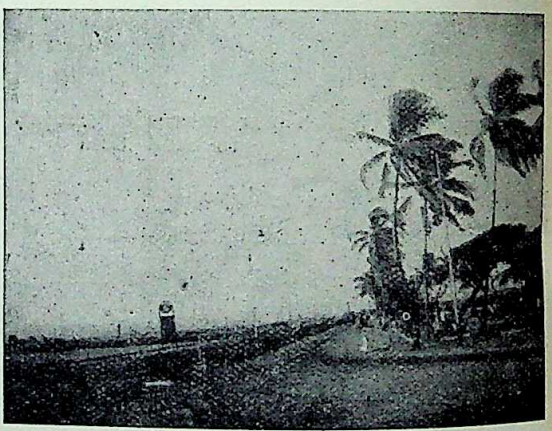
The Hornby Vellard, the palm-fringed strip of road which is the speeding motorist's paradise, was constructed during the governorship of Mr. Hornby in 1883. The building of Hornby Vellard (Vellado from the Portuguese meaning fence) made possible for settlement and cultivation the waterlogged 'flats' and resulted in the welding of the eastern and western shores of the Island into one united land-mass, the present Bombay island, and incidentally started a new secretarial procedure for the Bombay Government.

Before the Vellard could be built, there was a good deal of opposition from the local Hindu residents to be overcome and a lot of religious prejudice to be allayed. As the story goes, the Hindus opposed Mr. Hornby's scheme for damming up the breach, as they felt that the gods would be angered by this profane act of Man, which if carried out would end disastrously for the inhabitants. This deep-seated religious prejudice was, however, overcome when a prominent Hindu resident dreamed that he saw the goddess Laxmi in a vision who told him that everything would turn out all right if a temple dedicated in her honour was built on the island.

Everything was now set for the opening ceremony of the greatest city project and contracts had already been assigned for the job. A letter came from the Home Government that Mr. Hornby should not proceed with the opening ceremony and forthwith demanded his resignation. Mr. Hornby ignoring the instructions is said to have coolly pocketed the letter and carried on with the ceremony. And from that historic date, it is said, the practice has been laid down that the Secretary to the Governor should first open all official letters addressed to the Governor.

According to scientific probability, what the geological future holds for Bombay is none too promising a prospect. Thus remarks Dr. Kalapesi:

"After all the main external interest of the geological evolution of Bombay Island is due to the forgotten subsidence of the Deccan trap floor.



Hornby Vellard built in 1783

It is probable that this subsidence is still continuing; then we Bombayites appear to be on the way to being slowly submerged and perhaps Man is trying to aid the efforts of Nature in this direction by cutting down our hills. On the other hand, if the waters around the island are not being deepened by a subsidence of their floor, the Harbour and ultimately the Island are in danger of being silted up by mud and sand if the Island is not lifted up bodily by another upheaval. In either event farewell to the greatness of Bombay as the most beautiful and safe natural harbour of *urbs primis in indies.*"

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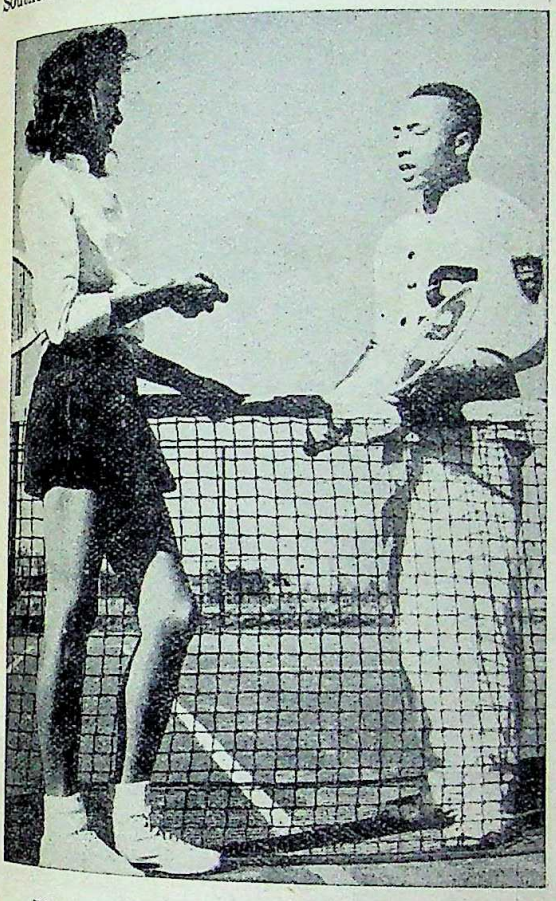
A NEGRO UNIVERSITY IN THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Southern University, which maintains a program of liberal arts and science, is a Negro college situated on a bluff overlooking the Mississippi River in the Southern U. S. state of Louisiana. Southern University is but one of 118 Negro colleges in the United States, including such well-known institutions as Tuskegee Institute in the state of Alabama and Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia. Today Negro farm families, engaged in the emergency agricultural production program, are getting scientific advice and guidance from graduates of these colleges, who serve as teachers in rural elementary schools, instructors of agriculture and home economics in vocational schools, farm managers, soil conservationists, and professional personnel of the United States Department of Agriculture.



Playing tennis on the athletic field of Southern University

During the war, America's Negro colleges inaugurated short courses for rural leaders, to enable them to make clear to farm workers the provisions available under the U. S. Farm Credit Administration and other resources. They also established short courses for farm women, designed to help them overcome the disadvantages of the labor shortage by learning the mechanical skill necessary for the operation of farm and home equipment.

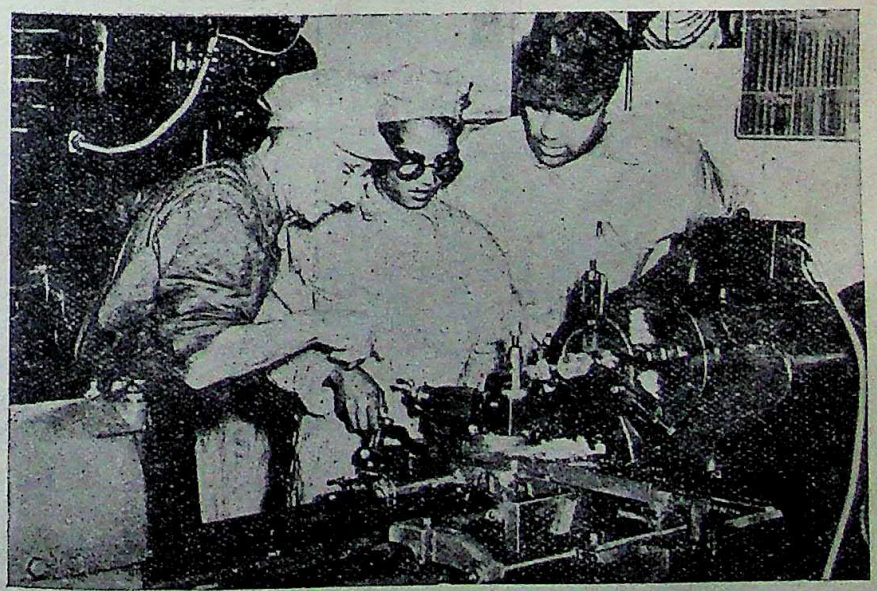
This technical training in agricultural and mechanical skills filled the urgent timely need for supplying skilled leaders among the thousands of Negroes who have flocked to shipyards and war-plants all over the country.

During the war, Southern University had converted its curriculum to include accelerated courses in agriculture, welding, mechanical and radio training, and sheet metal work, and sent its graduates to the shipyards, munitions plants and farms of America.

This progressive vocational college is housed in modern buildings on a 500-acre tree-shaded campus, with housing and class-room accommodations for 1,800 students. Southern's modern development began in 1914, when the entire university was housed in a six-room, 200-year-old house, which accommodated 60 students and six teachers. Everyone sat down to dinner together on the back porch, and attended classes together on the front porch.

Prior to this period, Southern University had been located in New Orleans, the capital city of the state of Louisiana, where it was founded in 1880, and was granted by constitutional provision an annual appropriation of 10,000 dollars. This modern university now spends over half a million dollars annually for its operations, of which a large portion comes from state appropriations.

The program of liberal arts and science maintained at Southern University, plus the practical contribution of highly trained workers to the war effort, is an indication of the important role played by specialized education in the United States, and of the close co-operation between U. S. colleges and the communities they serve.—*USIS.*



Students are being instructed in the use of a lathe in a classroom of Southern University

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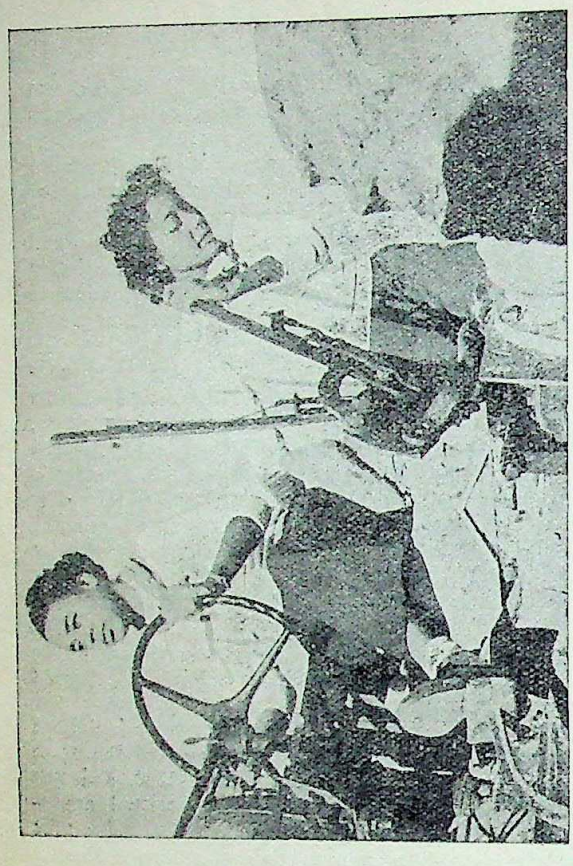
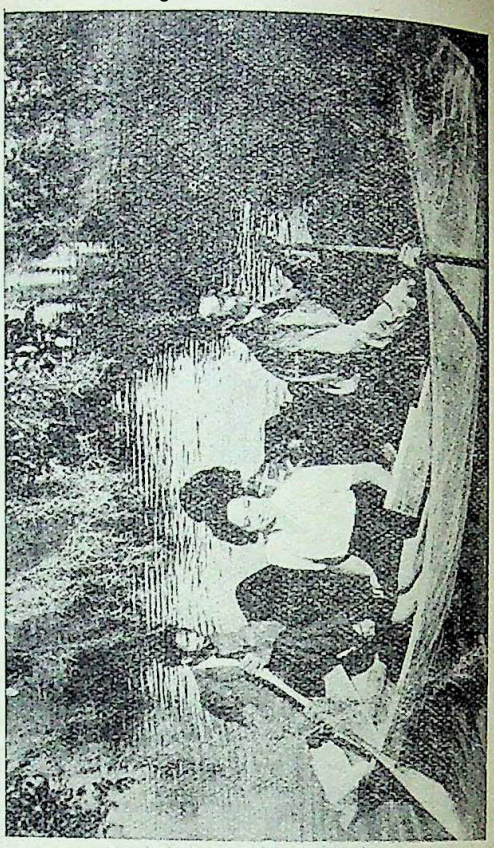
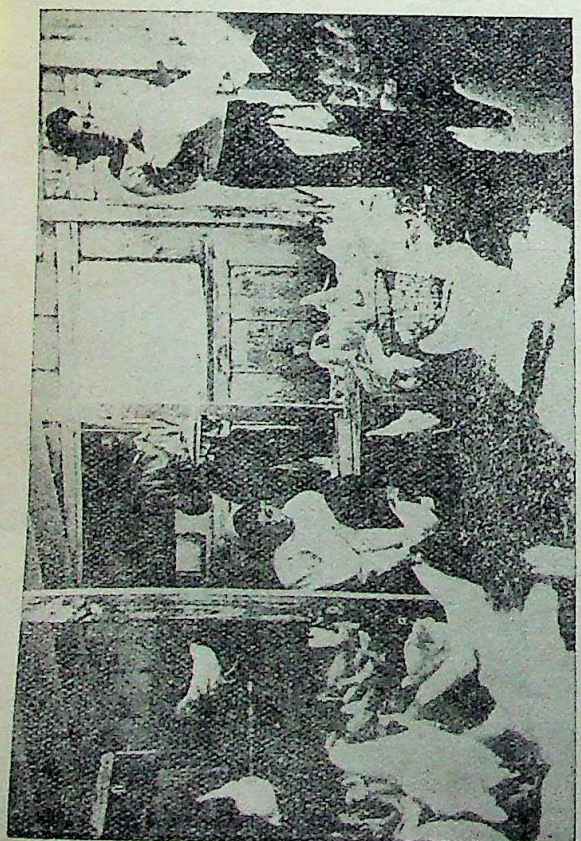


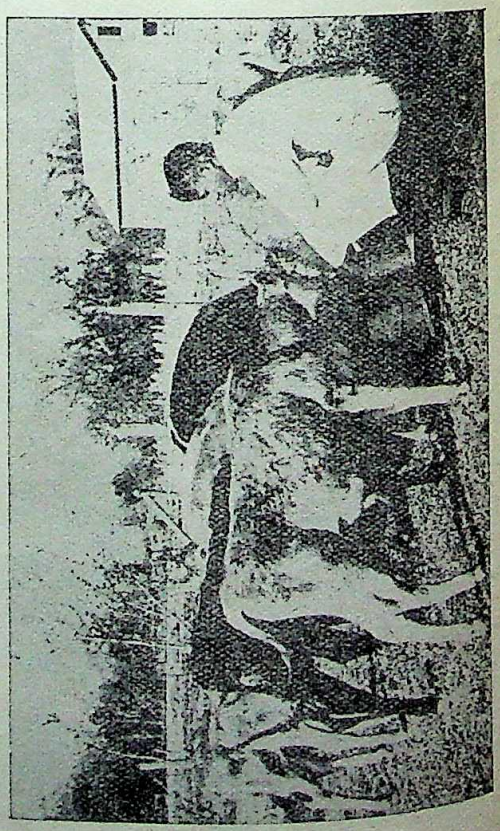
Driving a man-sized tractor, women students at Southern University learn to use modern heavy equipment



Rowing on Lake Kernan on the campus of Southern University students relax between classes



Inspecting poultry and eggs, these women students at Southern University prepare for the farm management they will assume after graduating



A future farm manager feeds the calves on the experimental dairy farm of Southern University

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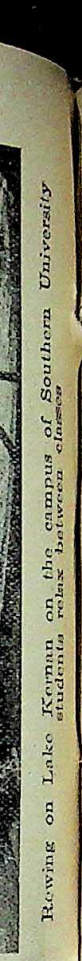

SYNTHESIS

By BRAJASUNDAR RAY, M.A.

Synthesis or harmony seems to be the goal towards which the whole humanity is drifting. Poet Tennyson in his *In Memoriam* dreams that there is "one far-off divine event towards which the whole creation moves." We may confirm this prediction made in 1849, after one hundred years have since elapsed, that human brotherhood and peace are the grand consummations that the poet visualised. Times are coming when all the conflicting claims of religions, ethics, cultures, arts, industries, economics, sciences and metaphysics will be synthetised and made accordant, and a casteless, classless, priestless, kingless, healthy and happy mankind will live in this mundane sphere, eliminating all causes of quarrel and interference with each other. Men will become so autonomous that the field of governmental activities will be reduced to the narrowest possible sphere, every man being a law unto himself. The perfection that Jesus held out in his Sermon on the Mount before his disciples as the ideal to be attained by them, in the words : "Be ye perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect," will become the motto inscribed on the front door of every house and office. Should we not all try our best to work out this grand ideal ?

In our humble opinion, if people try to attain this goal of harmony in regard to their religious creeds as their first and foremost concern in life, harmonisation in other things will become easier, at least in India, which is an epitome of the world. The U. N. O. and U. N. E. S. C. O. are the two world schemes in this post-war era founded by the united efforts of all the civilised nations for the purpose of creating a new generation of human beings, who will have a world outlook in everything and not a narrow national or racial view of things. In India we have got all the religions and cultures practised and followed by different communities, and so if there is toleration for the differences and appreciation of the similarities and points of contact, there will emerge a mentality that may be called a universal or world mentality. If the leaders of the different provinces and communities are actuated by the highest moral and spiritual aims and aspirations in their own lives and they appeal to the highest instincts in their followers and parties, then the onward march of the people here will become quite practicable and realisable. But it is the most regrettable feature in the Indian leaders that they seem to be more anxious to rouse the lower propensities of selfishness, jealousy and rivalry in the thoughtless minds of the masses. The beastly tendencies in men can very easily be made active and applied to injuring others. This is the worst method for working out any programme of human advancement. Leaders of thought, therefore, should calmly and carefully think out their plan as to the real progress of the masses. The toiling masses of men under the pressure of poverty, ignorance, superstitions, and low desires can hardly think of any other modes of culture than the culture provided by the creeds they believe in or are born in. Therefore, the most urgent and imperative duty of the leaders is to see that they are enabled to be acquainted with the best ideas and ideals taught by their own religions, creeds or revealed books. There is no doubt that they have been hitherto mostly misled and neglected by the professional priests, missionaries and other designing and hypocritical guides and *gurus*. The ruling authorities must, therefore, be anxious to spread enlightened ideals of the brotherhood of all men and the fatherhood of God. This spiritual equality is the corner-stone of the foundation of the new creation aimed at by U.N.O. and U.N.E.S.C.O. which, we hope, will make the path for an all-round synthesis among mankind clear, day by day.

Education, Science and Culture are gradually tending everywhere towards the same goal. Those who harp on the differences between the creeds and cultures and see visions of dangers in the offing, should know that sciences and metaphysics are now in co-operation against their conflicting claims. All the physical sciences are now in agreement with each other and metaphysics also is now converging towards the same truths as physics. In very near future we shall have the spectacle of great scientists coming forward to justify and support the spiritual revelations of old. They will, however, deny the special claims of different revelations and establish a common background in the human mind in which lies the secret of man's life and being. Comparative study of all revelations is being very seriously made both by scientists and religious leaders in all countries and there is a consensus among them that every believing soul must have its own revelations and realisation. Really in this realm of spiritual truths every man must be a Columbus to his own soul. Truly pious souls everywhere attain a synthesis among all truths known to them and see God's revelation in themselves. They come to the same conclusion that Socrates declared, *viz.*, man's body was not the man. Rites and ceremonies also are really meaningless, unless sincerely and earnestly observed. Their differences are local and historical and not spiritual.

Whether one believes in Jesus as his Saviour, or Moses or Mahomet as his prophet or whether he unites his voice with that of the Indian Rishis to call God "Thou art our Father"* the rockbottom truth is, *viz.*, man is a spirit and spirit is the truth and the matter or the material body is nowhere to be found. God himself reveals his own truth to every human being and if man realises this privilege of his, then alone he is not a mere animal, but a son of God. Mahomet in his Koran insists on this spiritual nature of man again and again, and Jesus also teaches the fatherhood of God in his Lord's Prayer, by saying "Our Father which art in Heaven, Hallowed be Thy name."

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The so-called Hindu polytheists also worship the same God revealed in the soul of the worshipper, who sees the manifestations of the One in the diverse existences of nature. His forte is the immanence of the unknown in the known universe, and being dissatisfied with the time and space-bound reality, he retires within himself, to "hear the unheard music of the spheres" within his own soul. The Islamic Sadhak is lost in meditation of the transcendent Reality, whereas the Hindu Sadhak attaches importance to both the *lila* in the universe and the unmanifest in his soul.

Intellectual cultures are assuming the same forms in all countries and consequently scientific methods are being applied to all pursuits and endeavours of mankind. The apparent differences are due to regional or geographical and temporary circumstances, and depend on the resources of the diverse nations and communities.

Mankind is being universalised. Man's modernisation means enabling him to supersede the particular and the smaller outlook with which he is born. His culture and education should be so directed that he may feel wider and wider sympathies with the world. Who is a cultured man? My reply to this query is, he who can feel with all men and be all for the time being. There is a universal soul in men everywhere. This man in all men should be developed by education and culture. This is the *Naradevata* or God in man we are in search of. We have to find him out in our own selves. The theories of different incarnations, of different revelations and ceremonies are all acceptable as parts of the same theism, only when we try to become universal men. Our greatest man of the nineteenth century, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, was such a universal man, who is claimed as a Hindu of Hindus, a *jabardast* Maulvi or a perfect theological interpreter of the Sermon on the Mount. Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa was another universal man. Poet Rabindranath Tagore has been acclaimed as the Gurudeva in all parts of the world. There is a possibility in every man or woman for developing this world mentality and for realising the deepest synthesis with the universe. Rishis and Sadhaks everywhere realise this kinship with the things that exist. St. Francis attained this brotherhood with birds, fire and water and so he delivered a sermon to the birds, and addressed Fire as brother and Water as sister.

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MEMORIES OF AUSTRIAN MUSIC

By Dr. ARUN GANGULI, z.d.s. (Vienna)

"Memories remembered are griefs forgotten" and it is with this idea in view I begin with a heavy heart to chronicle my memories about the Austrian music, at a time when she has been ravaged by the horrors of war. The sterner pages of the recent history will undoubtedly rob Vienna of very many things, but nothing can conquer the spirit of Vienna. She will rise again as if from a horrible nightmare, and be so gay and 'Gemutlich' as before. We will find again young Viennese men and women gathering around at their favourite 'Heurigen' singing old popular melodies with all their tender melancholy and their merry joy. We will hear again the chorus songs of the Wachau maidens clad in their colourful national dress going arm in arm along the valley, the sounds of the whirling Waltz by the gay couple at the distant cafe will thrill us. In fact, the spirit of these gay people, their traditional hospitality towards foreigners will always be their proud possession, and be a pointer to the rest of the civilised world.

For centuries Austria has been the land of music. Since ages she has attracted attention by her musical mission. She is fortunate to have given birth to a great number of musicians, among them the great names are Hayden, Mozart, Schubert, Bruckner and Hugo Wolf. Her nature and atmosphere attracted and attached to her soil the greatest of all composers—Beethoven, also the North German Johanes Brahms, and she inspired these two Austrians by choice with creative spirit and power.

Coming from mountainous Innsbruck the friends of Austrian music will be made acquainted charming Salzburg. Mozart's spirit will welcome them from the dome of St. Peter's and they will visit the house of his birth. Through the Alp country in flower their journey will lead them through 'Salzkammergut' to the monastery of St. Florian, rich in treasures, where Austrian masters of music lived and worked. Under the splendid Bruckner organ lies the simple and pious little schoolmaster, the greatest Austrian composer of Symphonies. Lost in dreams and far from the world Bruckner here listened to his divine inspiration. Over his grave the organ still seems to pour out its beautiful chords.

Following the historical path of Nibulungs the visitors will pass the lovely Wachau valley, and the blue Danube, celebrated by many songs, will carry his gay boat to the shores of Vienna. Vienna, the ever young heart of the world of music, will give to the friend of music, joy and delight. The musical experiences of this unique town are simply unforgettable. Vienna with its State Opera, its Philharmonic orchestra, its concert halls and beautiful church concerts, with its whirling and enchanting Waltzes, with its charm and joy in life. And now Vienna invites you also to its many musical reminiscences which form part of the essence of this town no less than Schubert's Lieder, Hayden's popular hymn or Strauss and Lanner's sweet dance melodies. Especially the musician, the music conoisseur and the music historian will visit the spots where masters lived. Here the present time passes away and is lost in the midst of the past. Old Vienna is revived, bastions, glacis, softly waving hills, reminding of musical

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rhythm. And one will stand in old courtyards and houses imbibed with the spirit of the immortals. It is here they lived and suffered, here they expressed all their joy by music and here died what in them was mortal. Sometimes it seems as if these old Viennese houses in their loneliness suddenly began to sing and speak of the past. We are silent with awe impressed with the mystic power of these memories. Let us join with the Viennese when they say,

"Wien ist noch reich an wohnhausern seiner grossen musiker, die wohl fuglich Tempel und weihestatten der sulen genantt warden konen."

(Vienna still is rich in dwellings of its great musicians which well we may call temples of remembrance.)

The special characteristic of the classic Viennese music is embodied in the great composer of Lieder Franz Schubert. In his music not only lives the dreamy, romantic Vienna but also the brilliant gaiety of Viennese character. Lichtental, Grinzing, Nusdorf, the green Viennese suburbs, are reflected in his creations; merry laughter rings, the trees of Wienerwald murmur, old Stephen's dome towers above the harmonious old town. You feel all these if you visit the charming old house in the Nusdorfer-strasse where Schubert was born. Lilac is in flower in the courtyard—everything is silent. Here the present dares not intrude—the past seems still alive in the rooms, staircases and passages—one should not wonder if all at once the Master's spectacles should be seen peering through the window panes.

What gives to the musical atmosphere of Vienna its special touch is the fact that all these musicians who lived and worked here have left after their death their proper surroundings to the later generation, as for instance the houses of Schubert's birth and death are still respectfully preserved; likewise innumerable spots remind one of Beethoven, Hayden, Mozart or Brahms. Nobody is astonished to find on some house an inscription saying,

"Hier hat Beethoven die Eroica." "Hier hat Mozart die 'Zauberflote' geschaffen" or "Hier hat Johans Straus den Walzer 'An der schonen blauen Donau' geschrieben."

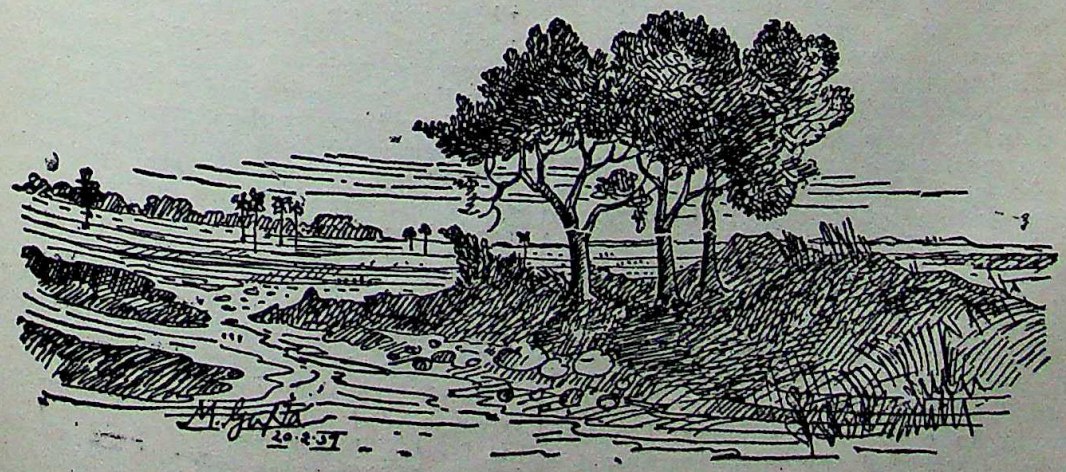
(Here Beethoven wrote the 'Eroica' here Mozart created the 'Magic flute' or here Johan Straus composed the Waltz 'On the blue Danube'.)

From Lichtental, the idyllic scene of many happy episodes in Schubert's life, one wanders pleasantly into the green country of Heilligenstadt. Here every thing reminds of Beethoven. A simple house receives the visitor, where the 'Eroica' was created and thus it has become the palace of genius. The surroundings of Vienna were a quiet retreat for many Viennese artists: Grillparzer, Lenau, Schubert, Korner and Bauernfeld also liked to dwell here. How thrilling to wander along the paths which were among Beethoven's favourite walks, like the Beethovengang to the Kahlenberg. The friendly hills of the Kahlenberg give you a friendly greeting, vineyards full of sun, gardens full of blossoms, perfume and peace. Soft air, the songs of larks, sound of music all around. In the austere calm of ancient Modling, Beethoven wrote the Misa in the Christhof, a specially beautiful house well worth a visit. In the health resort Baden there are many places reminding of Beethoven; high above the town a temple is dedicated to his memory.

The city of Vienna itself is rich in musical reminiscences. The dwellings of Gluck, Hayden, and Mozart; old ducal palaces where the greatest composers of their line were welcome guests. In the Theater an der Wien which still stands unchanged, the first performance of Fidelio with the second Leonoren Ouverture took place in October 20, 1805. In the splendid palace of Prinz Eugen, a marble tablet reminds of the schoolmaster and organist of St. Florean, famous Anton Bruckner, whom the Emperor invited here to spend the last years of his life. A trip to Burgenland takes the visitor to Eisenstadt where Josef Hayden conducted the orchestra of the Prince Esterhazy. A visit to the charming hill church in Eisenstadt, the Mausoleum with Hayden's tomb, to the Esterhazy palace and the rich museum will illustrate vividly the activity of the creator of the Austrian Music hymn.

After such days farewell is painful, and our heart is filled with deep gratitude for them who made Austrian music famous through the world. This is how a French musician remarked after visiting the enchanting city:

"Et devant ces tombeaux qui nous parlent des grandes maitres un sentiment de frofonde reconnaissance et d'admiration passionnee peur leurs oeuvres, nous saisit, nous comprenons mieux la mission musicale de l'Autriche. Elle a donne au monde une richesse qui depasse presque les limites possibles!"



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THE ROLE OF THE NATIONALIST MUSLIMS

By ATIAR RAHMAN

One of the most frequently debated questions of the day is, "Is there any Nationalist Muslim in Bengal at all?"

The vast majority will answer "No." A tiny fraction will say, "Perhaps there is," only a few will reply in the clear-cut affirmative.

Indeed, after all that have taken place in the wake of that far April day when the Krishak Prajas dug their graves on the soil of an entente with Nizimuddin's League, much of a national conception cannot remain in Muslim Bengal. Today the Nationalist Muslims stand isolated in a hopeless minority, their ideals shattered, their creed ridiculed, their existence made miserable. Disintegration in their ranks has been complete and the channel of their activities has lost itself in the sands of oblivion. The paradox that originated with Fazlul Huq betraying himself, has borne fruit, alas! leaving a taste in the mouth that even the unscrupulous palate of the Sher-i-Bangal would readily loathe. The recent history of Muslim Bengal has been a dirty canvas of crisis juxtaposed against crisis, of malice and intrigue; a prefabricated concatination of blackmail and swindle resting on the links of bankrupt leadership and sordid tomfoolery. All through the years following the funeral of the Krishak Prajas, hatred collected at large, and fanatic blood boiled restlessly in million arteries, till at last the animal madly rushed down the declivity, and perished in the unhallowed waters of internecine warfare. There in the smoke and blood of the fateful evening of the 16th August, 1946, sank the pale Sun of Nationalism behind the skyline of burning Calcutta. But even in that tumultuous legion, a handful clung to their article of faith, the creed of common nationality, heedless of the manifest spectre of fire and sword dangling around.

And these were the Nationalist Muslims, the 'hirelings' 'traitors', 'showboys', and 'quislings,' 'imbecile microbes feeding on the mercy of Hindu vested interests.' Ask of Mr. Cabinet Minister or Mr. Rickshaw-puller the denomination, and you will get the very answer, probably with some additional adjectives. They have been the target of the worst bullying the world has ever known, and bullying, you know, is as endless as the train of your thoughts. But why this bullying? Why this rabid tirade and slinging of mud and steel against persons so few in number? Only Muslim Bengal can answer.

Therefore, we, the Nationalist Muslims of Bengal, turn our faces once again to that surging ocean of humanity from where we come, that vast concourse of men and women forming the world's greatest concentration of the religion of Allah, the Muslim community of Bengal, not to give it back the shame it flings at us, but to see the climax of it. Because we know, and every intelligent man knows, that slander is no remedy for slander, that coal-tar is powerless to illumine the shades of night. We have decided merely to continue in suffering. The creed that has been sanctified by the heart-blood of Mohammad Ali, Ansari, Azmal Khan, Badsha Khan and Azad, yet calls for the sacrifice of many, so that when independence comes out of the mists of the yet-to-be, the contribution of Muslims may not be insignificant in comparison with what the Hindus have done.

Just think of the Red Shirts of the western frontier, just pause a moment to unite the fragments of their activities on the screen of your mind, and your heart will not shrink back from your ideals; and you will get a clue of the League's discomfiture in the land of the Pathans. These valiant sons of the hills do not work and live in the comforts of the well-furnished studies of Peshawar. The fields of their activities lie elsewhere, on the unbeaten tracks of stone and gravel, on the heights of the mountains, in the grey valleys of the Sulaiman. They serve man, and through man they serve God. That is why the redoubtable League propaganda collapsed in Sarhad before the simplicity of Ghaffar Khan and his men.

Here, then, is the challenge for you, Nationalist Muslims of Bengal. Can you do here what the sage of the frontier has done among his people? Have you the courage to pursue your mission through all the adverse currents of fortune? Are you prepared to carry your message to every district, village and hamlet of this historic land? Do you consider perishing for a noble cause a better alternative for plenty in masochism? Say 'no' and mingle in the multitude of self-seekers. Say 'yes,' and choose the path of the chosen few, the path of sublimation through sacrifice.

And then if your conviction be so strong, proceed to the task of educating the great masses rotting in the morass of poverty, exploitation and ignorance. Fight with the devil of illiteracy and narrowness, and through your words and activities, let them re-create themselves so that they may have a wider outlook of life and higher ideals than merely buying and selling of cattle and seeds, and toiling in the day and sleeping at night. Work out your way from the bottom, and bring the bottom to the top. Let politics remain the monopoly of the avaricious whose ideologies are co-terminous with the greed of their hearts.

And when you achieve the end of your pursuit, when you are able to make the people, your poor brethren of the soil, conscious of themselves and their might in a world of democracy; only then you may afford to look back for a fleeting second, and answer the charges against you, and be the enemies of freedom, "Yes sirs, we have been quislings all through our lives, quislings in a society of racketeers and gangsters, but now we have justified our existence and struggle."

Till that day of the future, the Nationalist Muslim will know no rest. Worse may come, but the faith of the true Nationalist will not waver, the light of his ideals will not lose its halo, his vision of common independence for all will ever call him onwards; for his conviction about the ultimate emergence of truth out of the darkness that prevails is far too deep-rooted.

God willing, our task will be accomplished.

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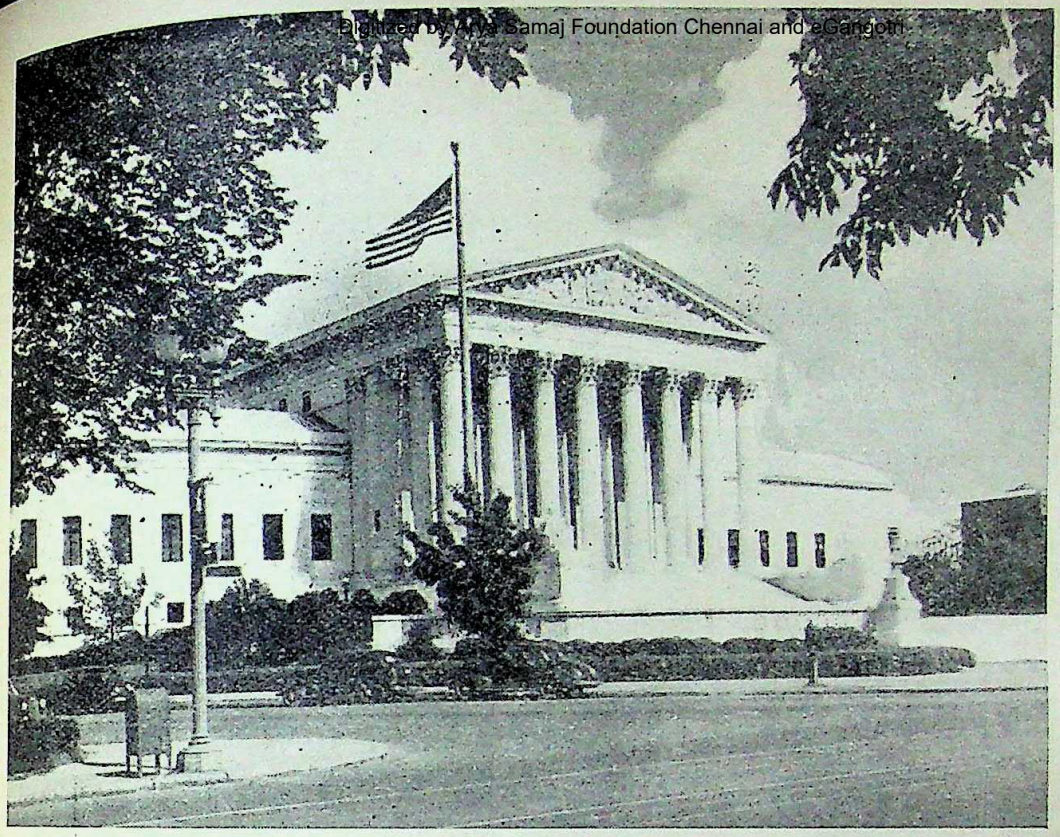
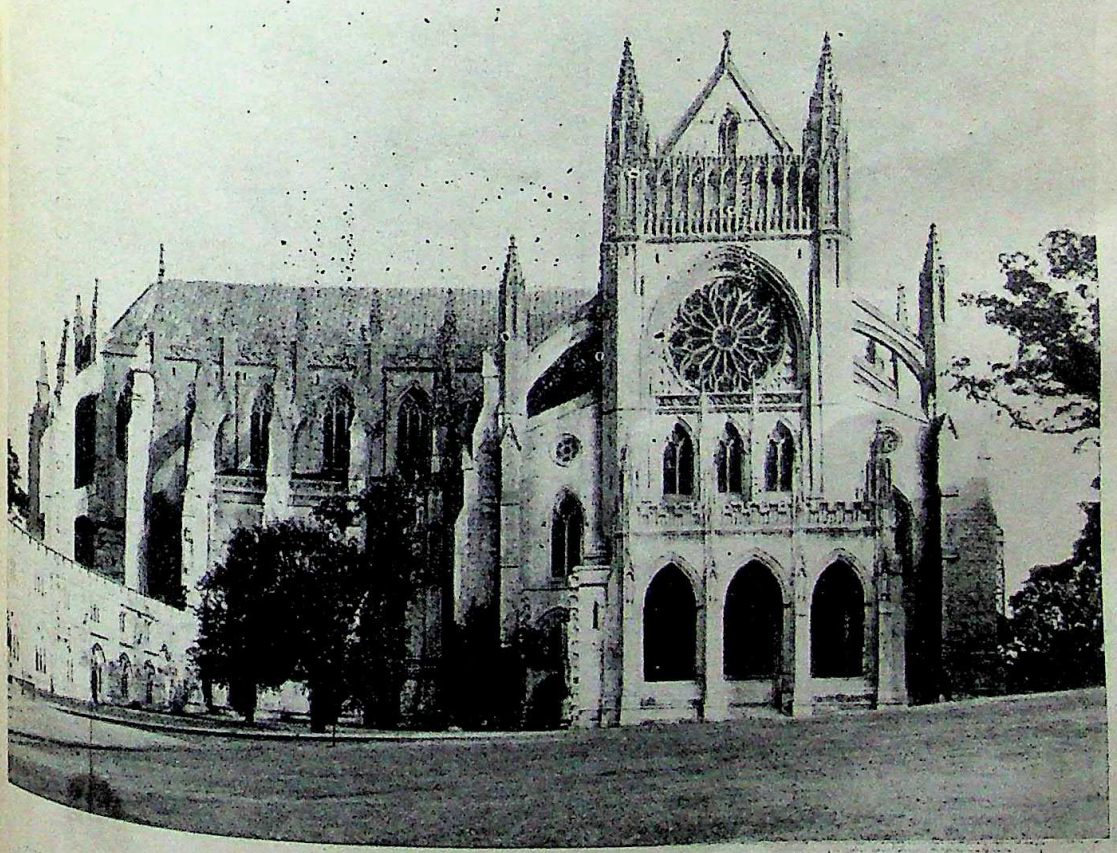


The U. S. Supreme Court Building in Washington was completed in 1935



An exterior view of the Washington Cathedral

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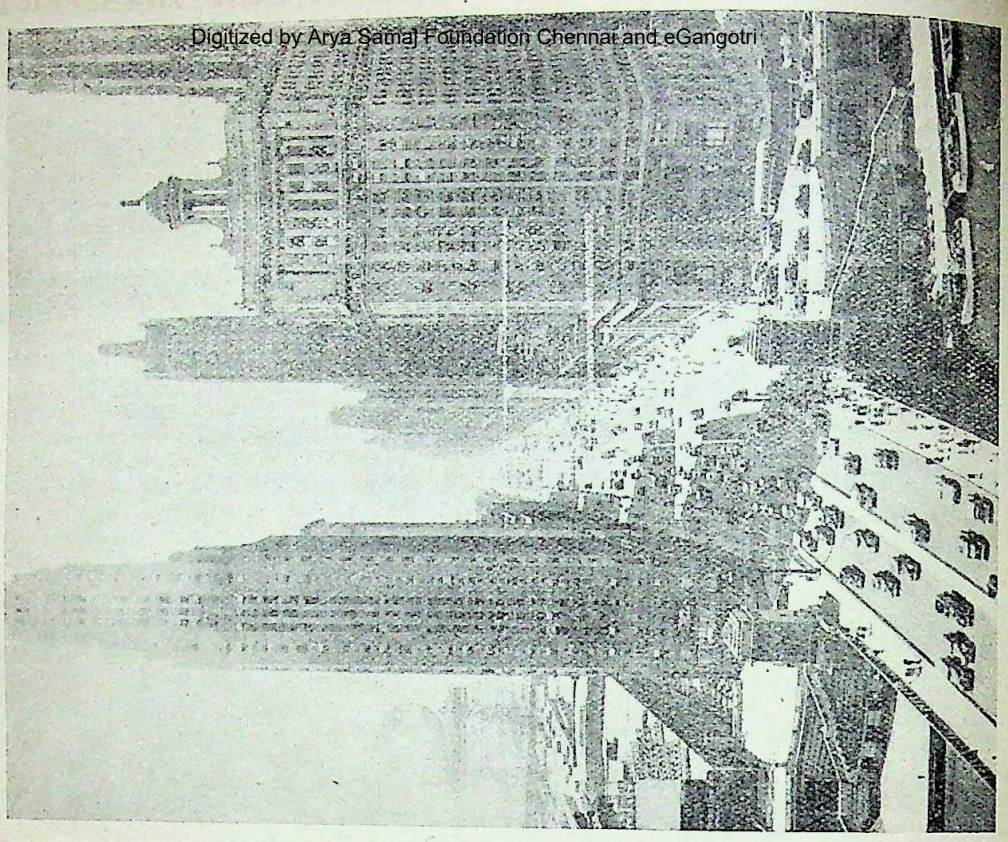
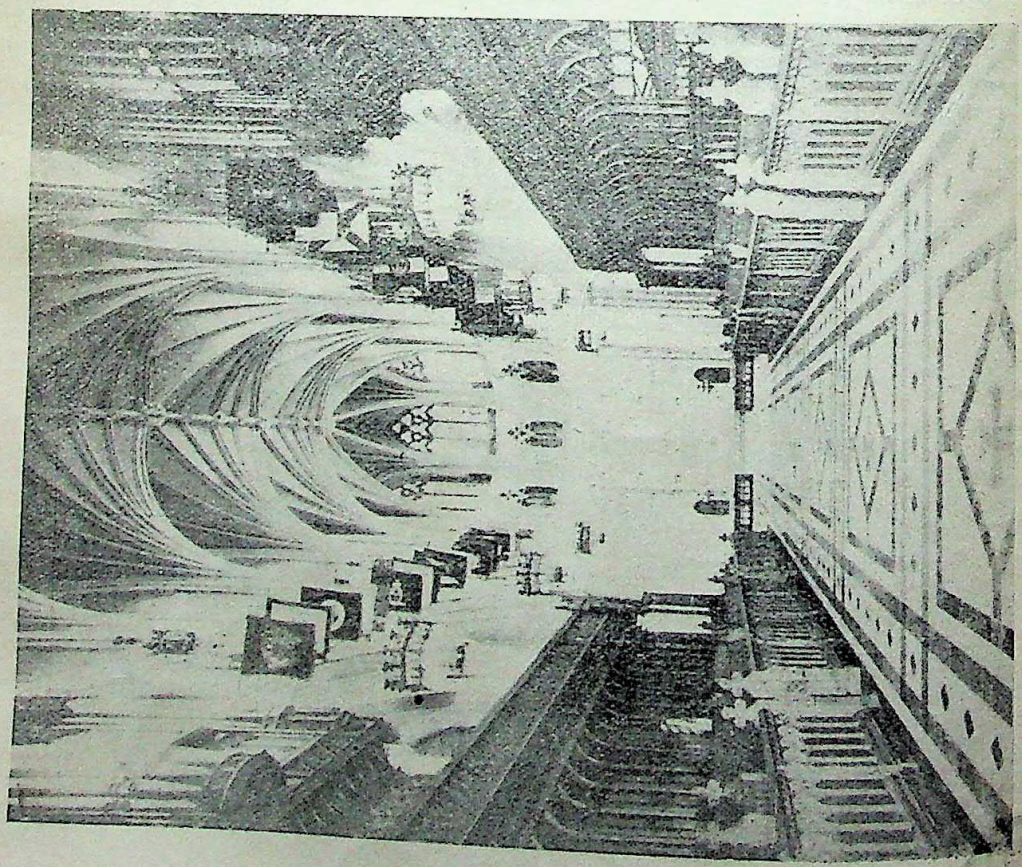


Chicago's famous Michigan Avenue



The sanctuary of the Washington Cathedral

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THE FAMINE OF 1943 AND THE NATURE OF LAND TRANSFER IN A VILLAGE IN BENGAL

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By Prof. KARUNAMOY MUKERJEE, M.A.

Ishan-Gopalpur, village and the Union of the same name, is within the Sadar Police Station of Faridpur district in Bengal.

It appears from the occupational census of the village taken by the author of this note in July, 1944, that in January, 1943, there were in all 168 families, of which, however, some were in later months wiped off by Famine during 1943. The classification of families on the basis of occupation is as follows :

Table 1

Ishan-Gopalpur

	January 1943	January 1944
Cultivator	79	77
Trader	27	23
Labour	24	20
Artisan	12	11
Service	12	11
Jotdar	5	5
Beggar	4	3
Zamindar	3	3
Priest	2	2
Total	168	155

In course of actual survey work, the writer found that the families that were wiped off during 1943 through starvation, death and desertion consisted of Labourers 4, Traders 4, Artisan 1, Cultivators 2, Petty employee 1, beggar 1.

Transferors

Out of the total number of families as in January, 1943, as many as 54 families alienated a part or the whole of their holdings in the famine year of 1943. The total extent of land alienated by the villagers was as follows :

Table 2

	Acres	*Price* Rs.	*Loan* Rs.	*Salami* Rs.
Through sale	26·04	5,598	..	..
Through mortgage	7·93	..	1,121	..
Through lease	10·44	..	..	31,201

The official figures of documents of land transfer of the *mouza* in 1943 are, however, far below 54. It appears from statistics collected from official sources that only 32 documents were executed in 1943. This discrepancy between the official figures of land transfer and the figures gathered through the author's personal survey is to be explained by the fact that in 1943 the villagers in many cases, mutually consented to transfer land on verbal contract or on contract written but not registered, so as to avoid delay, expenses and harassment incidental to registration.

From the table given in the paragraph above, it is clear that the 54 transferors taken as a whole alienated, all told 44·41 acres of cultivable land between January, 1943 and January, 1944. This means that nearly 18·3 per cent of the net area sown in 1942* was transferred by the villagers in 1943. We may classify the extent of transferred holdings according to the causes of transference in the following manner : Of 44·41 acres, ·50 acre was transferred in order to meet rent arrears due by the transferor to his landlord ; 4·66 acres were transferred with the avowed object of acquiring more convenient or better plots of land in exchange for the existing ones or in exchange for their money value realised through transference ; 5·00 acres were transferred with a view to clear off debts outstanding ; 6·40 acres were transferred, the money value of which appears to have been utilised partly for the acquisition of fresh land and partly for food purchase. By far the biggest quantity of land, namely, 27·85 acres, or 62·71 per cent of the total transferred area was, however, alienated with a view exclusively to procure money for buying food. This serves to measure the severity of the famine and the economic distress caused through shortage of food. The number of transferors may be classified according to the cause of the transference :

Table 3

Cause of Transference	*Number of transferors*
Rent arrears	1
Old debts	4
Land purchase	5
Food and land purchase	5
Scarcity and food purchase	39

It is to be noted that 10 out of 54 transferors were, at the same time, transferees themselves. For all these ten persons, the total net alienation was to the tune of ·38 acre which will be clear from the following table :

Table 4

Ten transferors who were also transferees in 1943

Alienated	
By sale	5·80 acres
By mortgage	2·40 „
By lease	2·86 „
Total	11·06 acres
Acquired	
By purchase	9·35 acres
By mortgage	·60 „
By lease	·73 „
Total	10·68 acres

The range of holdings transferred, given in the following Table, shows that the existing evils of fragmented holdings were further intensified in 1943 :

Table 5

Holdings transferred by villagers in 1943

Range of transferred holdings in acres	*Number of transferors*
·10 to ·20	7
·21 „ ·60	22
·61 „ 1·00	14
1·01 „ 1·40	4
1·41 „ 2·00	4
2·41 „ 3·00	1
3·01 „ 4·00	2
Total	54

* According to Settlement and Survey work of 1940-42.

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Classifying transferors on the basis of occupation we find that 37 of them were cultivators, 4 were artisans like carpenters, goldsmiths, etc., who were partly dependent on land ; 3 were *jotdars,* whose incomes consisted of cash rent, crop rent and *khas* agricultural produce ; 10 were petty traders including small shop-keepers, sellers of fish and milk, etc., who also derived a part of their incomes from land.

Out of 54 families transferring their holdings in 1943, as many as nine families became landless. This amounts to saying that 16·6 per cent of such families became landless. What was alarming was that the number and percentage of families with small holdings remarkably increased in the famine year. Among those 54 families who alienated land during 1943-44, there were 37 families (both cultivating and non-cultivating) with small holdings up to the size of 4 acres as the maximum, but their number increased by 13½ per cent between 1943 and 1944. The number of cultivating families with small holdings (*i.e.,* with holdings up to 4 acres as the maximum) increased by 16 per cent. It appears that the proportion of such peasants as held 8·01 acres and above, remained the same in 1944 as in 1943 ; but that of 'middle' peasants* as a whole (who owned more than 4 acres but less than 10·33 acres) diminished by 33 1/3 per cent. Thus out of every 100 'middle' peasants about 66 alone survived *as 'middle' peasants,* the rest being reduced to the status of 'small' peasants (with holdings less than 4 acres). The 'small' peasants, that is, the poorer section of the agriculturists, proved, of course, more vulnerable and more open to the ravages of want and famine. The reason is that, other things being equal, the power of resistance increases as the size of holding increases. The families on whom the famine inflicted the greatest palpable injury were among the 'small' peasants with holdings up to 1·50 acres. All the nine families that became landless fell within this category of 'small' peasants. The severity of loss sustained by 45 other transferors, though telling, was, yet, less poignant : they lost their land only in parts. Again, 16 out of 37, *i.e.,* nearly 44 per cent of transferors among cultivators lost anything between ·41 acre to 4 acres through transference. 25 per cent of transferors among artisans and 40 per cent of those among petty traders became landless. Again, 100 per cent among transferors of the artisan class and 90 per cent among those of the petty trader class suffered a net diminution in the size of their respective holdings, either in parts, or, to the extent of the whole of their possession. Jotdars, however, fared better : in 2 out of 3 cases, they had a net addition to their previous holdings.

Transferees

The total area transferred in 1943 within the village in question was acquired by 53 transferees in all, of which 23 were co-villagers and 30 outsiders. Of the latter, some were from the neighbouring villages and some from far-off places but having had relatives of their own in the Mouza where the transference took place. A classification of these 53 transferees on the basis of occupation may be made in the following manner :

Table 6

Occupation	*Co-villagers*	*Outsiders*
Cultivator	9	20
Jotdar	3	1
Office-employee and Jotdar	1	3
Traders	4	4
Moneylenders	1	1
Priest and petty employees	2	1
Zamindar	3	0
	23	30

All the transferees taken together acquired through purchase 28·74 acres of land of which 26·04 acres were sold by villagers of Ishan-Gopalpur and 2·70 acres by outsiders. Secondly, 7·93 acres were acquired through mortgage : 3·58 acres being of the *sud khalasi* variety and 4·35 acres of *sud barati* type of mortgage. Both these types are of the usufructuary brand : in both the cases the mortgaged land passes into hands of the mortgagee and remains in his possession till the repayment of loans,—the interest on the principal sum getting exhausted in the process of his enjoying the profits from the land mortgaged. In the case of *sud barati* mortgage, however, the mortgaged land, after being taken over by the creditor, is handed back again to the mortgagor for purposes of cultivation, on condition that the latter pays to the mortgagee 50 per cent of the gross agricultural produce from that land. Thirdly, land taken on lease by the transferees amounted to 10·64 acres, of which ·20 acre was acquired from outside the Mouza. As a whole, 47·31 acres were acquired by the 53 transferees—the whole including 2·90 acres acquired from outside the Mouza. It should be noted, however, that 10 (all co-villagers) out of 53 transferees themselves transferred more or less of their own land simultaneously that they acquired fresh land from outsiders or from co-villagers. Such transference effected by transferees accounted for 11·06 acres as already shown in Table 4. The net accretion of land to all the transferees taken together was, therefore, of the order of 36·25 acres of which 2·90 acres were acquired by the villagers from outside of the Mouza.

Manner of Concentration of Transferred Holdings

It was found that 27 per cent of land (net) acquired by transferees concentrated in the hands of 3 persons within the village. Among the transferees who were outsiders, land pased on mostly to cultivators, while among the transferees who were co-villagers, land was acquired by a variety of economic groups. This is clear from Table 6. From Table I of Appendix 'A', it will be seen that 40·8 per cent of the net quantity of land acquired went to transferees within the village ; that is, 14·79 acres out of 36·25 acres passed on to them. The rest went to outsiders.

* The expressions such as "middle" peasants, "small" peasants are explained here by briefly referring, within adjoining brackets, to the quantity of land owned by them. The definition of "small" and "middle" peasants has been adopted from calculations about "medium" holding made in the foot note to p. 259, the last line of p. 254 and first line of p. 255, of the Final Report of the Famine Inquiry Commission, 1945.

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A particular way of reviewing the nature of concentration of the transferred holdings is to classify the transferees on the basis of occupation and then to compare the proportion of land acquired by each of the occupational groups. Such a comparison has been made in column (7) of Table I of Appendix 'A'. From this Table, it will be apparent that 40·5 per cent of the total went to cultivators, including co-villagers and outsiders ; 17·9 per cent to Zamindars ; 15 per cent to office-employees ; 10·2 per cent to Traders ; 7 per cent to Jotdars ; 5·3 per cent to Moneylenders and 4·1 per cent to Priests and petty employees. All this means that 59·5 per cent of land that was acquired went to those classes of people within and outside of the village who took practically very little or no interest in land, such as, Zamindars, Traders, Moneylenders, Office-employees, Priests, etc.

If, again, we examine the nature of land concentration among the transferees who were co-villagers, the scene becomes more appalling and the picture more gloomy. A reference to Table II of Appendix 'A' will be convincing in this regard. It is revealed that the cultivator-transferees of the village fared the worst ; that instead of acquiring, all of them, as a whole, incurred a net loss of ·32 acre of land. Negatively speaking, they acquired —2·1 per cent, whereas Zamindars grabbed 43·9 per cent. Next came Traders, followed successively by Jotdars, Office-employees, Moneylenders and Priests, who respectively seized 14·6 per cent, 14·4 per cent, 11 per cent, 10·8 per cent and 7·4 per cent of 14·79 acres.

The magnitude of the evil of such manner of land transference is to be judged from two points of view. In the first place, such transferees as are mentioned to be non-cultivators in the preceding paragraph inevitably constituted the richer section of the population and, therefore, it may be said that when land from the poor cultivators passed on to them, it rendered the rich richer, the poor poorer. Secondly, these rich transferees, even though they commanded the means to afford, did very little to improve the capital value of land, for instance, through applying manure, irrigation, etc. Still, however, they exhibited considerable eagerness to own land. Their land-hunger and their callous indifference to improving the land seems to be incongruous. But such incongruity is not difficult to explain : on the one hand, the land-hunger was there because land gave them prestige, influence and wealth ; specially so, in a period of rising prices and of food famine ; also, the decline of cottage industries and the paucity of alternative sources of investment in the area (save and except during the War period) rendered the importance of land so supreme. On the other hand, their failure to improve the quality of the soil is to be explained by their aloofness from actual agricultural operations. Their association with land, apart from its ownership, was round-about and far-fetched, that is, through the actual tillers of the soil who paid them rent. In case of *Khas* land, that is, land in their direct possession, they mostly let it out on *barga* or *bhag* or *adhi* (i.e., half of the total gross yield) arrangement and lived on produce-rent tendered by share-croppers who, again, overcrowd the village like too many fish in a congested pool. Not capital-investment, but feudalistic exploitation ; not improvement of soil, but impoverishment of its tillers—that is the dominant feature of the agricultural economy of the village surveyed.

The Rich Become Richer, the Poor Poorer

It has been remarked above that the Famine caused land transference in the village in such a manner as to render the rich richer, the poor poorer. As land in the rural area is, in a special sense, a measure of wealth, if, therefore, other things being equal there be a net addition to one's land, one becomes comparatively rich thereby. Appendix 'B' shows that 4 out of 23 transferee-families who owned no land in 1943 became owners thereof in 1944. They came from trading and moneylending classes who were distinctly better off than ordinary "small" and "middle" peasants. Again, in 1943, none held precisely 10·01 to 11·00 acres but in 1944 a family was promoted to this range from that of 9·01-10·00 acres ; another made a jump from the range of 27·01-28·00 to 28·01-29·00 acres. In the highest ranges of land ownership, significant shifting of position took place. Thus, it appears that in 1943, 3 families owned 49·01-50·00 acres each ; this range of holding was broken through in 1944, and each rose to the higher and still higher range. All these last 5 families came from Jotdar-Talukdar and Zamindar classes, the latter three coming solely from the Zamindar class.

To many it may appear natural, even inevitable, that land would pass from the poorer to the richer persons. The poor, it is said, are always in need of money, the rich have money ; and, in the case of land-transfer, what happens is that land passes on to the rich for a money-value that serves to stabilise the former's family budget.

This, however, is not always the case ; in other years (preceding 1943), land did pass on from the well-to-do cultivators to their compeers or even to their less fortunate brethren. An analysis of the causes of land-transfer would reveal that transference is often caused by motives other than the need for ready cash : land is substituted by better or more convenient plots of land. Even where ready cash is needed, that cash may be utilised for various purposes. For instance, it may be made to form the nucleus of business-capital. This has been a special feature since 1939, from when new opportunities of investment presented themselves. But the Famine Year of 1943, opened up newer paths of misery rather than of success. In this fateful year, hunger and scarcity reigned supreme ; food, and, cash for food at any cost, was the cry. In such an abnormal situation, poverty and food shortage were the dominant forces behind land transfer. The hungry needed food, and, therefore, money ; the rich hungered for land and they had money. The holding of the poor might be tiny, they had to sell it out, and too many of them competed to sell. The rich knew their game ; they displayed deeds of sympathy but showed reluctance to purchase ; then they bargained, and, again, hung back, but ultimately bought—at a nominal price ; even that price was mostly not fully paid. Thus Fraud was added to Black-mailing. In many a sense, the situation in the village in question in the Famine Year of 1943 was quite grim, desperate and disgusting.

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Appendix "A"

TABLE I

Concentration of transferred lands among transferees (Co-villagers and Outsiders) on the basis of occupation :

Occupation	Net land acquired (*in acres*)	*Co-villagers* No.	Acreage acquired	*Outsiders* No.	Acreage acquired	Proportion of land in col. (2) to total land acquired
Priest and petty employee	1·50	2	1·10	1	0·40	4·1%
Moneylender	1·95	1	1·60	1	0·35	5·3%
Jotedar	2·53	3	2·13	1	0·40	7·0%
Petty trader	3·65	4	2·15	4	1·50	10·2%
Office employee	5·44	1	1·64	3	3·80	15·0%
Zamindar	6·49	3	6·49	0	0·00	17·9%
Cultivator	14·69	9	—0·32	20	+15·01	40·5%
Total	36·25	23	14·79	30	21·46	100·0%

N.B.—2·90 acres out of 36·25 acres were acquired from outside of the Mouza.

Appendix "A"

TABLE II

Concentration of transferred lands among transferees (Co-villagers alone) on the basis of occupation :

Occupation	Net land acquired by Co-villagers (in acres)	No. of Co-villagers who acquired land	Proportion of land in col. (2) to total land acquired
Priest and petty employee	1·10	2	7·4%
Moneylender	1·60	1	10·8%
Jotedar	2·13	3	14·4%
Petty trader	2·15	4	14·6%
Office employee	1·64	1	11·0%
Zamindar	6·49	3	43·9%
Cultivator	—0·32	9	—2·1%
Total	14·79	23	100·0%

Appendix "B"

Range of holdings of transferees (Co-villagers alone) before and after 1943 :

Range of holdings in acres	No. of families (before 1943)	No. of families (after 1943)
0·0 to 0·0	4	0
0·1 to 2·0	3	8
2·1 to 4·0	5	2
4·1 to 10·0	7	8
10·1 to 11·0	0	1
27·1 to 28·0	1	0
28·1 to 29·0	0	1
49·1 to 50·0	3	0
50·1 and above	0	3
Total	23	23

—:O:—

GASSIFICATION OF COAL MINES

By N. V. ESWAR

Mr. V. B. Karnik, one of the Indian Delegates to the Industrial Committee on Coal Mining, in a press interview at Karachi said that at the conference they would press for the nationalisation of coal mines in India.

Nationalisation of coal mines in India, coupled with the importation of modern machinery as suggested by Mr. Karnik, may be one of the methods to increase efficiency and production. This may also put the miners on a better level than they are in now. Mr. Karnik's dream : "We shall press that Indian miners should be brought in line with that of miners of other advanced countries" too may come true. However, I feel that Mr. Karnik said "mines" instead of "miners" in the sentence quoted immediately before this. For gassification of coal mines is what engages the serious attention of advanced countries. So it would be in keeping with the spirit of the times to bring Indian mines in line with the mines of advanced countries. When production can be raised to the optimum and wastage limited to the maximum minimum through gassification of coal mines, it is ridiculous to think of a small reform in one corner.

It is estimated that more than 65 per cent of the potential energy of the coal burnt to raise steam power for industrial purposes is wasted away. Though in India coal has not become a universal domestic fuel, what little quantity of it is burnt in domestic grates is a total waste, considering that the vital chemicals that coal provides are not turned into any useful account. Besides, the coal burnt as fuel in households can very well be converted into power to run the rising industries of the land.

Apart from the colossal waste, there are other factors which make coal mining in the traditional way uneconomic. In the usual course 30 per cent to 40 per cent of coal is left behind in the seam. It is never possible to avoid this "leaving" so long as coal is mined in the old way. Under the present-day mining operations, there is always the danger that pockets of gas are opened up. Though these can be converted into gaseous fuel to drive the chains of industry (about 1,000 cft. of gas per ton of coal in the seam), under the present state of mining nothing can On the other hand, these gas pockets form a constant source of great danger in that they

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contribute to the building up of fire-damp and black-damp.

If gassification of the coal mines is taken up in hand, coal will be turned hundred per cent into gas. Also, its constituents, vital chemicals, benzene, solvents and other raw materials which come up to the surface along with the gas will become available to operate heavy chemical industries in a better and more efficient manner than at present. Not only is the gas convertible into steam or electrical power, but it can also be changed into synthetic liquid fuels, plastics and rubber.

The idea of gassifying the coal mines was first put forward 80 years ago by the great Russian chemist Dmitri Ivanovich Mendeleeff. His suggestion appeared interesting and practical to the eminent British chemist Sir William Ramsay. Sir William's interest in the scheme went further. He sank an experimental shaft in a Durham coal-field. But the idea did not apparently "catch on." Even Lenin who did all he could to interest Russian scientists in gassifying coal mines failed miserably in his attempts in 1913. However, in 1931, the Russian scientists saw the practicability of the scheme and set about investigating the possibilities of the scheme in right earnest.

A society of Russian scientists for the underground gassification of coal mines was formed in the year 1933. It, however, took nearly three years of continued experiment to arrive at a suitable and workable method. In 1936, this society of scientists changed itself into the Podzemgas Trust, with facilities to give the idea of gassification concrete shape in the industrial field.

Gassification of coal mines started in Russia on an experimental basis in the year 1938, when a unit was erected at Garlovka in the Donetz basin. During the experimental stage, which lasted eighteen months, 300,000,000 cubic feet of gas was produced. Yet another plant was erected in 1940 at Lisitschansk with a capacity to turn out 20,000,000 cubic feet of gas daily. The success of these pilot plants has given rise to similar plants in the coal basins of the Urals, Siberia, Central Asia and Far Eastern Russia.

Coal is lighted underground. There are several methods of igniting coal. But the method generally adopted is known as the Drift or the Stream process. Under this process two shafts are sunk in the coal seam at a distance of 300 yds. from each other. The modern method of horizontal drilling is applied to bore a gallery in the seam which joins the two shafts. A panel of coal is thus formed. The coal at the bottom of one of the shafts is ignited by dropping burning coal through the shaft or by other electrical means. Through the same shaft compressed air or oxygen is pumped down to regulate the combustion.

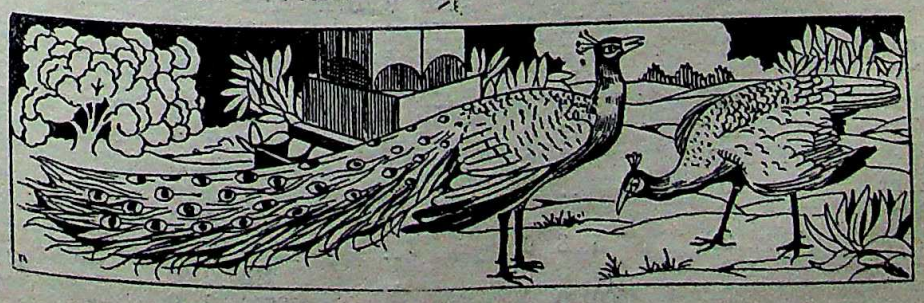
When coal is thus heated, chemical reactions take place among the coal molecules and gas is generated as a result. The valuable chemicals present in the gas then form themselves into coal-tar. These gas molecules soon fill the gallery and are driven about by the compressed air or oxygen and escape finally through the other shaft. The method of gassification of course reads simple !

To get the coal ignited at the bottom would take anywhere between two and ten hours. But once the coal is lighted, gassification continues apace without any interruption. When it is desired to get a supply of a different gas, the air blow through the shaft is choked down. The gas obtained after a continuous air blow lasting 4 hours has a calorific value of 115 B. T. U. and is used to raise steam or converted into electrical power after removing the tar. The gas obtained after the air blow is choked down for five hours has a calorific value of 200 B. T. U. and contains hydrogen to the extent of 55 per cent. It is from this latter gas that synthetic petrol is extracted.

In those regions where gassification of the mines has become a permanent feature, it is very difficult to come across the eternal black-faced miner. One bumps against girls in white overalls and almost loses himself in a maze of coloured lamps on tall control boards ! The number of workers liberated from the drudgery of underground work ranges between 1,000 to 2,000 at each gassification plant.

Clustered round these gassification plants are the chemical factories, electric power stations, synthetic oil and rubber plants, and ammunition factories. All these varied industries operate on the gassified energy of the unmined coal or on the vital raw materials obtained from coal-tar.

When the necessity of thousands going down the mines and leading a wretched life can be avoided and huge heavy industries can be run on power drawn from underground, without endangering or degrading human life, and synthetic petrol can be obtained, in addition, to meet the increasing demands of the automobile trade in India, there is no reason why gassification of coal mines in India should not receive the earnest attention of all concerned. Perhaps gassifying our mines will be but taking a long overdue humanitarian step when it is remembered that the exigencies of war sent countless women down the coal mines recently.



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STOCK EXCHANGE STINKS

By K. P. THAKUR, C.A.I.I.B. (Bombay), C.A.I.B. (London)

Days appear after nights. Nights re-appear followed by days. Thousand and one nights appear and reappear in a human life—they are featureless—they do not leave any footprint in our mind with the probable exceptions of *Arabian Nights*—we look upon this change of nights into days as a simple routine of Nature. Yet in a man's life memory of some days is retained for ever—those days are not simply forgotten in the desert of forgetfulness. Such a day is the august day of 16th August, 1946 proclaimed as the "Direct Action" day by the Council of Action of Muslim League. It will be remembered by the Indians, particularly by the inhabitants of Bengal, not as a red-lettered day, though enough blood was shed to make the streets of Calcutta red but it will be carried over in the memory of men as a day lettered in red mixed with black.

Whether the motive behind the declaration of the Direct Action day was a success is a matter to be debated upon by the political thinkers, which I am not. My investigations are purely economic. But here we are called upon to pause a while and think over if, even in deciding an economic issue, political background may absolutely be overlooked. For of late economic markets have developed an unusual political consciousness. The defeat of the opposition group on the floor of the Bengal Assembly over the No-confidence motion gave a spurt in the Jute Shares; the acceptance of office by the Congress at the Centre made the investors hesitant about what to do next—to go in for purchase or unload the holdings—experiences which are in the living memory of ours.

The above manner of the movement of the market is not without reasons, for in the ultimate analysis it is the political leaders who frame the economic policies of the land. There is the other psychological background behind this reflection of politics over economics. It occurs more often than not that what people think politically they work out economically. The capitalist class, who still rule the world, with no exception of our country as well, have a peculiar angle of vision to look upon news and views. Theirs are jaundiced eyes. Whatever they see they can only see in the light of Pound, Shilling and Pence. Whether the formation of National Government at the Centre will be for the good of the country they will not waste their time brooding over the issue, the news will only make them hesitate to go in for further commitments apprehending nationalisation of a few key industries and depreciation of their share values. They are not concerned if any benefit is rendered to the people of Bengal by the abolition of Zamindary in the land, they will only be too careful to take stock of their investments in "Midnapore Zamindary Co., Ltd.," and consider whether to buy further or sell. It is for those people, the Stock Exchange has become a centre of great sensitiveness. A good harvest in the Argentine or an earthquake in Japan in pre-war days is used to be immediately reflected in a rise in jute and cotton shares anticipating more orders for hessians and demolition of cotton factories in Japan and consequently elimination of competition in piece-goods trade.

The second half of the year 1946 has seen both rise and fall in the Exchange values—an unprecedented rise which "has reduced all previous points of resistance, pierced the ceiling and placed prices on high field." It has also shown us a fall the like of which the country has not witnessed in recent years. In a word the Stock Exchange values rose like rockets and fell like sticks and that too within the span of a few months only.

Below is reproduced the price trends of a few scrips during the past year in the Calcutta Stock Exchange :

	Paid up per share	*Prices as on 14-12-45*	*Prices as on 25-7-46..*	*Prices as on 14-8-46*	*Percentage of rise of share values since 14-12-45*	*Minimum prices fixed on 26-11-46*	*Percentage of fall in share values since disturbances*
Reserve Bank	100	158 8 0	177 8 0	174 0 0	12%		
Bengal Coal	100	834 0 0	1200 0 0	1170 0 0	44%	960 0 0	20%
Howrah Jute	10	118 10 0	168 0 0	171 0 0	45%	130 0 0	24%
Barnagore Jute	£5/Rs. 65/66	371 0 0	700 0 0	700 0 0	89%	500 0 0	28%
Indian Iron	10	48 14 0	70 9 0	66 8 0	45%	48 0 0	31%
Steel Corporation	10	43 4 0	63 5 0	60 0 0	46%	40 0 0	36%
British India Corpn.	1	8 11 0	18 12 0	18 8 0	125%	10 8 0	55%
National Tobacco	10	38 0 0	75 0 0	84 0 0	121%	60 0 0	28%
Carew & Co.	10	35 3 0	44 0 0	42 0 0	26%	29 0 0	34%
Titaghur Paper	5/10	37 12 0	85 6 0	90 0 0	137%	60 0 0	33-1/3%
Sonevalley Cement	10	..	25 8 0	23 0 0	..	16 0 0	36%
Indian Steamship	10	..	30 2 0	39 8 0	..	19 0 0	51%
Indian Copper	2sh	5 8 0	..	6 12 0	22%	4 8 0	33-1/3%
Midnapore Zamindary	100	201 0 0	..	210 0 0	4%	145 0 0	30%
Patrakola Tea	100	1500 0 0	..	2040 0 0	..	1800 0 0	12%
Dunbar Cotton	100	457 0 0	..	700 0 0	53%	460 0 0	34%

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It will be seen from the table above that in the speculative counters, such as Howrah, Indian Iron, etc., there was a rise of 45 per cent as in the less speculative groups the rise was steeper. In the case of Titaghur Paper, the rise was 137 per cent, National Tobacco marked an advance of 121 per cent while British India Corporation moved up by 125 points. The second rank shares were not also steady ; little or more all scrips went up on an average between 40 to 45 points. What was the reason behind this movement, naturally the lay man may ask. And to offer a reasoned answer we are called upon to investigate into the root causes which were responsible for increasing popularity of Stock Exchange among investors and no less among speculators.

The function of a Stock Exchange has been a source of perennial controversy among economists. The opposition group stigmatise it as anything short of gambling wherein big operators mould the course of movement of prices in such a fashion so as to entrap small savers ultimately leading them to financial wreckage. In their opinion Stock Exchange operations are, therefore, economically unsound, let alone the ethical sanctity. Unfortunately Ethics has no place in business, and Stock Exchange, call it in another name, Stock Market is considered in business parlance as a market where stock and shares are bought and sold just as in the same manner a vegetable and a fish market are places where vegetable and fish are exchanged for money. Viewed in this manner Stock Exchange serves an useful economic purpose and so people interested in stock and share flock together here.

The recent debacle in the Calcutta Stock Exchange has strengthened the opposition group. Pressed by the surging tide of inflation the common people living on the sweat of their own brows were finding it difficult to meet both ends by their pure earnings. Naturally they were tempted to make something out of nothing by quick purchase and ready sale. The security owning class living on yield on investments were also finding lesser purchasing power to maintain the standard of living they were used to. So, they had to come slowly from the rank of pure investors to the category of speculators just to get rich quick. Owing to the existence of various controls in force trade activity slipped off from the hand of traders finding a shady nook in the hands of Government temporarily. Instead of making money idle in safes these businessmen also found the stock exchange a lucrative avenue for coining money. Above all, there is the inflation. In spite of governmental effort to tap the money market for Government Loans there remained at all practical times plethora of funds seeking employment in Stock Exchange. Yet the offtake of Government during the seven years from 1938-39 to 1944-45 was not a meagre sum. In 1938-39 the total debt of Government was Rs. 1205·76 crores but in the year 1944-45 it rose to Rs. 1819·02 crores—an absorption of 613·26 crores of rupees.

The cessation of hostilities in the East in the second half of 1945 brought up an element of cheerfulness in the Stock Exchange and the Market was moving up gradually with negligible setbacks here and there but at all times anxiously awaiting the Budget Proposals in the New Year. The announcement of the Budget Proposals was received with great delight by the public. Tax Relief was found to be much more liberal than it was anticipated. The absolute abolition of the Excess-Profit Tax and reduction in the Super Tax rate turned out to be a strong Bull factor bringing out a Boom in the Market and with the close of each working day prices of equities changed for the better and not without reasons. The general belief was that even if the level of previous earnings is maintained and the liability in the shape of Excess-Profit Tax is wiped out companies would be certainly able to pay higher dividends. As will be evident from the table given above that shares such as Titaghur Paper, British India Corporation, National Tobacco moved up by 137 per cent, 125 per cent and 121 per cent respectively and on an average the representative shares all rose by 40 per cent to 45 per cent.

Coupled with this rising tendency of the market came the Loan Policy of Government which added fuel to flame so as to transfrom completely the yield outlook of investors on equities and Government Paper.

Taking into consideration the market price of shares towards the close of 1945 we find the yield on equities as under :

	1945 Dividend	Yield
Bengal Coal	36%	4·31%
Howrah	35%	2·96%
Indian Iron	17%	3·64%
British India Corpn.	25%	3·12%
Carew & Co.	15%	4·28%
Titaghur Paper	30%	4·05%
Midnapore Zamindary	8%	3·98%
Patrakola Tea	60%	4%
Dunbar	12%	2·62%

Around the same period the 3½ per cent Government Paper was being quoted at Rs. 103 while 3 per cent Loan 1970-75 at Rs. 97-8-0 thus giving an average yield of 3·398 per cent and 3·008 per cent respectively. Thus an average yield of 3 per cent on Government Paper and 4 per cent on equities became the standard of the day.

But the Loan Policy of Government adopted since the outbreak of the hostilities had then attained considerable success. Amidst innumerable difficulties that beset the path of Government in the successfull prosecution of the war was their growing strength in attracting funds in public Loans at reducing rates of interest. In June 1940, the 3 per cent 1946 Bonds were issued at a premium of 1 per cent. This was a short-dated loan. Subsequently a series of 3 per cent loans were issued at par, *e.g.*, 1949-52, 1951-54, 1953-55, 1957 and 1959-61. It will, therefore, be seen that the period of loans which was barely five years in the initial stage of the war was extended over a period of 15 years. The 3 per cent yielding securities then was offered for long period, we have in view the 1970-75 Loan.

The announcement of the Government on the 24th May, 1946, to redeem at par on the 16th September 1946, all 3½ per cent Paper revolutionised the market. Side by side the rumour of a reduction of Bank Rate got widespread publicity. The equities which were even then giving a better yield were being heavily enquired. The successful floatation of the 2½ per cent 1961 Loan produced a lasting impression on the market that the lower yield on securities has come to stay. It was then freely talked about in the market that

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the Indian Iron would be very soon quoted at Rs. 80 per share and in fact on the 25th July 1946, Indian Iron touched the peak of level of Rs. 70-9-0.

Beginning with the middle of the second quarter of 1946, the condition of the Calcutta Stock Exchange became frenzied, chaotic and awful. What a difference it brought in the attitude of brokers! In the past, brokers used to beg from door to door of Banks, Insurance Companies and Investors for orders of sale and purchase but during the recent years such begging from door to door was conspicuous by its absence. In fact brokers were one of the busiest community of business men. The market was usually open for business only for 2 hours and they had to put through thousands of deals; consequently the small investors could not find any opportunity to put through their deal by a decent broker. This naturally gave rise to a class of unscrupulous operators in whose clutches very often the small savers fell as victims. The ticket of the Calcutta Stock Exchange Association, Ltd., which was being so long available at Rs. 80,000 was priced at 2,15,000 in 1946. During this period of the year if one could ask an operator for a piece of advice as to what shares to buy immediately the reply would come that prices are topmost; better do not buy but curiously enough the next day the prospective buyer would find that price of his favoured scrip has come to a shade better. Immediately came the buying followed by sale in the earliest possible opportunities. As a result of such hectic sale and purchase the difference between the yield on equities and Government Paper was narrowed down as will be evident from the table below:

	Market price during 25.7.46. to 14.8.46.	*Yield*
Bengal Coal	1200	3%
Howrah	171	2·04%
Indian Iron	70-9	2·5 %
British India Corporation	18-8	1·39%
Carew & Co.	44-0	3·4 %
Titaghur Paper	90	3·33%
Midnapore Zamindary	210	3·8 %
Patrakola Tea	2040	2·94%
Dunbar	700	1·7 %

Thus the yield on almost all equities was reduced and in many cases, such as Howrah, British India Corporation, Dunbar Mills, it was less than the yield on Government Paper even.

In financing these reckless operations in the Stock Exchange a very prominent role was played by Banks. With the outbreak of the last war volleys of controls enacted by the Government blocked trades barring singly and solely the Stock market. Landing against Stock Exchange securities approved or marketable became the only means of major advance with bankers. As notes in circulation increased by leaps and bounds the deposits with scheduled banks also proportionately increased and these more conveniently employed by bankers in financing Stock Exchange operators. For a couple of years prior to the August Disturbances brokers were a set of favoured customers with bankers. While advances on approved shares were made to general public up to 60 per cent of their market value, brokers used to get accommodation on them up to 70 per cent of their market value. Besides brokers used to get the added dose of facility of getting cheques drawn by other brokers against uncleared effects deposited in this account. This was alright so long as the effects were drawn by persons other than themselves as it is not possible that all the cheques drawn by various operators in the market will be returned unpaid by drawee banks. But things were carried too far and almost to the breaking point in certain cases where cheques drawn by a customer were honoured against uncleared effects drawn by the same person on some other banks. Advances in such cases were tantamount to CAEAN advances as the security in the shape of self-drawn uncleared cheque is no security at all.

Another fillip to Stock Exchange operators was given by bankers by way of granting advances against Government Paper at rates below Bank Rate. These rates varied from quarter per cent to one per cent below the Bank Rate in varying circumstances and the volume of such advances was enormous with big operators as by availing of such advances at 2, 2½ or 2¾ per cent per annum they could buy Government Paper giving them an yield roughly at about 3 per cent per annum. The difference between the rate charged by bankers on their borrowings and the yield on Government Papers purchased with these borrowed fund was their net earnings. Bankers too realised that the brokers were just paying them in their own coin yet they had to submit to such proposals so as to show up their advances figure in published Balance Sheet as otherwise they could realise a better earning by investing the same fund in Government Paper direct.

Such accommodation of Brokers on the part of Bankers continued smoothly till the table turned with the "Direct Action Day." It is really very curious that overnight Bankers began to become conscious of their position. All of a sudden they could discover that some very grave and serious indulgence was being allowed by them. Thus far and no further. The margin on advances against shares even to brokers was increased from 30 per cent to 40 per cent and the rate of interest charged on overdrafts and loans was increased on an average by 1 per cent so as to bring the average rate of advances of Scheduled Banks to 1 per cent over Bank Rate minimum 4 per cent per annum. In certain instances the rate of interest was increased to 4 per cent or 5 per cent even. New advances were for all practical purposes stopped and existing out of order accounts were being put into order: yet the pity of the whole affair was that no Bankers could satisfactorily prove what was wrong in the "Streets of Denmark." The only fumbled reply from all concerns was "political situation—political situation." Be that as it may—it proves beyond doubt that economic thoughts are coloured by political influences. Communal disturbances started with the Direct Action Day may not be the root and sole cause which threw the entire economic machine out of gear but it is a fact that the top-heavy market was already finding it difficult to proceed further and was anxiously waiting for the slightest flutter to tumble the entire structure down and it was provided for by the Great Calcutta Killing.

A section of market operators was of opinion that since the middle of 1946 Market was top-heavy and the fall was bound to come: but nobody could say that such a fall was anticipated so soon; and when the fall did actually appear in the hurry-scurry, to protect one's interest each Bank followed its own

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course of action but no co-ordinated policy could be adopted. Banks with a better knowledge of the position of parties were not caught so adversely by this feverish activity as were Banks with little or no knowledge of the market.

Pressure was brought in not only in the form of increasing margins and increasing rates but certain Banks called upon their constituents to bring their advances within the sanctioned limits.

Usually Banks used to give their constituents a limit say Rs. 5,00,000 or Rs. 10,00,000 up to which the borrowers could take advances from Banks against approved securities. In practice, however, except in certain Banks, the amount of advances was allowed to swell up say to Rs. 15,00,000 or Rs. 20,00,000 provided always the advance was backed by adequate securities. With the appearance of nervousness in the market some Banks called upon their constituents to bring their accounts within the limit sanctioned by the Bank no matter even if sufficient securities are lodged in their accounts to cover the advances fully. This demand, beyond its ethical justification was impossible for the constituents to meet, unless a portion of the securities is sold out in the open market to liquidate their borrowings and such steps were actually taken during August to September 1946 by certain banks. The heavy selling pressure on the market produced its ravaging effects on equities values which dropped by several points immediately the banks were out to dispose of these shares which were merely auctioned in the market. The action of these Banks quickly got wide circulation and public in general began to think of getting out of the scene at best price available at the moment. There being no buyers on a major scale the fall showed no signs of arrest and towards the end of November 1946 to save the rot the committee of the Stock Exchange Association fixed up minimum prices of all scrips except Government securities Banks and electrical companies. The fixation of minimum prices of shares was good for the moment for shares which are exclusively dealt in the Calcutta Market alone, such as Jute and Coal shares but miscellaneous shares which are also dealt in the Bombay Market began to oscillate in tune with Bombay price, of course, unofficially. Thus, for example, although prices of shares in Indian Iron & Steel Co. Ltd., of late the barometer of the Calcutta market, were fixed at Rs. 48 per share were being freely dealt at about Rs. 46 per share in Bombay market. Operators in Calcutta were therefore chary in purchasing at rates fixed by the Calcutta Committee of the Stock Exchange Association as a result of which the real price of the scrips was much lower though in paper it remained at Rs. 48 per share.

Why the market has fallen so much and why it is not still rising is a favourite poser which one friend usually puts to another meeting in Stock parlance. The question often meets with replies strange and queer. Leaving aside fanciful thoughts, let us scrutinise the prospects of various scrips in the immediate future.

The worth of a scrip depends in the ultimate analysis on its yield, *i.e.*, on its dividend paying strength, which, in turn, depends on a wide variety of happenings; a good commodity market inland and preferably foreign, protection from foreign competition, etc. Considered from these angles nothing has taken place in India which justifies the recent fall. In the cotton group of shares although we may expect competition from Lancashire, still the path is not dark. After meeting her own requirements Britain may not spare at the moment heavy exports exclusively to India. Even if such exports are arranged for, India's home consumption will be speeded up provided supply of variety of cotton goods are available. Next comes the supply to China and Burma. As Japan is out of the field, these are potential markets which India can rely on. Aided by large refunds of excess-profit tax Indian Mills can renovate their war-worn machinery by purchasing new machines from abroad, provided requisite machine is available for purchase from Britain and America.

As regards Jute, the total available supply of Jute up to 1947 is estimated at 8·88 lacs of bales up to June 1947 and the requirements of raw jute during 1946-47 as stated as follows :

	1946-47 (*in lacs of bales*)
All India Mills	56
Domestic consumption	6
Export	15
Total	77

Thus the prospects of Jute industry appears to be prospective in the year 1946-47.

As for Sugar, the only country from which competition was feared in the past was Java from which we may not apprehend any competition in the next couple of years. As it stands the production of sugar in Indian Mills falls far short of demand. The prospects of the existing mills appear to be bright more so as recently sanction has been accorded to each province for establishment of new sugar mills.

In the Tea section, the decision of the Government to discontinue the Tea Block Purchase System and to withdraw the ban on private exports of tea from the 1st January, 1947 should be beneficial to Tea Industry. In fact, the news immediately improved Tea prices of all groups by 4 to 8 annas per pound.

In the Coal, Cement and Iron and Steel sections also, no dark spot is visible as in the years to come we may look for industrialisation and we would need power from coal. Equally too we would require Cement and Iron which are indispensable for the building and factory construction in the country. It, therefore, appears that the prospects of industry and commerce in times ahead of us are very promising yet the movement of prices of scrips are sluggish and why ? At the limits fixed by the committee of the Stock Exchange Assiciation prices are tempting as will be seen from the table below :

	Minimum prices	*Yield*
Bengal Coal	960	4·1%
Howrah	130	3·5%
Indian Iron	48	3·1%
British India Corporation	10-8-0	2·3%
Carew & Co.	29	5%
Titaghur Paper	60	2·3%
Midnapore Zamindary	145	5·2%
Patrakola Tea	1800	4·3%
Dunbar Mills	460	3·3%

Whereas before the disturbances the average yield on equities was 2·5 per cent, the highest being 3·8 per cent, after the disturbances the yield on some equities became 3·5 per cent the highest record being at 5·2 per cent. But even then no change is seen in the market. The reason is, there is no effective buyer, speculative or investing in the market. Persons

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who have already burnt their fingers and are caught in the fire are on the look-out for the earliest opportunity of disgorging their holdings and come out of the market with their capital in fact but that is not practicable if not fresh buyers appear in the scene, as it is not easy to enter into an omnibus or tramcar if not passengers already alight.

Therefore 'watch and see' has become the undertone of the market—it has become insipid and dull.

We cannot also say that there is no more buying strength in the general public and therefore no fresh buying is possible. As even the other day invitations for application in Messrs. Jardine Henderson Ltd., were completely over-subscribed. Similar funds may also come up provided confidence which is so very essential in financial matters re-appears.

Banks which were so long the fountain of funds are in fact, rather tight now. They cannot profitably pursue on the line possibly for long as it would indirectly affect their profit-earning capacity. Unless various sorts of war-time controls are removed and for which there appears to be little possibility in the immediate future Indian Banks will gradually find that their profit figure is growing low if credit facilities on Stock Exchange Securities are rigidly restricted. In fact it appears on a second thought that the policy of certain Banks to increase both the margin and rate of interest is most unkind. The dullness of the Stock Market has not concurrently brought in any tightness in the Money Market which is still now as easy as it was before. Inter Bank current money rate still remains at ½ per cent per annum, the Bank Rate still remains at 3 per cent per annum.

As regards margin against advances any increase of it seem to be a sign of panic amongst bankers. When the minimum prices are fixed the old margins on minimum prices would have been a safety anchor for Bankers to lay. It may be argued that who knows whether the minimum prices would not again be changed. But that would have been too prudent a policy to be practised in business. If any change in the minimum prices of share was really warranted Bank Managers should be informed confidentially to review their position before any mischief could be done. There is no such close association between bankers and the Stock Exchange Association which for the mutual benefit of both should be cultured without any loss of time.

If bankers follow a more rationalised policy the paralysed operators will regain a little strength to appear in the market as buyers which will indirectly bring the added freshness in its dozy lull. Additions of new good and worthy shares in the lending List of Banks will also remove the present congestion to a considerable extent.

After all is said and done it is felt that in matters of money dictum has little or no force. It has been often found that scrips with no prospects of good yield soared high whereas really good scrips lagged behind by manipulation of operators. A little rise in the beginning was followed by further rise for reasons no one could dissect. It was also a common feature that once a fall started on certain baseless rumour regarding probable loss or damage to the company was accompanied by further fall none could say why. In a stock market one adage is ever true, that is, confidence begets confidence. Alas, the table is now turned. It is the very absence of confidence that we are facing in the market and mostly it is the political confidence which we are lacking in. The non-confidence which was given birth to by the August day in 1946 has created a financial quagmire in whose slough of despond we are still crawling not knowing when to get out.

The action of the Calcutta Stock Exchange Association in fixing up minimum prices of shares on 26th November, 1946, was a subject of controversy. The protogonists were of opinion that unless prices of equities were controlled the market would be knocked down by Bears. The antagonists were in favour of free play of economic law of Demand and Supply. Although in the beginning the fixation of minimum prices checked the precipitated fall; in the end, if we are at the end at all, it failed to retain its utility. The holding capacity of investors not to speak of specuators was being heavily taxed, nay to the breaking point, and it could hold no longer. The speculative counters such as Indian Iron, Steel Corporation, Howrahs, etc., quietly slipped off from the official quotation and in the Katni market they were bought and sold 4 to 6 points below the minimum.

In fact, there was no major transaction passing in the official rates. At its meeting on the 8th February, 1947, the Committee decided to remove control over equities except that in Jute, Coal and Indian Iron counters. This had, of course, its damaging effects at all counts, with no exception in Bank, Insurance and Preference shares. The marked fall was evidenced in shares like Sonevalley Portland, India Steamship, Indian Copper, recording an average fall of 45 per cent—the highest being 59·5 per cent in India Steamship shares.

	Prices in pre-August, 1946 days	Prices as on 6.2.47	Fall per cent
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
Sonevalley Portland	25 8 0	13 12 0	46
India Steamship	39 8 0	16 0 0	59·5
Midnapore Zamindary	210 0 0	134 0 0	36
Indian Copper	6 12 0	3 12 0	44

Even in sections where prices are controlled, the condition is no better for as soon as prices are decontrolled, they will slide down as in Katni market, Indian Iron is already quoted at Rs. 42 per share.

Before the topic is concluded it must be said that to stem the tide of falling prices of shares what is wanted is a straightforward and bold policy by Brokers and Bankers. We have seen by now that spoon feeding cannot save the situation. If confidence is not restored falling prices cannot be checked. In that case, the financial condition of borrowers becomes lamentable. With every fall in the market, the Margin in the Overdraft accounts falls short and the Accounts turn "out of order" over-night. Adjustment of such accounts by bringing in additional funds is well-nigh impossible. Bankers may in that contingency prefer to sell securities in the open market to save their skin. This selling pressure will in its trail hammer down prices still further unwarrantedly.

It is, therefore, high time that Bankers and Brokers could jointly shoulder the responsibility of reviving the Market and if necessary, should seek for State-assistance in declaring a moratorium for payment of debts against Stock Share and Debentures as

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Book Reviews

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—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

DARIDRA-NARAYAN: *By Mahatma Gandhi. "Gandhi Series" Brochure No. 3. Edited and published by Anand T. Hingorani, Karachi. Sole distributors—Rupa & Co., Allahabad and Calcutta. Pp. 110. Price Rs. 3.*

This is a collection of Gandhiji's writings on food and cloth shortage between January 1942 and June 1946. Shri Hingorani has been doing real service to the country by bringing together under suitable heads Gandhiji's writings on various subjects. The present booklet forms one of that well-printed and well-edited series. We only hope that the price could be kept down a little bit, if of course that were possible.

MAHATMA GANDHI: *By B. J. Akkad, B.A. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., 3 Round Building, Bombay 2. June 1946. Pp. 91. Price Re. 1-8.*

In this booklet the author has presented an outline of Gandhiji's life. The facts have been chosen with care, and we hope it will also form a useful introduction to the main teachings of his life.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

RAINBOW OVER MALAYA: *By P. K. Sengupta. Susil Gupta Ltd., 36 Chowringhee, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Malaya attracted in the early centuries of Christian era merchants and colonizers from India. In the modern period also the tin mines and the rubber plantations have drawn Indian labourers for over a century. But very few Indians so far have attempted to record their impressions about the people and the country. Mr. Sen Gupta has done a creditable work by presenting in story-form some significant episodes in the life of this lovable but partially submerged people of Malaya. The white-man must inevitably appear as big bosses. Next comes the Chinese and the Indians in different roles. But the sympathy of the author is always with the indigenous folk amongst whom he lived and worked for years. So this beautifully printed volume of ten stories gives in elegant English an inside view of the life and problems, the passions and prejudices of the Malay people. The age of Malayan exploitation is coming to an end and we hope that sympathetic studies in the line of Mr. Sengupta will foster better relations between India and Malaya.

Kalidas Nag

CIVIL SERVICE IN INDIA UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY: *By Akshoy Kumar Ghosal, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). University of Calcutta. Pp. xii+508. Price not mentioned.*

The Indian Civil Service is in the melting pot. As the Government passes into the hands of the Indians, the Service will undergo a radical change. In view of first very minor. Thus even in the first half of the such a change-over, the history of the constitution and growth of this Service will undoubtedly prove of immense interest to the Indian reader. The Indian Civil Service holds a unique place on the administrative campus of India. It is at once the Government, that is, the policy-framing body, as well as the executive, or in other words, the body that executes the policy of the Government. In this book the author has traced the history of this powerful service up till 1858, the year of taking up the Indian administration by the British Crown from the East India Company. The Crown found a very efficient and organised body in the Indian Civil Service and utilized it to the fullest extent in the course of the consolidation of the British territories in India.

The author, Dr. Ghosal, was engaged in the study of this subject for some years in London. He has utilised in the book under review much of the available materials and authoritative documents in print as well as in manuscript in the India Office and other libraries. In it he has drawn, at the outset, a distinction between 'Civil Service in India' and 'The Indian Civil Service.' While the latter consisted predominantly of the Whites and virtually constituted the Government of India, the former meant this as well as something more. He includes in the term 'Civil Service' all the services of British India, the Indian Civil Service, a somewhat modern nomenclature, not excepted.

During the third quarter of the eighteenth century, there was chaos in the country. Out of this chaos Warren Hastings, and after him Lord Cornwallis brought order and peace in the land by virtue of their administrative measures. One of these is the organisation of the Civil Service. The story of how the raw writers imported fresh from Home on a small monthly pittance turned full-fledged administrators after a few years' stay here is a very fascinating study. And the author has presented it before the reader in an admirable and well-documented form. While depicting this, he has not omitted to mention the corrupt practices the writers, that is, the civil servants of those days often indulged in. The modern magistrate had his predecessor in the 'Supervisor' of 1769 and the 'Collector' in 1781. For the proper education and reformation of the young recruits many measures were adopted. The Fort William College was started in Calcutta in 1801 and the Hallebury College at Home in 1806. The discussion on the constitution and function of these two institutions as also the causes that led to their extinction is no less interesting.

With the extension of territories and consequent increase in administrative functions the Government here required more men than Britain could spare, or the Company could import on higher pay. Hence Lord Cornwallis's stipulation that no Indian would be appointed in any responsible posts of the State had to be relaxed, and Indians were given some posts, though at

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nineteenth century, the term Civil Service came to include both the covenanted and the uncovenanted servants. The author has very ably covered all these stages of the Civil Service in India in this book. Several appendices together with a Bibliography and an Index have enhanced its value. It is a very timely publication, and to those engaged in the study of Indian administration in its early stage this treatise will prove very useful.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

AMONG THE GREAT : *By Dilip Kumar Roy. Introduction by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Nalanda Publications. Vora & Co. Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 9.*

Mr. Roy needs no introduction to Indian readers. Inheriting the rich cultural legacy of his illustrious father, he has made his mark as a musician, poet, novelist and essayist, and has at last gone through a spiritual re-orientation as a disciple of Sri Aurobindo. The musician-pilgrim is here in quest of apocalypse of beauty, knowledge and truth. The charm radiated by personality is as real to him as the beauty woven by the notes of his music.

This book records,—what has already been published in his Bengali *Tirthankar* (1346, Bengali year), —his valuable conversations with five great masters of the modern world, namely, Rolland, Russell, Gandhi, Tagore and Sri Aurobindo, each representing a distinct manifestation of creative energy, but each having the common vein of a rich and noble humanism which binds them together. Mr. Roy worships the essential Hero, who is now a novelist of great creativity, now an abstruse thinker, now a dynamic man of action, now a melodious singer in verse, and now a solemn sage ;—but a warm cordiality, a wide humanitarianism, a burning idealism, are qualities which are profoundly present in all of them. The book is not exactly a biography, nor a superficial study of great contemporaries smacking of journalism. It is an intimate record of personal contact and conversations whose foundation is close personal understanding. It is yet a reservoir of precious biographical materials, enriched by frank and intimate utterances to which they owe their origin, and recorded with a genuine desire to understand, learn, solve and contribute.

Mr. Roy approaches the great men from the point of view of an artist, a lover of culture and a lover of humanity, and his conversations evoke response on the most tantalising problems of our life and culture. But Mr. Roy is not a mere chronicler of talks and reminiscences. Recent biographers like Ludwig and others paint portraits, and it is impossible to paint them without a touch of art. Mr. Roy's unerring brush paints faithful but also beautiful portraits. Mahatmaji reclining "on a huge maidan of a cot," surrounded by the best brains of India and imperturbably advocating lost causes ; the domestic Russell at lunch or at tea with Mrs. Russell and the little John, or the great philosopher-mathematician rwimming in the sea like a child ; the greatest living Yogi of India radiating an ineffable sense of personality over the puzzled author who is helplessly stammering out a broken question about the object of life ;—these really are portraits of personalities, etched out with deep reverence, profound ease and genuine understanding.

SUNIL KUMAR BASU

YOGA FOR ALL OR THE RELIGION OF THE GITA : *By Swami Dharma Theertha. Second edition. Published by the Secretary, Hindu Missionary Society, Krishnagar, Lahore. Pp. 157. Price Re. 1-12.*

The success of this handy book is proved by the fact that its first edition was sold out in a short time. In the second edition a few changes as suggested by Miss E. Fraser have been introduced. This cloth-bound volume, under review, expounds for the busy reader of this restless age the essentials of righteous living as taught in the Gita, the most popular and universal scripture of the Hindus. The learned author, who has several manuals on Hinduism, has clearly explained in this book the Hindu philosophy of life in the light of the Gita. The eighteen chapters into which the book is divided correspond to the eighteen chapters of the Gita. The author rightly emphasizes the need of practising Yoga in everyday life. In his opinion Yoga is the practical science of self-culture for all. He pertinently points out that the central teaching of Yoga according to the Gita is to have faith in the Divinity, latent in the core of our being and live the life for its realisation. This realisation easily dawns if life is righteously lived as a dedication to God. A life of Yoga should never be understood as a passive and submissive living ; for, it is impracticable without self-effort. The author, who speaks from his mature experience, stresses the supreme value of self-efforts as an important means to moral and spiritual progress in life along the path of each individual's inherent tastes and qualities. We agree with Prof. S. N. Das Gupta, who has contributed a foreword to the book, in the view that the author's exposition of this difficult subject is quite lucid and his presentation, forceful and convincing.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE STERLING ASSETS OF THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA : *By B. R. Shenoy. Published by the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi. Pages 168.*

This is a timely publication when the British Government has started negotiations with the Government of India in regard to the settlement of the Sterling Balances standing at the credit of the Indian Government. The author has discussed this much debated subject with considerable thoroughness and detail in six chapters Re : Accumulation of sterling assets, their cost to the Indian Economy, the Debtor-Creditor status of the country and these assets, United Nations Rupee Expenditure and Sterling Assets, United Nations Rupee Expenditure and Inflation and the Future of the Assets. Sterling assets of the Reserve Bank which stood at an average of Rs. 71·16 crores in 1938-39 rose to Rs. 1495·83 crores in August, 1945. Against these assets Rupees were provided which inflated the Indian Currency system to the great dislocation of Indian Economy resulting in miseries of the Indian people. The author has clearly shown that financing of the War on behalf of the United Nations could have been done in other ways than by printing notes in India. But that would have meant more strain and sacrifices of the British people. The helpless position of India as a dependent country was fully utilised by the British rulers.

The Debtor-Creditor position of India to a certain extent has been modified but India has not emerged as a Creditor country as some people may erroneously think. The author estimates the foreign capital in India in 1939 as £829·79 millions which has increased to £2,274·78 millions at March, 1945 prices. Thus the author is correct when he says that inflation is no short-cut to economic prosperity. In spite of India's great sacrifices and untold miseries of her people, India stands as a Debtor country after the second Great War. The position of India would have been far better if the British Government acquired the sterling debts (British capital investment in India) directly, in the manner it had acquired the Dollar Securities and handed them over to the Government of India in settlement of the Rupee Expenditure incurred by the latter on its behalf.

In the last chapter of the book, the author dis-

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cusses as to the future of the sterling balances. He prefers import of capital goods to consumers' goods of luxury. Conversion of the Floating into Funded debts is also preferred by the author, as it would bring more return from investments. He wants to de-value Rupee to its current level. If India is to contribute to the Empire Dollar Pool, she must contribute to it for the purchase of investment goods. Even raising a dollar loan in America is preferred. It must be borne in mind that of the entire sterling assets of the Reserve Bank, only Rs. 910·83 crores will be available for the Indian Economy in consideration of the provisions of the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934, under which some sterling reserves are to be maintained against note issues of the Bank.

A book of this nature will be of great help to the students of Indian Economics who will not only find it interesting but instructive and thought-provoking. Thirty-two valuable statistical tables add to the worth of the book.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

BISHAL BANGALA : *By Dr. Radha Kamal Mookerjee. Published by Swaraswati Library, Calcutta. Pages 55. Price Re. 1.*

This is a valuable contribution from the pen of a gifted Bengali thinker whose contributions to modern knowledge are considerable. In this small book, the geography of Bengal and the history of the Bengali race have been traced from remote antiquity and discussed with a view to the solution of the present-day problems of the province. The author's short survey of the evolution of civilisation in Bengal through ages, its later decadence, impact of the West and the modern set-backs of the progress due to geographical, political and social causes and finally present difficulties and ways out, are not only masterly treatments of the subject but a clear presentation which none but he would have done in such a small compass.

He depicts a united and greater Bengal reorganised on physical, linguistic and cultural unity undisturbed by communal or religious differences. This book is of special interest at this hour of India's history when she is going to have freedom from foreign domination, and a cry for division of Bengal has been raised by prominent men from powerful political organisations.

A. B. DUTTA

JATIYATAR BANIMURTI HERDER : *By Dilip Kumar Malakar. Introduction by Dr. Benoy Sarkar. Sri Guru Library, 204 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pages XII+III+48. Price Re. 1.*

This is a bare life-sketch of the German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder who flourished in the latter part of the 18th century when the German people were not at all keen about their nationalism and oblivious of the possibilities of their mother tongue and national culture. He was mainly instrumental in bringing about a change in the mental outlook of the people and ushering the German National Renaissance. So his life and work will be of interest for us Indians.

The language of the author needs that quality of sweet balance which is of essential importance in biographies and in giving estimates of eminent people. While going through the book, it seems one is listening to an impassioned speech replete with froth and foam and hyperboles. Quotations from the writings of the philosopher on various subjects are thought-provoking.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

HINDI

(1) PANCHAJANYA : *By Arsi Prasad Singh. Taramandal, Muzaffarpur. Pp. 81. Price Rs. 2.*
(2) NAI DISHA : *By Arsi Prasad Singh. Taramandal, Muzaffarpur. Pp. 104. Price Rs. 2-8*
(3) AUDHI KE PATTE : *By Arsi Prasad Singh. Taramandal, Muzaffarpur. Pp. 94. Price Re. 1-4.*
(4) EK PYALA CHAI : *By Arsi Prasad Singh. Taramandal, Muzaffarpur. Pp. 180. Price Rs. 2-4.*

The author of the above-mentioned four books is a front-rank poet of the present-day Hindi literature. He belongs to Bihar Province. He is a prolific writer. He has already written a large number of books, both prose and poetry.

Panchajanya and *Nai Disha* are his two books of recently written poems. The chief characteristic note in the gamut of his poems is the note of patriotism. So far he has written mostly in classical line but now he has taken to modern lines, not inspired by chauvinism or greed of popularity but with a spirit of love for one's own country and countrymen. The poet wants to bring about, through his writings, the social, political and economic transformation of modern India that may set her free in the near future. Almost all the poems are well-written, the style is racy and never halting and they afford much food for reflection.

Audhi Ke Patte and *Ek Pyala Chai* are books of short stories. The author is a poet first and story-writer next. People knew him to be a poet of great merit but that he may wield his masterly pen for writing out short stories so ably, is a wonder to his admirers. However, he has come out successful in his new venture and it is not merely sentimentality but the theme underlying all stories, inculcates constructive duties, which evoke noble aspirations. Some of the stories have their amusing patches, which delight the reader. All the books are beautifully printed with a nice get-up.

S. P. BAJAPAI CHOWDHURY

GUJARATI

JIVANNE 'PAGALE' : *Edited by Nandlal Bhogilal Shah. Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1944. Paper cover. Pp. 112. Price ten annas.*

This is a collection of poems written in a spiritual vein, appealing to God to show an erring and distressed Soul, a way out from his difficulties. The writer belongs to a talented and literary family. The poems are appealing, and pathetic, and serious-minded readers are sure to benefit by perusing them.

GAMDANNI VAHARE : *By Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Pubished by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 68. Price two annas.*

In nine sections Gandhiji has exposed all the weaknesses and defects of the rural life of India and shown suitable ways out. He calls a present village a dunghill and then in his own trenchant way, suggests how such dunghills can be radically removed and sweet-smelling villages substituted in their place.

VIJNANNI PARIBHASHA : *By Maganbhai Desai. Published by the Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1944. Pp. 68. Price two annas.*

Every modern Indian language requires a scientific vocabulary, if instruction in scientific subject is to be imported in one's own mother-tongue. Mr. Maganbhai Desai's vocabulary is confined to Physics and Chemistry, and as he is an educationist himself, he has acquitted himself well and produced a useful hand-book. It is a forerunner of attempts to be made on the same lines in other branches of science; at least, we regard it as such.

K. M. J.

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Life-sketch of the greatest hero of modern India along with a brief story of the I. N. A. written in a simple and sober style, the book has been highly appreciated among all sections of the reading public. Twenty-three drawings in the wood-cut technique is an additional attraction.

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THE PUBLICIST

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Science and Human Morals

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Dr. Joan Coons writes of the widening scope of ethirs, of collective behaviour and collective responsibility. She writes with a clear-eyed perception of the danger of man's tools becoming the end instead of the means of his existence, and of the need for a true concept of the spiritual greatness possible for man :

Science has become the great dominant power today. Through it we have the means of attaining a richer materialism and an economically secure future. It is a power that is changing our world whether we like it or not ; for we may hinder the progress of science but we cannot stop it. The effects of science spread slowly at first, but with ever-increasing rapidity, until its impact has shaken the universe. In its expansion it has speeded up evolution to an awe-inspiring degree. We are acutely aware of its force, and our awareness has made us fearful ; for science has also become the weapon of political bargaining. In turn we have become apprehensive of our morals : Man's behaviour to man has suddenly taken on a new, greater significance, and we seek in his sense of morality a safeguard against the dangers of his scientific achievements.

In writing of science and human morals. the writer would define "morals" as tradition, and "science" as examination or analysis, and therefore, the breaking with tradition.

At birth man's mind is void, is slowly filled with concepts which form the mind-to-be. Some of these are sensory or first-hand experiences ; some are taught, traditional, or second-hand. All tradition is taught, but was also, in the beginning of man's memory, first-hand sensory. Every human concept was once in evolution and will continue to develop and alter in the years to come. Thought is built up, as cellular tissue is built up from cells, from individual sense concepts from the outside. The matrix of a mind is formed principally by education, so few, if any of us, are ever quite free of the induced psychosis of childhood—each has a more or less hypnotized life. The pity is that we are saddled in defenceless childhood with concepts which may or may not be verified by subsequent experiences. These concepts form a weight about the neck ; on the whole, a millstone about the neck of civilization. Yet they are the basis for man's evaluation of his morality as an individual and as a people ; for the morals of a nation are, after all, neither greater nor weaker than those of its people. Nor are they the sum of its people's morality, but rather the standard developed by the class in power. Circumstance is the final determining factor allowing either good or evil to dominate.

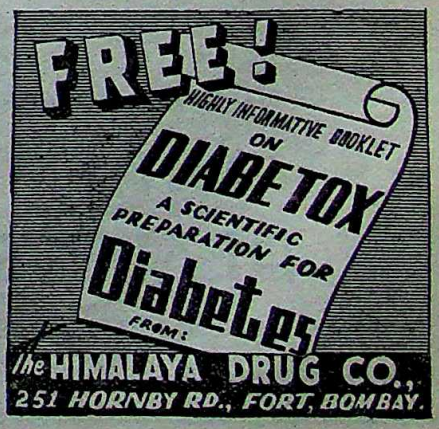
Since all morals are traditional, and may or may not become obsolete in evolution, they must be examined by science in the light, not of the past, but of the future ; for the present has no duration, does not exist. It is essential, however, that the scientific mind examining morals be itself freed from all induced psychosis. We cannot expect mankind's morals automatically to keep pace with science. An adequate morality always lags behind the innovations outmodinbg the existing standards and demanding newer ones. It is up to the scientist to show the way, to re-educate mankind, equipping him with concepts required for the intelligent utilization of the very forces of science itself.

The two primal urges are self-preservation and hunger. All others are secondary.

So it would seem that the functions of science are largely economic and materialistic. But this is not enough. We have too long neglected the science of human relationships. We cannot create a new and better world merely by creating new and better implements for the advancement of our material civilization. Neither can we accomplish this by inventing greater and more terrifying tools of destruction. To say that we, mankind, must behave better or be obliterated by our own creations is a futile warning. It is as if one were to explain the horrible results of excessive drinking to a group of alcoholics, and expect them all to set down their glasses. Some would heed the given advice ; some would not. It depends on the individual.

Man has yet to learn a collective behaviour.

He thinks of behaviour as the actions of individuals, and of the responsibility for this behaviour as the responsibility of individuals. Such a concept is no longer possible. Man must be educated to understand and accept the responsibility for the behaviour of mankind as a whole. No longer can ethics deal with man's relation to man as individuals alone, but as people. Today we need not a greater morality but a collective rather than a personal morality. Such a collective morality must be acceptable by the people as a whole. The true morality conforms with the needs of the overwhelming majority. But in the planning of this collectivism we must not completely forget the individual ; for there is no gain in any human endeavour where man as a mass is supreme without any thought of the individual. Both are essential. They cannot exist separately, but one within the other, an integral part of it. It is not that



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man has got to behave better, but that he has got to behave differently.

Man needs most of all to be given an insight into himself as man, as he really is, not as the illusion we create.

As Sigmund Freud has pointed out in his *Reflections on War and Death*, man's illusion becomes worthless if it demand that he live psychologically beyond his means. It is asking too much of human beings to ask them to accept, utilize and enjoy the benefits of any new power, demanding that they automatically adopt the wisdom and morality which the use of that power intelligently and safely requires. An awareness of the dangers of a power is not enough. Neither is the desire or wish to use it wisely. These are only the beginning. Wisdom and morality do not spring up, but are acquired, must be taught. Education is essential. Here the bond between science and human morals is strengthened every day; for science has made necessary a collective behaviour for man and made the results of his behaviour world-wide in consequences. Our world cannot withstand the dangers of this collectivism if bad, Society must look to science for the answer to its problem, for its very existence. As science departs from the accepted conditions and beliefs of its day, it becomes the duty of the scientist to educate the world in the newer ideas, to give us a newer morality. Morals do not keep mankind alive. They only preserve his present existence, and so must change with the changes wrought by science.

In every age there has come to its people a time for decision, a challenge to a new way of life.

Each time man has accepted, perhaps as bewilderedly as we. We cannot help being confused by the terrifying tempo of life today. And yet, for perhaps the first time in the history of his existence, man has it within his power to secure the material conditions for a better life, a good life, for all the people of the world. It remains for him to use this power to such an end, rather than as the cudgel for whipping parts of mankind for the advantage of the few. Such a world can no longer endure. Our problems have ceased to be technical and now are political. In being political, they become those of the intellect; for man's politics can be wise and fruitful to mankind only if they come out of man's intellectual understanding. Disaster is surely the result of political reasonings springing from his ignorance, his fear and his greed. These can only lead to war; for war is the continuation of politics by a different means. So we ask of the scientists not only the tools of our liberation but also knowledge, that we become not the slaves of our implements but their beneficiaries.

We need a true concept of the spiritual greatness possible for man. Man must be given a faith, greater than his fear, a faith in himself rather than in the strength of the things he has created. The tools of his existence must not become the reason for his existence, lest he cease to exist in the spiritual beauty of mankind, and be represented only by his own inventions. His faith must be built upon knowledge and understanding; he must have the realist sensation of being benefited by it, must be made a participant spiritually as well as materially. We must demand of science that it teach as well as create.

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Nationalisation

J. C. Kumarappa writes in *Gcam Udyog Patrika*:

Since some little power has passed into the hands of popular ministries there has been a great deal of talk of 'nationalising' various industries and services. The discussions that have taken place reveal the fact that many are not clear in their minds as to the true objective of nationalisation. Here it is proposed to set out a few principles that should govern "nationalisation."

"Nationalisation" presupposes that real power rests with the people, *i.e.*, with the masses. There should be in the first place, a wide foundation of experience in the management of our affairs. This has to be obtained by the villagers looking after their common needs through well-organized panchayats. From such experienced men the districts will draw their administrators and these will also supply the requirements of the province in regard to public men and legislation. Such well-based and properly conducted provincial administration will be able to keep under control the Central Government and make it function in the interests of the villagers.

When the Government of the land is in the hands of such tried patriots who will be trusted to hold the interests of the millions as their first care, then alone can we claim to have a National Government and "Nationalisation" will then ensure that the interests of the masses will be taken care of.

In the absence of such a village based and controlled Central Government "Nationalisation" may lead to the greater exploitation of the "have nots" by the "haves."

For instance, there has been a lot of talk recently about "Nationalising" the Airways. These airways, at present, are not within the reach of the villagers. They do not need them nor are they likely to use them. As, it is, at the present time, the "haves" own them and use them. So Government control now will mean the Government will spend its money and thought in making "the Airways" easily available to the "haves" while other "haves" will provide the service. Aerodromes may have to be constructed and various roads, etc., provided. For this these private bodies would like to exploit the Government resources and obtain their assistance under the plea of Government control or "Nationalisation." The funds availalble to the Government should be earmarked for the provision of facilities for the masses and hence we can not divert them for the betterment of Airways. Let private enterprise go on as they have done. Some "Haves" will exploit other "Haves", and later on when village-based National Government comes into existence we shall have time enough to consider "Nationalisation" of such services.

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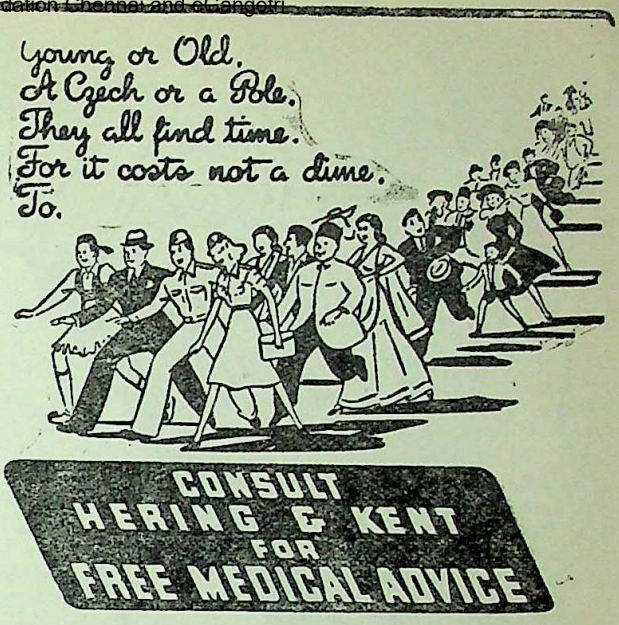

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The Institution of Property

Krishna Prasanna Mukerji makes the following observations in the *University of Ceylon Review*:

The proprietary right of the individual should be controlled and liimted as far as possible by the social will as expressed through the State and this launches us directly into a system of State Socialism. Consistently with our moral obligation to the vast majority of poor citizens in the State we have no option but to accept the above position, because we have only three alternative ideals of Proprietary Philosophy from which to choose:

(i) the *ideal of private property under capitalism* (punctuated by occasional doses of philanthropy on the part of the propertied class) with which we have no sympathy for its obvious lack of an ethical justification,

(ii) *the ideal of anarchism* (that is statelessness and propertylessness) which does not appear capable of ever being realised unless human nature changes from its very root,

(iii) the *ideal of State Socialism* which appears to be the only practicable and plausible course to adopt at the present stage of our social evolution.

We want to emphasise here the fact that when we talk of socialisation of property we do not for a moment suggest that thereby we aim at or are capable of abolishing the institution of property so long as we are limiting our activities within the framework of a State. It is absurd to recognise the State and chuck off that institution. The abolition, the destruction of proprietary rights and claims, as distinguished from their transfer to some other ownership, "can only mean that the thing or the service claimed, if it is at all desirable, is flung out to be scrambled for." (H. G. Wells: *The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind.*) That in other words means plain anarchy. That also means that within the State we can never abolish property altogether. Even in a hundred per cent communistic State there will be property—may be that every thing will be owned by the State and that there will be *no Private Property*.

It will be readily seen that though it is possible to imagine a state of perfect communism where private property is abolished in its entirely and individuals are reduced to mere users of public property in theory, some limits and restrictions have got to be put on the extent of socialisation of property when we come down to the realm of practical politics.

Proprietary rights to the barest necessaries of life and in the things which satisfy our emotional and aesthetic cravings have got to be admitted by any State but that which is out to be inhuman or intolerable.

Nor does it appear just to deny proprietary rights over savings out of one's legitimate personal income acquired through thrift and self-denial so long as the extent of his right of ownership does not cover such a wide field as to enable the owner to deprive others of their inherent right to evolve their own free personalities or to influence the life of the nation in a manner detrimental to the moral and physical well-being of its members.

All that we can do in this direction from the practical point of view therefore is to maximise socialisation, suppress our private greeds and progressively diminish the sphere of private ownershop and bring it down to its absolute minimum level. In the words of Mr. Wells, "The extension of one's personality to things outside oneself is indeed as natural and instinctive a thing as eating. But because the liver is necessary and inevitable, there is no reason why it should be enlarged to uncomfortable proportions, because eating is an unconquerable instinct there is no excuse for repletion." (*H. G. Wells: New Worlds for Old.*) But however we may reduce the sphere of private ownership the existence of the irreducible residue has got to be admitted.

The state-socialist does not like Proudhan, consider all private property as robbery. He preserves all that class of private property which is an "enlargement of personality" such as proprietary rights over one's person, clothes, personal tools, books and objects of asthetic and emotional satisfaction. What he seeks to destroy is that class of proprietary rights which gives the individual power over the food and need of his fellow creatures, a power which can frustrate the realisation of the best selves of other individuals who do not have that power. He endeavours therefore to destroy the claim of the landlord, the usurer, the forestaller, the gambling speculator, monopolizer, etc. He socializes the means of large-scale production. He denies private ownership of great enterprises. Interested persons may be allowed to invest their surplus in those enterprises as shareholders but the control is to be vested in the State. The State is to be the sole banker, the sole landlord and the sole insurance office. This however is not the same thing as to abolish proprietary rights in big enterprise. By socialisation simply the centre of ownership is shifted from the individual to the State. Private property is replaced by public property; property is not abolished. Within the ambit of the State, it cannot be abolished.

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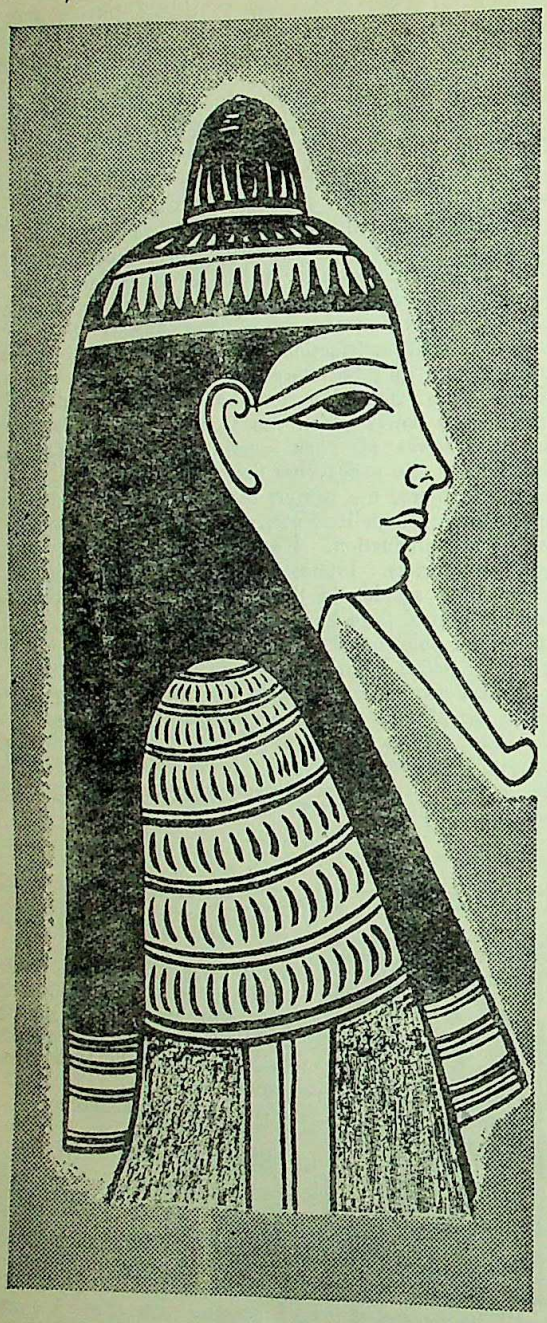

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The All-India Economic Conference

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The all-India economic conference held at Karachi recently under the presidentship of Prof. S. K. Rudra discloses a happy change in perspective and consequently, its proceedings attracted wide attention. R. V. Rao observes in *The New Review* :

Prof. Rudra's presidential address made a fervent plea for broadening the scope of economic science so that economists may play an important part in shaping economic policy. He observed that for the solution of our internal political problems, freedom from fear is the first essential and this shall be secured by the authorities in power. Freedom from want can only follow in its wake. He endorsed the appeal of Mr. T. B. Dalal, Chairman of the Reception Committee, who pleaded for practical application of the Gandhian economics with their fundamental humanism and moral values both as to end and as to means, as the solution of the economic ills of the country. Prof. Rudra also opined that a time has come for us to set up a National Institute of Social and Economic Research in our country so that pressing national problems may be considered by this body. In this Prof. Rudra opined the economist's role is an important one but they should not blindly depend on postulates imported from abroad. He did well in not only emphasizing the need for reshaping of our teaching the subject as well as the need for comparative study.

Prof. Rudra's thesis was that the academic and the administrative side of our national life should be brought much closer together than has been the case hitherto, because while the administrator would know the how, he would not know the why of many State activities. He, therefore, pleaded for giving good status to the academic economist. He also emphasized the need for greater collaboration between the government, academic economists and others. Now that economists are playing an important part in international conferences and organisations like the International Bank and the monetary fund, he observed that a new field of economic work in the inter-nation sphere has opened to economists.

Referring to the state control of industries, without wasting words and time, Prof. Rudra observed that our method must be a judicious amalgamation of public, corporative, co-operative and purely private types of ownership and management. He held the view that the development of natural assets should be undertaken by the State. He, however, observed that the State is not omni-competent and bureaucratization of economic life in India under present standards does not appear to be promising. He, therefore, pleaded for an equitable division in the field of economic enterprise.

The criterion of all economic endeavour according to him is the service of the community. After all it is not the amount of money that one possesses but the prestige that it commands that matters. Therefore, he hoped that the economists would try to see that a fair deal is given to the proletariat. He wanted that we should combine the advantage of the efficiency of production of the capitalistic system with the rendering of appropriate service to the needful of the communistic order. He hoped that the social objective would be considered. He did well in emphasizing that the appeasement of hunger would be the first responsibility of the economist. He hoped that the support of the peasants would be secured in the matter. Secondly, he also laid the greatest stress on an appropriate reward to the cultivators which would mean guarantee of minimum price on selected food-grains in case it was necessary.

Prof. Rudra referred to the various methods by which we can banish hunger from this land. He, however, said that one condition is fundamental *viz.*, the co-operation of the peasants and co-operative action. According to him, co-operative method is the only way by which the economic power of the peasantry can be developed and stabilised in the country.

Prof. Rudra gave valuable suggestions in regard to rural housing, civil aviation, shipping and foreign contacts. He even went to the length of suggesting that the government should depute students and teachers to important countries for studying their economic conditions.

Referring to international trade, Prof. Rudra said that all backward nations should develop their potential for industrial progress. He emphasised however that we should not have an isolationist policy. He pleaded for a permanent tariff board to consider a judicious and scientific adjustment of our tariff problems.

Prof. Rudra also dealt with the problem of our sterling assets and hoped that the sooner an agreement is reached on this vexed problem the happier will be the position between India and England. Prof. Rudra also referred to British Industries in India and suggested that in case we decide to liquidate British capital in India, the State should take over them.

Referring to the problem of labour unrest, he held the view that the labour problem has got to be considered and legislation put through. He emphasised, however, the need for positive collaboration between employers and workers. While the labour movement has been built up as a fighting machine, its real power, he said, will arise when it takes over many of the educational and welfare activities under its care. He also made a vigorous plea for considering the international aspect of the problem. He hoped that the labour leaders would remember that it is in abundance of production at reduced cost and improved quality that the ultimate source of labour amelioration rests.

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In conclusion, Prof. Rudra referred to the need for devising social security measures including old age pensions. He even went to the length of suggesting institutional invalidity benefit schemes. As regards the problem of resources, he said that our taxation capacity will remain low as long as our productivity is low. He hoped that economists would suggest measures by which we can enhance our resources with equity. He, however, said that economic objectives are like the horizon on the landscape which recedes as one goes near, but the economist has to tread on.

Rabindranath Tagore and His "Master"

Who was the spiritual master of Rabindranath ? The answer to this question has set many a person a-thinking continuously, and for long converted their minds into so many churning-rods. "An Enquirer" writes in *Triveni* :

When the English rendering of his *Gitanjali* was first published, several of the Theosophists, for instance, understood by his frequent reference to "My Master", one of those august adepts on the Himalayas in whose existence they believe, while the Christians, who said that the book was but biblical in the intensity of its mystical vision as well as in its emotional and expressional apparatus, thought that the term alluded to Christ. Of course, as every earnest student of his works knows, he meant nothing of the kind. For his Master was none else but God with His individualised aspect in his own inner consciousness, whom he gave the especial appellation of *Jeevan-devata*, "the Lord of Life."

However, on one occasion, in reply to a young Sindhi school-girl's query, "Who is your Master ?" the Poet replied readily, "Buddha." Now this is quite significant because it is usually stated that his thinking was influenced effectively and invariably, if not exclusively, by the Upanishads. That is undoubtedly true. But may it not be also that the Poet's conception of Godhead was not only as that of a Person, but that it was impersonal as well, He becoming It, the lover or the Beloved becoming Law, too ? Again, was such an impersonal envisaging of the core and crux of the universal entity or existence a later phase of his own spiritual evolution ? For it does not appear to have been so patent during the first half or so of his pilgrimage or pursuit of the Oversoul, unless his initial interior experience, while he was yet in his teens, converging on conviction, that One Supreme (without a second) Energy underlined the million-faceted manifestaton, called creation, be a proof in point.

The fact of the matter, as it would appear, is that though the Poet "sang many a song in many a mood," yet, as he himself has said in one of his songs, "their ultimate meaning has always pointed to Thee." (God). But this "Thee" was sometimes "He" and at other times "It."

A study of his works written in the course of the latter half of his last earthly quest, however, leads the writer to suggest in all humility that the impersonalization of the Eternal, so to speak, was emphasised by him, towards the end of his career. It may have been impressed on him, no doubt, by the Upanishadic allusions to, or implication of, the Truth of Life, as against the Lord of Life. Could it be that this was due to his having studied, in the meantime, the Buddhist scriptures ? Or, was it influenced also by the process and "provocation" and pressure of modern science ? Or, again, was it as a result of a realisation on his part, just as the Buddha evidently had, that, in the ultimate, even his poetic vocabulary and imagery, so rich and variegated, could not angle within its net the inexhaustible nature of the One Indivisible and Eternal, and that all that he could say truthfully at the penultimate end of his search was, "The Supreme Reality is best represented in syllables of silence. He is 'It.'" In this connection one little fact may be mentioned, for it is quite suggestive. Edmond Holmes' *Creed of the Buddha* was one of the Poet's great favourites among books, so much so that he had more than once recourse to it, something very unusual for him. Maybe, then, that his answer to the aforesaid enquiry was made at a time when he had, perhaps, a little while before read the book afresh'! Maybe, again, he might have used the name "Buddha" in the special sense that "the Enlightened One," was not merely a particular historical person but the Eternally Illuminated One, that changes, when It so chooses a Saul into a Paul, a Siddhartha into a Buddha. In other words, Buddha may have meant to him a personal expression of the impersonal, eternal Law, though the frigid absoluteness of Truth or Law can be converted into an object of adoration and affection only by the vitalising warmth of personalization,—of making it a person's own through devotion, and discipline and dedication. And this is quite logical because, in the last resort, as Gandhiji says, "the Law and the Law-giver are one."

Science and the Common Man

Kamalakanta Verma observes in *The Hindustan Review* :

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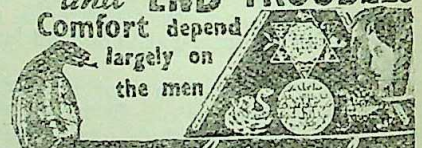
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observation and systematised with a view to the formulation of general laws or hypotheses to account for natural phenomena or their behaviour," and, according to another—an older but standard work—one of the meanings that the word has, is "pursuit of knowledge or truth for its own sake." That such an accumulation and organisation and pursuit are necessary in the interests of humanity cannot be denied. Your researches and your studies have led in the past, and will lead in the future, to discoveries and inventions which have conferred, and will confer, great benefits on the human race. At the same time, there is always a danger of the habit of the pursuit of knowledge or truth for its own sake being overdone. The tendency to make the pursuit of knowledge or truth for its own sake an end in itself must be guarded against. If it is true that it is the duty of every human being to labour not only for himself but also for his fellow-beings, it must also be true that the acquisition of knowledge and the discovery of truth are to be valued only when they are acquired and discovered with the object of benefiting humanity at large and are used for that purpose.

May I remind you that there is a destructive as well as a constructive side to your activities? If your labours have resulted in the discovery of power from steam, electrical energy, the aeroplane, the wireless, and numerous methods of preventing and curing diseases—to mention only a few of the good things that you have done for humanity—they have also resulted in the discovery of the atom bomb, not to mention other devices of destruction for which you are responsible. I should like to make it clear, however, that I do not agree with those who are inclined to blame scientists for the invention of these devices. The blame must, in my opinion, be laid at the doors of politicians and administrators who utilise science for such purposes. At the same time, it seems necessary to invite the attention of scientists to this subject and to request them to try their utmost to set up a tradition which will prevent them and those who will walk in their foot-steps in the future from permitting themselves and their knowledge being exploited for activities which are calculated to destroy not only civilisation but humanity itself. If you do not do that, you run the risk of further alienating the common man.

You cannot be unaware that the common man has already been doubtful as to whether your activities have done him any real good. What he wants is happiness. The manner in which he has been arguing is this. While it is true that the achievements of the scientists have resulted in the annihilation of distance, in bringing about greater comforts and conveniences, in speeding up production and increasing wealth and in the discovery of means for preventing and curing, within certain limits, disease, have these achievements added to the sum total of human happiness? If the common man, with his views about what happiness is, instead of merely doubting whether you have done him any real good, comes to believe that you are a source of evil and are his enemies, the results will be, to put it mildly, most undesirable. That is a danger which must be realised and averted, not only in your interest but in the interest of humanity itself.

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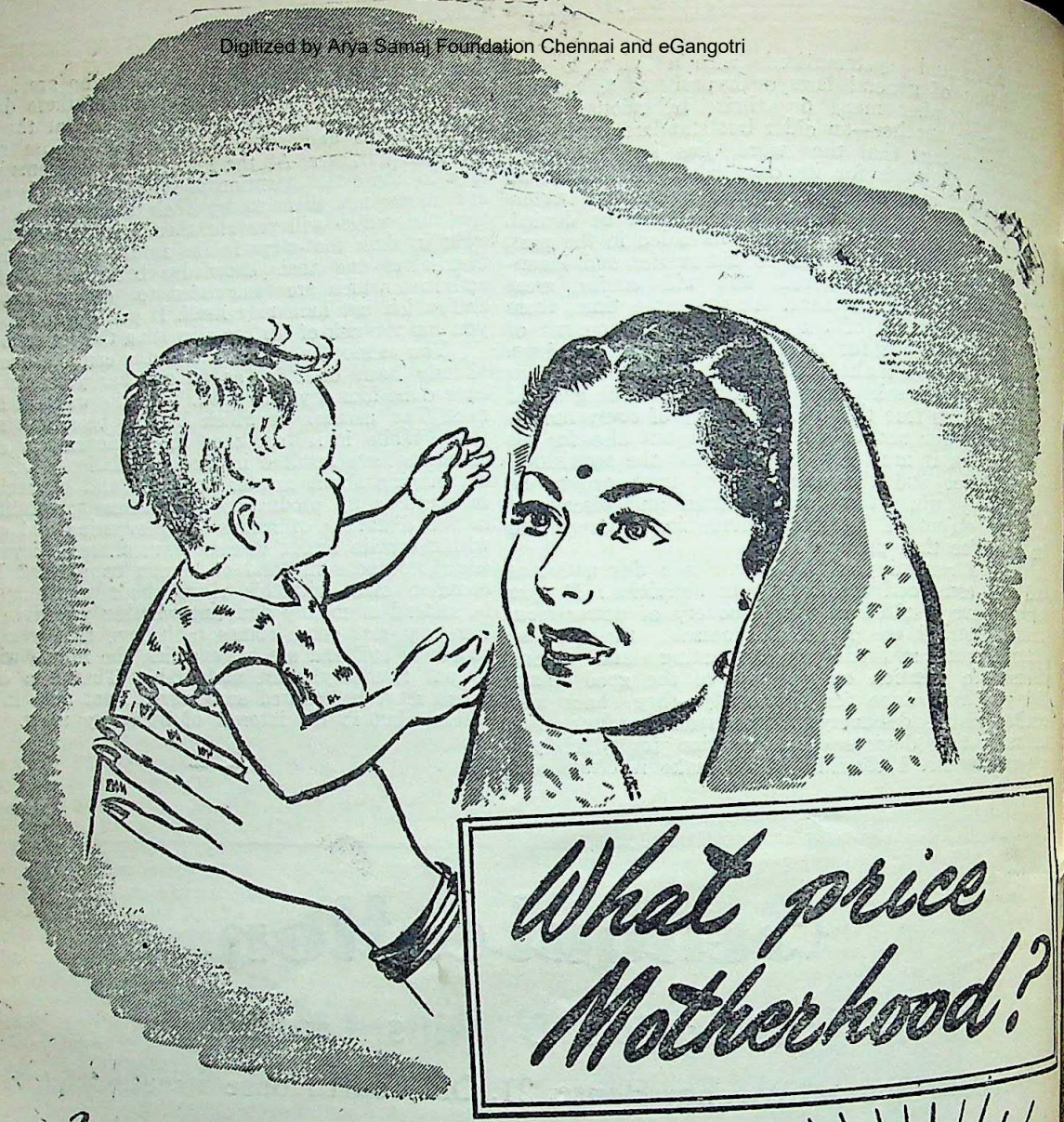

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Japan Today

Francis J. Horner observes in *The Asiatic Review*, January 1947 :

Some fifteen months have now gone by since Japan came under Allied occupation, and it is extremely interesting—especially to those of us who knew the country well in pre-war days—to note the extent and degree of the changes that have taken place.

It is natural to start at the top ; how goes it with the Emperor ? How has his denial of all claims to a "divine" heredity affected his position ?

In former days the main ideas which the people held about their ruler were two—the idea of him as the direct descendant of the Sun Goddess, or the "divine" concept ; and that of him as the Head of the National Family, or the "Father of his people" concept. Through the unremitting pressure of propaganda from above, the former became more and more intensified, the latter ever more suppressed. But the Japanese are an excessively emotional race, and this "parental" concept, though concealed within their consciousness, was a very real and powerful element in their make-up. The result therefore of the Emperor affirming himself to be a human being, no different in kind from his subjects, has been just what might have been expected. The long-suppressed emotion of filial affection and loyalty can be released, with the result that he now reigns in the *hearts* of his subjects more strongly than ever, and enjoys a real *popularity* very different from the exaggerated awe and reverence with which he was previously regarded. This was shown in a very astonishing way at the promulgation of the new Constitution. A platform had been erected, cordoned off from the huge crowd by lines of police. A military band was in attendance to play the National Anthem. The Premier appeared with members of his Cabinet. Then the Emperor with his Consort walked on to the dais. The band started to play, but in a moment it was drowned by the enthusiastic cheers, shouts and *banzais* of the yelling crowd. Instead of the reverential bowing in silence of pre-war days, the people rushed forward, and, breaking through the police cordon, surged up to the foot of the platform, wild with the happiness of at last being able to express what they really felt in their hearts towards their Ruler.

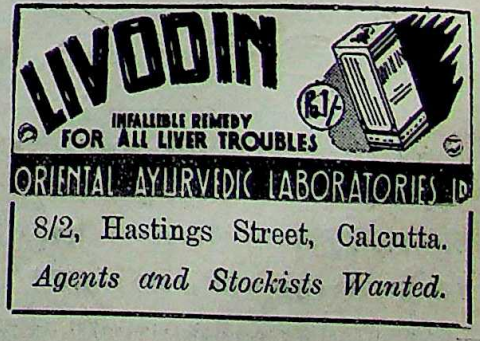
There is yet another reason which accounts for the Emperor's popularity. He is the one symbol of continuity with the past that still remains. All else has vanished. The basic ideas on which the nation had been brought up for centuries had been proved to be false and unreal. Cast adrift from all on which they had relied, the people found one sheet-anchor to hold them together in the midst of the confusion, depression and ignominy of defeat—the Imperial Throne ; and the way in which General MacArthur has understood and utilized this aspect of Japanese psychology must rouse genuine admiration.

The purpose of the occupation, of course, is not merely to inculcate the doctrines of democracy, but to set up a regime on practical lines which will, by its very nature, be compelled to function in a democratic manner in the future—in short, to build a democratic machine. Now any political machine suffers from the fact that, by its very nature, its component parts and those who make it work are identical—the individuals —among whom are so many who interpret the word "democracy" according to their own convenience !

Now in this connection the Japanese have a peculiar characteristic which seems to be almost an integral part of their nature. They are perfectly satisfied with a thing provided "it looks all right"; they are only too glad to take the surface for the substance. This is shown in their language by the word *benri*, meaning "convenient," which is constantly on their lips. Anything which superficially appears correct and pleasing or proper is taken for the real thing. A stucco frontage affixed to a ramshackle wooden structure is *benri*—"convenient"—for it makes it look like a concrete building ! It is the same idea that was responsible for flooding the pre-war markets with gimcrack goods often of undeniably attractive appearance. Now this idea which is so universal throughout Japan has got to be eradicated completely before any really solid foundation can be laid down. Realizing this, S.C.A.P. has concentrated on effecting a real and fundamental reform in the whole educational system of Japan, and it is in this regard that some admirable work is being undertaken. To do more than outline these reforms is of course impossible.

Primarily, the whole educational machine has been decentralized, so that schools and colleges are no longer under direct control of the Central Government. Co-education has been introduced, and though this is not compulsory in all grades, more and more establishments are voluntarily adopting it. All teachers from top to bottom have been carefully screened, while textbooks have been rewritten and new ones issued wherever necessary. The issue of new textbooks was essential in the domains of history and morals. In the matter of the internal administration of schools, the British and American system of monitors and prefects has been adopted, so that the students may themselves take a greater share in running their own schools and thus learn the elements of democracy. Naturally for the time being—and probably for some time to come —there is a very confused idea among the student body as to what "democracy" really means. One young man of Tokyo Imperial University defined it as "doing what one likes !" But the Japanese student is in general quick in the uptake, very hardworking and extremely anxious to learn. Provided that reactionary forces of either wing are kept in strict control for the next ten or fifteen years, Japan should be able to base her democratic state on a really solid foundation.

Apart from education, the most marked changes appear to have taken place in the Labour world. The



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Japanese are unique among Oriental nations for two characteristics—their faculty for organization and their passion for working in groups. Therefore, as soon as S.C.A.P.'s directives were issued permitting freedom of speech, ordering the release of political prisoners, abolishing the pernicious "thought police" and stressing the rights of labour, trade unions began to spring up on all sides. The new-found freedoms have naturally produced a torrent of half-formed, ill-digested ideas, criticisms and demands, but such are only to be expected. Similarly, ignorance of the methods and principles of discussion and arbitration in labour disputes has resulted in a succession of strikes. But these must not be taken in too serious a light. The living conditions of the people are still precarious; the rise in the cost of living is far greater than the corresponding rise in wages, mainly due to inflation. It is true that the Finance Minister has declared that the inflationary trend has already reached its peak, and that very shortly economic conditions will be stabilized, but there can be no question that Japan's present financial organization is extremely delicately balanced. The great Zaibatsu combines have been dissolved, and both the financial experts of the U.S.A. and Japan are trying to erect a completely new edifice on the ruins of the old. But that edifice has got to withstand the tremendous strain of reparations which, if carried out in accordance with the Pauley report to Prdesident Truman, may upset all calculations. Yet, until this question of reparations is finally settled, Japanese business in its widest aspect cannot be developed. It is clear that banks are not going to advance loans for enterprises which may or may not be taken as part of the assets to be handed over. Yet there is no doubt that, under the direction of the occupying Powers, Japan is making a steady trade recovery in certain directions. If she is capable of holding up successfully under the strain mentioned above, she should be able to effect a stable economy.

Finally, a brief mention must be made of the political field. It is often stated that the two major parties, the Progressive and the Liberals, are largely composed of the same old bureaucrats under a different guise. This is an exaggeration. It must be remembered that the political world has gone through a most searching purge which, starting with the professional politicians, has extended to all Government officials from the highest to the lowest. This purging has now been extended to include the financial, commercial and journalistic worlds. It is therefore hoped that, after the local elections now taking place, Japan will be starting with a clean slate. The Social Democrats are the largest of the opposition parties. They have refused any affiliation with the Communists in spite of repeated approaches. It is thought likely that they may head the polls at the next General Election. Politically they represent a fairly mild socialism, and are very active throughout the country. So are the Communists, who make a lot of noise; and had it not been for their early opposition to the Emperor they would have gained more support. As it is, however, they cut little ice, though their "behind-the-scene" activities are openly said to be responsible for many of the strikes that have occurred. The great change that must be noticed is the election of women to the Diet, of which they occupy some thirty seats. They are reported to have done extremely well in their first essay, and it is to be hoped that more will be returned at the next election.

In general, then, it may be said that, in spite of much confusion, of the long-drawn-out food crisis, of labour unrest and economic distress, the people of Japan are slowly but steadily settling down once more. They are recovering from the initial shock of defeat which left them stunned and hopeless, are recapturing their former resilence, and are beginning once again to take up the affairs of life with initiative and purpose. Indisputably this is largely due to the wise guidance and administration of General MacArthur. But much credit must also be given to their own adaptability, their industry and especially to the realistic outlook of their leaders. Defeat is openly recognized and acknowledged; the past is past and gone, and the potentialities of the people are being slowly channelled to face the future with energy and determination.

History of Archeological Science Development in Egypt

Middle East Opinion, January 1947, recounts briefly the evolution of Egyptology in connection with the centenary celebration of Maspero, the famous French Egyptologist:

In June last, Egypt celebrated the centenary of Maspero, the famous French Egyptologist who organized the Egyptian Antiquities Department. This is an opportune occasion to recount briefly the evolution of Egyptology.

It is only in the early part of the eighteenth century that Egypt began to interest the traveller who came especially to study its monuments or any other vestige of the Ancient Egyptian civilization and thus drew the attention of scientists and opened to Europe the perspectives of Egyptian Archaeology.

The Dutch painter and artist Cornelius Bruyn, the English Theologist Thomas Show, the Danish sea captain Frederick Marden, the Swedish naturalist

পণ্ডিত ৺রমানাথ চক্রবর্তী সঙ্কলিত এবং
ভক্তিতীর্থ শ্রীউমেশ চক্রবর্তী সম্পাদিত ও প্রকাশিত
(সচিত্র ও ষড়ঙ্গ) শ্রীশ্রীচণ্ডী ।৷৹
অর্গলা, কীলক, কবচ, মূলচণ্ডী, স্তবাদি এবং রহস্যত্রয়ের সরল বঙ্গানুবাদ ও ব্যাখ্যা, পূজাবিধি এবং সম্পাদকীয় নিবন্ধে 'চণ্ডী' বিষয়ক বহুল জ্ঞাতব্য বিষয়াদিতে ও বর্ণানুক্রমিক শ্লোকসূচীতে সুসম্পূর্ণ।
শ্রীশ্রীসত্যনারায়ণপূজা ও কথা ৵১০
শ্রীশ্রীলক্ষ্মীপূজা ও কথা ৵১০ ত্রিসন্ধ্যা ।০
প্রাপ্তিস্থান—শ্রীগুরু লাইব্রেরী প্রভৃতি বইয়ের দোকান এবং প্রকাশকের নিকট—১২০।২ আপার সারকুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

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Hasselquist, the British travellers Richard Pockocke, Davidson, James Bruce and W. G. Brown, the Danish traveller Carsten Niebuhr, the Frenchmen Poncet, Sicard, Le Noir du Roule, Fourmont, Volney, Savary and others drew Europe's attention to the ancient Egyptian monuments.

Therefore, when the Sciences and Arts Commission of the Orient Army commanded by Bonaparte, arrived in Cairo, it had already an extensive documentation on the country which served as a basis for its own work.

In the Archeological field, many of these travellers had contributed to throw some light by either measuring or describing some of the monuments, and more particularly the Pyramids.

The discovery of the Rosetta stone and the establishment of the first nucleus of a museum were the starting points of this admirable work in which the whole world eventually participated. In the results achieved France had a predominant share.

While Scientists and Egyptologists were busy in deciphering the texts found on the Rosetta stone trying to find in it the key to the mystery of ancient Egypt, an Italian traveller Belzini set foot in Alexandria. Being by trade an efficient and expert draughtsman, he had been entrusted by Mohamed Aly to carry out some hydraulic works. Taking advantage of his presence in Egypt, he began exploring archeological sites. He entered the Pyramid of Chephren, and discovered the tomb of Seti I, in the Valley of the Kings. Following up his researches towards Nubia he inscribed his name on the monumental Statue of Ramses at Abu Simbel, and discovered the site of ancient Benenice on the Red Sea and the emerald mines south of Kosseir. Later he undertook a trip in the Libyan desert, in the vicinity of the Bahria Oases and visited the ruins of the temple of Ammon at Siwa. His stay in Egypt lasted only three years (1815-1818).

But it is more particularly since the deciphering of the hieroglyphics that Egyptology as a science progressed considerably. This question had already preoccupied scientists in the seventeenth century, and the Prussian Jesuit, Athanasius Kircher, who, after having invented several instruments which consisted of the magic lantern and a sort of typewriter, tried to decipher the hieroglyphics. However his attempts were vain and brought no positive results.

After the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, Sylvestre de Sacy, the Swedish diplomat Akerblat and Dr. Thomas Young, succeeded each in his part and in a certain measure to decipher the hieroglyphics. But it was more particularly due to Champollion's effort that the question was definitely settled while Brugsoh threw later more light on the matter.

As soon as Champollion communicated his discovery to the "Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres", he undertook a trip to Egypt in order to make the best of his discovery.

After many difficulties due in a large part to Drovetti, the French consul and Archeologist, who feared a loss of prestige in Egypt, where he exercised a moral control on Egyptological science, Champollion was finally able to land in Alexandria and obtained Mohammed Aly's protection to carry out his archeological researches. He had brought with him a mission consisting of five young Frenchmen, including one draughtsman, two painters, an architect and an inspector of fine arts. Simultaneously with the French mission, an Italian Mission headed by the Orientalist Rosellini also arrived in Alexandria, and at the request of the Grand Duke of Toscany joined Champollion's party.

This was the beginning of a glorious adventure: expeditions in the moonlight, the deciphering of texts at night under the dim light of torches in order not to wait until the morrow, the ascension of the Abu

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Simbel Colossii in order to gain access to the interior of the Sanctuary, long hours of work in the noxious atmosphere of subterranean passages, patient and tedious night study of the finds and as a diversion and for relaxation, at such free time as was available, looking over the collections of butterflies and insects of the Italian naturalist and Beduin feasts.

Champollion left Egypt in 1830, after a stay of 16 months. Considerably weakened and with failing health following his long stay in the torrid Upper Egypt climate, he was hardly in a position to withstand the rigours of a Parisian winter. He developed pneumonia and finally died in March 1832 from a stroke of apoplexy.

While his collaborators took up the printing of his book *Monuments of Egypt and Nubia* interrupted by his death, his draughtsman and friend, Nestor L'Hote, returned to Egypt to complete his documentation. He also died prematurely and his nephew, Auguste Mariette, assumed the task of continuing the French Archeological work so brilliantly started and which Maspero in his turn developed with such admirable tenacity and sense of organization.

Egyptian Women's Suffrage Rights

Allouba Pasha writes in the above-mentioned Periodical of the same number :

The movement for the emancipation of the Egyptian woman started about 40 years ago when the late Kassem Amin Bey boldly supported a movement designed to discard the veil and put an end to her forced seclusion.

Like many reformers, he was the target of such a violent campaign as might have damped the enthusiasm even of the staunchest advocate. He was branded as an infidel and had he not had the moral support of some of Egypt's enlightened leaders, he might have given up the struggle in despair.

He wrote a book on the emancipation of the Egyptian woman which is regarded to this day as the best defense for the right of Moslem women to take part in active public life.

He proved that Islam never sanctioned the veil which was a relic of pre-Islamic times, asserting that Moslem women had participated in large measure in the development of the Moslem Empire.

That his struggle has borne fruit may be realized by the present progress which has placed the educated Egyptian woman on almost the same level as her western sister.

For some time, there has been a tendency for the recognition of the right of Egyptian women to take a more active part in public life.

Mohamed Ali Allouba Pasha has submitted to Parliament a draft bill for such amendments to the Electoral Laws as may grant the Egyptian women the right of suffrage.

In support of his proposal, he points out that the Constitution does not deprive the Egyptian woman from the exercise of her electoral right as such provisions are included in the Electoral Law which is open to amendment.

He goes on to say that the woman in Egypt enjoys rights of which her Western sisters are deprived. A woman in this country has the right of ownership, sale and purchase, endowment, bequeathing a legacy and appointing an attorney. She can dispose of her own property without the consent of her husband who has no control whatever in her rights in this respect.

He adds that, in the light of the above facts, and in view of the great progress achieved by Egyptian women, they should be granted the right of suffrage. In countries where women exercise such a right their influence has been far-reaching in making the wisest choice.

If the Egyptian woman has the right to grant a power of attorney, why should not her opinion be sought in the election of the nation's representatives in Parliament ? Why should the women who, from the numerical point of view, are equal to men, remain isolated from male citizens in the performance of such an important national duty ?

He concludes by stating that as he is desirous of avoiding any violent reaction, he has suggested the grant of the right of suffrage only to literate women. New rights may be given to the Egyptian women in the light of future developments.

Mohamed Ashmawi Pasha, former Minister of Education, strongly supports the bill which, in his opinion, will enable the Egyptian woman to take an indirect part in public life. The admission of the Egyptian woman to the ranks of the electorate will have a beneficial influence as it will preclude the possibility of extremist principles gaining ground.

In questions of vital reforms, the woman can impose her will irrespective of party policy.

He even goes further by expressing the hope that the bill may be amended to stipulate the election of women as members of Parliament. The introduction of this element in our political life will result in the welfare of the whole community.

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UNDER THE KADAMBA TREE
By Baidyanath Das

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THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY 1947

VOL LXXXI. No. 5 WHOLE No. 485

NOTES

Ourselves

We have to apologise again for the late publication of this *Review*. Conditions are far from normal in our home city and no improvement is perceptible at the time of writing, indeed on the contrary. Business conditions have become exceedingly complex and difficult, due to the hazards and restrictions imposed on the citizens of Calcutta by the unofficial and official masters of the city. Under the prevailing circumstances and handicaps, it has been an exceedingly difficult job for us to bring out this issue at all, and we hope our readers will realize this fact and excuse the delay and other shortcomings that may be apparent in this number.

Conditions in Calcutta may indeed be described as lamentable. Apart from the activities of the *goondas* and hooligans, this city is now the headquarters of all kinds of mischievous agitators, who are working havoc with the prospects of rehabilitation and the reconditioning of industry and trade. The breach between the employers and the employed is being daily widened through the activities of a set of persons who are out for acquiring power for their own pestilential selves. We would be the last in denying the right of mass negotiation to labour, indeed under the prevailing circumstances labour needs to negotiate with all the powers that be in order that a general amelioration of living conditions and standards be provided for them. But the way things are being engineered by the so-called labour-leaders, no betterment is possible for the workers, as an industry that is being undermined by the all-round stoppages and lowering of efficiency can never provide a high standard of living for its workers. Today all business and industry in Calcutta is suffering from the consequences of rash and misguided action of the workers.

Partition or Secession?

Matters relating to the future constitution of this province are coming to a head. The question of partition has now become an accepted fact, provided that there be any division of India at all. There is no doubt in the minds of the people of this province, that failing a miraculous abatement of the communal tension, partition of Bengal will follow as an inevitable corollary. There has been no public meeting, of any sizable dimension whatsoever, held in Bengal by the minority communities within the last two months, where there has been any noticeable dissent on the question of the partition of Bengal being the only safeguard, the sole lifeline, for the minorities of this province if Pakistan does materialize. The question has now passed the stage of debate, only the ways and means, the boundaries and the units on the basis of which the division is to be made, that remain to be considered.

A great deal of dust has been raised by the slogan of "United and Sovereign Greater Bengal." We need hardly point out that the move was first set out by the agile brains of Mr. Suhrawardy, the Chief Minister of Bengal. After thoroughly gagging and throttling the press, and stifling the expression of public opinion in Bengal, he has set forth on the job of outlining of a scheme, which according to him would bring the Millenium in Bengal. Needless to say, matters being as they are, despite all press ordinances and "Public Safety" measures, there is hardly any member of the minority communities in the province that should be taken in by this obvious trap for the unwary. Indeed, we would have dismissed the scheme as being totally unworthy of discussion, had it not been for the fact that a handful of persons—in all a dozen in number—from the nationalist ranks have either gone over to the schemers or else are maintaining a precarious perch on the fence. Fear of reprisals, sub-human malice and an unholy lust for power are said to be the prime causes for this defection. Rumour also has it that the hidden hand of the "Third Party" is scattering money lavishly in order to make the turn-coat's path easier and to swell their following by the addition of "professional patriots" to their ranks. So far the plot does not seem to have made any progress at all but all the same extreme alertness of our leaders is called for since powerful forces like British vested interests and the Ministerial group of the League are throwing all their weight behind it. The League rivals of Mr. Suhrawardy have been particularly helpful, through their press, in exposing the sponsors of the "United and Sovereign Bengal" scheme, for which we should be grateful to them.

The scheme entails in short, a complete breach

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between the Nationalists in Bengal with their brethren in the rest of India. But contrariwise, the Muslim League keeps its grip unrelaxed on the Leaguers of Bengal. The breach being complete. the Nationalists, which mean all the minorities of Bengal are to be left to the tender mercies of the League in Bengal. Faith in the goodwill of the Leaguers and trust in their sense of justice are to be the sole guarantees for the existence of the minorities, once they cut the line that anchors them, in the midst of all storm and stress, in the harbour of Nationalist India. We have to lay stress on those points, as the Suhrawardy-Sarat Bose plans for the Future of Bengal have no basis on the observed and recorded facts of the Past and the Present. "The Land of Bengal shall flow with milk and honey and sweet harmony and Peace shall reign" say those worthies. "What promise of the Future do you see in the Present" we ask, "and how has the League discharged its responsibilities towards the minorities in the past, after their British patrons had placed the reins of power in their hands ?"

We have not the slightest doubt, whatever be said by the crazy, the craven or the knave amongst our ranks, that once we have cut the lifeline that links us with our brothers in the rest of India, and have made halters out of it, to tie round our necks and the necks of our children, the progress of Bengal would be a rapid *"Half-a-League, Half-a-League, Half-a-League Backward."* For even today, while half the League in Bengal, under Suhrawardy, is pouring forth honeyed words of promise for the future, the other half of the League, controlled by his rivals, is belching forth sulphur and brimstone. And we have no doubts in our mind whatsoever as to which half shall prevail—and "reconvert" the other half—if and when Pakistan does materialize !

Here is as much of the Scheme as has been revealed :

1. Bengal will be a free State. The Free State of Bengal will decide its relations with the rest of India.

2. The constitution of the Free State of Bengal will provide for election to the Bengal Legislature on the basis of joint electorate and adult franchise, with reservation of seats proportionate to the population amongst the Hindus and Muslims. The seats as between the Hindus and the Scheduled Caste Hindus will be distributed amongst them in proportion to their respective population, or in such manner as may be agreed among them. The constituencies will be multiple constituencies and the votes will be distributive and not cumulative A candidate who gets the majority of the votes of his own community cast during the elections and 25 per cent of the votes of the other communities so cast, will be declared elected. If no candidate satisfies these conditions, that candidate who gets the largest number of votes of his own community will be elected.

3. On the announcement by His Majesty's Government that the proposal of the Free State of Bengal has been accepted and that Bengal will not be partitioned, the present Bengal Ministry will be dissolved and a new Interim Ministry brought into being, consisting of an equal number of the Muslims and Hindus (including the Scheduled Caste Hindus) but excluding the Chief Minister. In this Ministry, the Chief Minister will be a Muslim and the Home Minister a Hindu.

4. Pending the final emergence of a Legislature and a Ministry under the new constitution, the Hindus (including the Scheduled Caste Hindus) and the Muslims will have an equal share in the services, including military and police. The services will be manned by Bengalees.

5. A Constituent Assembly composed of 30 persons, 16 Muslims and 14 non-Muslims, will be elected by the Muslim and non-Muslim members of the Legislature respectively, excluding the Europeans.

The Mountbatten Proposals

There is a postponement of the presentation of the blue-print for the future constitution of India by Lord Mountbatten. All sorts of speculations are being put forward as to reason of this postponement. As the matter is vital and the postponement has delayed matters by little over a fortnight, we think it best to wait till the actual proposals are before us.

Meanwhile, it is to be hoped that the non-League members of the Cabinet at Delhi, are wide awake. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues need to be alert and watchful every minute. Their opponents are actively preparing for every eventuality and they have the weight and the brains of a whole host of Britishers behind them.

Congress Ministries in the various provinces seem to have gone back to the programme of "minding their own business." Are they aware of the fact that *unless they seek and listen to expert advice,* they would be caught napping and badly defeated as in 1942 ? Mere high resolutions and pious hopes will not pull the Congress out of danger. This is an age of specialists, and only a few in this country have even the knowledge as to who they are. The real trouble with some of our leaders has been lack of experience and over-confidence. Some of them are totally inexperienced in the science of selecting the proper man for the proper job, and rely upon their own likes and dislikes, which might be based on totally wrong premisses, and others are dependent on their flatterers and yes-men. One of our most eminent leaders is proverbially prone to move on impulses, which is a fatal failing in such critical times. The Congress Working Committee should immediately start to set up an expert committee of advisors, and to get together seasoned and experienced men to guide them in the choice of personnel. Bad mistakes have been made in the choice of men in some cases and those mistakes should be rectified without further delay. Over-confidence is another great source of danger as it leads to the outmanoeuvring of the inexperienced by the more astute. We have no doubt as to the final outcome of our fight for independence nor about India's ultimate destiny. But the country will be spared an enormous amount of suffering and loss if it be prepared in time for all eventualities. Efficiency is the greatest virtue of modern times and as such mere reliance on the justice of our cause will not suffice. "Hope for the best but prepare for the worst" is a hackneyed and over-worked phrase. Nontheless, it is exceedingly cogent at the present juncture and the whole country would feel the safer if it be meticulously followed. We have great faith on the judgment and experience of Sardar Patel and we hope his counsel is being given the proper weight in the deliberations of the Cabinet and that his advice is being acted upon without any hesitation or delay.

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Official Action in Bihar and Noakhali

Mr. Srikrishna Sinha, Prime Minister, Bihar, in a written statement, in reply to a question in the Bihar Legislative Council, disclosed that charge sheets had been submitted against 2357 Hindus against whom *prima facie* evidence was found on investigation for having taken part in the last communal disturbances. 2705 cases relating to communal trouble had been reported and the total number of Hindu accused persons was 16,032 till April 9. 3308 Hindus had been released on bail and the number of those detained in custody was 2719. Bail has been mostly allowed in bailable offences. But there are instances where bail has been allowed in non-bailable offences by Sessions Courts and High Courts.

The corresponding picture in Noakhali shows a marked contrast in the treatment of minorities by the Congress and the League. In Noakhali, nearly 2000 cases had been instituted of which 760 were dropped on ground of scanty evidence. Charge sheets were submitted in 122 cases against 699 persons. Of them 489 are still evading arrest. The local people have made open complaints that these persons go about freely and terrorise the oppressed people ; it is only the police who do not see them. 1069 persons were arrested in all, of whom 337 have been discharged, 668 released on bail and only 54 are in custody. It may be mentioned here that a tearing campaign in the League press had been made to secure the release of the arrested persons and tremendous pressure was brought to bear upon the Chief Minister in the last meeting of the League Council for securing their release. Mr. Fazlul Huq, who has been competing with Mr. Suhrawardy to secure control of the Provincial League machinery, went to Comilla to secure the release of these men because that way lay popularity among the League followers. The latest feature in Noakhali is that counter-cases have been started against the oppressed members of the minority and these counter-cases are being brought up first, before taking up the main complaints. Further, it has recently been revealed that the Government of Bengal have sanctioned a gratuitious relief of Rs. 250 in cash and 10 maunds of paddy for the family members of each of the absconders. Some of these absconders are accused of having committed in a revolting fashion most heinous crimes like murder, loot, arson and rape. Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Bar-at-Law, a leading member in the Calcutta High Court Bar, has confirmed in a public statement, after a personal observation of local conditions, all the facts revealed above. He says that final reports have been submitted in 760 cases where the complaints have been generally admitted as substantially true but no charge sheets have followed. A few conscientious police officers who had submitted charge sheets in some cases, have been severely rebuked by the Superintendent of Police, a Muslim I. P., who has ordered that no charge sheet should be submitted without his knowledge. Since then no charge sheet has reached the Courts. While in Bihar, the post of the Inspector-General of Police has gone to a Muslim, in Noakhali even a petty Sub-Inspector of Police who happened to have been a member of the minority community, has been promptly removed and replaced by a Muslim. In many cases, proceedings have been drawn up against some in connection with Counter-cases. Mr. Chatterjee, in his statement says, that the Hindu officer-in-charge of the Raipura Police Station, one of the most badly affected areas in the district, who had submitted, after due investigation, 40 charge sheets, has now been removed from that station. The general principle enunciated by the League mouthpieces that minorities must be protected by responsible officers of their own community has thus been observed in the breach thereof, so far as the minorities in Noakhali are concerned, up till now. In Bihar, where the Muslim minority suffered, the League demanded that all police officers in Muslim areas must be Muslims. This demand has largely been met by the Government of Bihar. In Noakhali, where the Hindu is in the minority, this theory of minority protection has been reversed and all Hindu officers from the affected areas have been scrupulously excluded. The demands and actions of the League in Bihar and Noakhali have clearly demonstrated that there must be one rule where the Leaguers are in minority and a converse rule where the League does hold the reins of Government. In Muslim minority provinces, there have been political cries of "Congress oppression" to a high pitch but no exodus of Muslims. The engineered and largely subsidised transference of Muslim population from Bihar has completely fizzled out ; most of those who were brought to Bengal have gone away leaving barely 20 per cent behind. But there have been large-scale evacuations, in lakhs, from League majority areas in the Punjab and Bengal, and from the Frontier, owing to oppression and atrocities perpetrated by the Leaguers. If there was ever a case for minority protection, it should now be done in League provinces where the life, property and honour of women of the minorities are still in jeopardy.

Gandhi-Jinnah Appeal

A joint appeal for communal peace has been issued by Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah. A *communique* issued from the Viceroy's House at New Delhi stated that on the Viceroy's initiative and at his specific request Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah signed the following declaration and authorised its publication :

> *We deeply deplore the recent acts of lawlessness and violence that have brought the utmost disgrace on the fair name of India and the greatest misery to innocent people, irrespective of who were the aggressors and who were the victims. We denounce for all time the use of force to achieve political ends, and we call upon all the communities of India, to whatever persuasion they may belong, not only to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder, but also to avoid, both in speech and writing, any incitement to such acts.*

Lawlessness in League's *Direct Action* theatres, like the Frontier, the Punjab and Bengal, did not stop even after a wide circulation of this appeal. Preaching of communal peace and courting all sorts of suffering and discomfort to strive for it is one of the prime objects in Mahatma Gandhi's life. The part that Mr. Jinnah played even after the publication of this appeal has not been above-board. He has never condemned the violence of his followers, instead he has tried to shield their misdeeds by putting all blame for violence on the shoulders of people who do not belong to his party. His reluctance to sign the appeal was also disclosed by a New Delhi newspaper which

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stated that although Gandhiji signed the document immediately it was presented before him, Mr. Jinnah was virtually compelled by the Viceroy to put his signature on it on April 15.

A fortnight after the publication of the appeal, Gandhiji said at a prayer meeting at New Delhi on May 1 that the purpose of the joint appeal had been defeated. Mahatma Gandhi referred to the violence that was taking place in the Frontier Province, in the Punjab and other places The audience might well ask, he said, why in spite of the joint appeal by Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah and himself for peace in the country and the declaration in the appeal that use of force should be eschewed for all time for gaining political ends, the purpose of the appeal seemed to have been entirely defeated in practice. In his opinion both the honour of the Viceroy who was instrumental in bringing about the joint appeal and of Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah were involved. He held that it was not open to Jinnah Sahib to plead that his followers did not listen to his appeal. That would be cutting the whole ground from under his feet because he was the undisputed President of the All-India Muslim League which claimed to represent the vast bulk of the Muslim population. Where was the authority of the League if the Muslims resorted to violence for gaining political aim which was summed up in the word Pakistan ? Was the British Government to yield to the force of arms rather than the force of reason, he asked. The speaker had expressed his doubts as to the wisdom of issuing the joint appeal unless it was certain that it means for signatories all that the words thereof conveyed.

The spirit in which this criticism of Gandhiji was received in the League press was signified by the *Morning News* of Calcutta in an editorial article, dated May 5. The article is reproduced below :

> Mr. Gandhi's rabid communalism, his rancour towards the Muslims and their Qaid-e-Azam, is an open secret. Mr. Gandhi can sink to the lowest depth to vilify the Muslim League and rail at Mr. Jinnah. Addressing his so-called prayer meeting the other day. Mr. Gandhi referred to the "violence" that was taking place in the Frontier, the Punjab and other places. He declared that the joint appeal signed by himself and Mr. Jinnah had completely failed in practice. This, he said, damaged the "honour" of the Qaid-e-Azam as well as the Viceroy, who was "instrumental in bringing about the joint appeal."
>
> Mr. Gandhi further jeered that this indicated the dwindling influence of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League. Mr. Gandhi added : "Where was the authority of the League if the Muslims resorted to violence for gaining their political aim which was summed up in the word Pakistan ?" By these vile vituperations, Mr. Gandhi like a mean, fanatical Hindu, tried to conceal his own sin and those of his barbarous followers. Mr. Gandhi, in utter disregard of decorum and decency, placed the entire blame on the Muslims, the Qaid-e-Azam and the Muslim League. Mr. Gandhi mischievously ignored the ruthless violence, lawlessness, savagery of Congressmen all over India. He also chose to forget the unique achievements of his followers during the Bihar State Killing.
>
> When Congressmen are bent upon creating mischief, why blame Mr. Jinnah or the Muslim League ? Mr. Gandhi is particularly ruffled to find that the Frontier Pathans have not yet surrendered themselves to the Ram Rajya run by Dr. Khan Saheb and his gang. Congressmen can no longer beguile the Pathans. That Mr. Gandhi did not himself favour the peace move is clearly borne out by the tone of his statement and the way in which he has carried the joint appeal.

The N.-W. F. P.

The Muslim League's murder campaign in the North-West Frontier Province continues practically unabated in spite of the Congress Ministry's sincere efforts to stop it. Nationalist leaders of that Province, including Khan Abdul Ghaffur Khan, have pointed out that one of the chief obstacles on the way of the establishmest of peaceful conditions was the conduct of the British officials of the province, including the Governor, Sir Olaf Caroe. Khan Abdul Ghaffur Khan, the greatest leader of the Frontier Pathans, told a Peshwar audience, "The present disturbance in the country naturally leads me to suspect that there is a big plot and conspiracy behind it. It is not love of God, Islam, or love of their country but it is love of their departing English masters whom their friends do not like to go from India. There seems to be an organised attempt to create a situation that Indians themselves may request the British people to remain in India." He next told the representatives of foreign and Indian journals assembled at a press conference. "Mr. Jinnah has got no influence within the Frontier Province, because, in spite of his appeal there is no end to looting, killing and arson. All this can be stopped in a minute and there can be perfect peace in the N.-W. F. P. In spite of the honest intentions of the Labour Government and the Viceroy to hand over power to India by June 1948, Churchill and his agents are trying to create an atmosphere in India on the basis of which Churchill might be helped to come in power and the British might be requested by the Indians themselves to stay in India." He disclosed that an attempt was being made to convert the Frontier Province into a stronghold of the British Government by making it a buffer State between India and Russia.

Acharya Jugalkishore, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, and Dewan Chamanlal made a survey of the Frontier situation and submitted a first hand report to Pandit Nehru at his request. In that report they stated that a Governor should be appointed in place of Sir Olaf Caroe, who is prepared to guarantee protection to the minorities in full sympathy and harmony with the present Ministry and that it is not the Ministry that should be dismissed but the Governor and the officials who look to him for support.

In their report, they say :

> We have recently returned from a tour of the Frontier Province and what we have seen of the destruction and violence committed against the persons and property of innocent men, women and children has shocked us beyond measure. There is no doubt that the adherents of the Muslim League have utilised these atrocious methods with the primary object of making it impossible for the ministry to function nor have we any doubt that what we may call the Governor's part has given direct or indirect encouragement to the lawbreakers. Since the Muslim League launched its campaign hundreds of murders have been committed, hundreds of shops and houses burnt or gutted and scores of people in various localities forcibly converted.
>
> It is an open secret that the present Governor does not favour the Ministry. A man in his position,

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who is also the head of the Political Department, can seriously hamper the work of the Ministry since a large number of administrative officers play a dual role being civilian administrators as well as political agents. Special responsibility rests upon the Governor for the protection of the minorities and yet attempts made by well-meaning administrators and the Ministry to protect the minorities have been frustrated. Representatives of the minorities met us and told us that they had complete confidence in the Red Shirts and yet a scheme for the provision of Home Guards has been unnecessarily held up by the Governor thus robbing the minorities of confidence in his impartiality.

The happenings at Dera Ismail Khan were an eye-opener to us. The League agitation had practically fizzled out until it became difficult to find more than four persons to offer themselves for arrest although on previous occasions the figures had been very high. It was obvious that the back of the agitation had been broken and all was peaceful.

In this situation, secret meetings were held, people were imported from the Punjab and other areas, and definite information was conveyed to the authorities of the impending disaster.

As it was known that the so-called civil disobedience movement having failed, resort would be had to violence, repeated orders were issued by the head of civilian administration for the arrest of ring-leaders and repeatedly these orders were disobeyed by police officials. Indeed, even the orders of the Inspector-General of Police under the instruction of the Ministry were flouted, the flouting of these orders resulted in the agitators resorting to violence with impurity and on April 15, the first incident that took place was the burning of a shop right opposite the police station at Dera Ismail Khan. A crowd of not more than one hundred and fifty then attacked other shops and burnt down a cinema as well, while high police officials looked on. The police had ample forces at their disposal, not a single platoon was brought into action, not a tear gas bomb thrown, not a lathi charge made, not a shot fired even in the air, with the inevitable result that whole bazars were gutted and looted. On the same day the city of Tank was similarly attacked and similarly destroyed turning nearly 4000 men, women and children into homeless refugees.

The Governor of the province was fully aware of the orders given for the arrest of ring-leaders and yet when he arrived, *he asked one of the most prominent of the ring-leaders to accompany him and openly fraternised with him.* Quite naturally, the officials who had disobeyed the orders given to them had done so knowing perfectly well that they would not be questioned or called to order.

The city of Dera Ismail Khan could have been saved and all the disaster that had come upon that city and the surrounding areas could have been avoided. But in this unnatural state of affairs, when officials displayed a dual loyalty, disaster was inevitable. This unnatural state of affairs must cease immediately and a Governor should be appointed in the place of Sir Olaf Caroe, who is prepared to guarantee protection to the minorities and who is in full sympathy and harmony with the present Ministry which is headed by a most unique and superb personality, Dr. Khan Sahib.

As will be evident from this statement, it is not the Ministry that should be dismissed, but the Governor and the officials who do not enjoy the confidence and support, who have failed in preserving law and order and doing their duty by the minorities. Each one of these officials must be removed and tried for grave dereliction of duty. It is these people and the gangsters who spread fire and murder in the Frontier Province who are answerable before the law.

The League had made a demand for instituting fresh general elections in the province and an immediate promulgation of Section 93. From press reports it appeared as if the new Viceroy was inclined to accept Mr. Jinnah's demand. But the Congress Working Committee sounded a stern note of warning by declaring that it would not countenance any fresh election only a year after the last general elections which had been held on the clear issue of Pakistan in which Muslim League candidates were defeated. Sardar Patel, in a statement issued from New Delhi, stated that it was foolish to expect that Sec. 93 could be applied in the N.-W. F. P. where the Ministry had the solid support of a good majority of the Legislators. He said :

> The efforts to dislodge the Frontier Ministry by violent means continue unabated despite Mr. Jinnah's so-called peace appeal and the Viceregal visit to the Frontier in quest of a rapprochement. The Frontier Premier's gesture in offering to release the League prisoners made in response to this appeal, has evoked no response from the prisoners. On the other hand, the forces of disorder have received encouragement. Mr. Jinnah's peace appeal is either completely ignored or not taken seriously by his followers and yet there is no condemnation from him of acts of violence perpetrated by them. Systematic pressure tactics in true Hitlerian style and with all its fury and characteristics are being employed in support of their illegal designs. The latest to take the field is a concerted propaganda of a decision in favour of a proclamation under Section 93 in the Frontier as a result of this visit. The talk of application of Section 93 in the Frontier is to betray ignorance of the elementary conditions of that province. A resort to Section 93 when a duly elected legislature is functioning with a Government commanding majority not only of the Muslim members but also of the minorities would be a gross act of betrayal and highhandedness and an outrage on the constitution. Even when a few months ago the constitution broke down in Sind owing to the Ministry's failure to secure the requisite majority, the Ministry was not removed. It is foolish to expect that Section 93 could be applied in the Frontier where the Ministry have the solid support of a good majority of the legislators. This propaganda about the application of Section 93 may help in keeping alive the unlawful and violent agitation for a little while longer but it cannot affect the stability of the Ministry.

A new political party, *Kzalme Pakhtoon,* or Young Pathans, has since then been formed. They are clad in red uniform but unlike the Red Shirts, they are all armed with pistols. Explaining their political ideology, Khan Amir Mahammad Khan, President of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee, said that the idea that Red Shirt leaders are not safe during the present disturbances has led to the creation of the new organisation under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghani Khan, son of Khan Abdul Ghaffur Khan. The members of the new party are armed only for defence and not for offence. This movement, it was explained, was a legitimate Red Shirt movement with the only difference that the new organisation believed in violent defence and retaliation.

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British Intriguing Group in India

The hand of a group of Britons in India, belonging to the services and mercantile community, behind the dangerous "Sovereign Bengal" plot is clearly discernible. The Britons in India have not the least reputation for justice, morality and fairplay. The role of the Britons of the Imperial Services, in the League's campaign for Pakistan, has been thoroughly exposed in the Frontier Province, Sind, Punjab and Bengal. It is probable that those Britons in the Services in India and those in the commerce and industry of the country, who are playing this subtle game, are still unaware of the damage to British interests and the damage to British reputation they are inflicting by such action. So far as good faith and confidence are concerned, Britons in India have brought themselves down to the level of the members of the League and it will be a herculean task for a Socialist Britain to remove the distrust and suspicion created in Indian mind against Britain by such short-sighted and mean persons of British nationality who hold positions of power and influence in India. It is no exaggeration to say that even the poorest Indian has lost all confidence in an Englishman and has realised that it is dangerous to entrust them with power.

Indo-British relations are being built up on confidence and goodwill. The present intriguing group of Britons holding high positions in India have almost destroyed this foundation of future Indo-British relations. Their eagerness to aid the reactionaries of the Muslim League, with the object of checking the surging tide of nationalism, is now plain beyond a shred of doubt. Here is what Leonard Schiff wrote about them in his book *Present Condition of India* :

> The core of the Muslim League consists of landlords. It is worth remembering that the representatives of the Muslims at the Round Table Conference had little or no contact with Muslim masses and had not been chosen by them. English business interests were encouraging Muslim enterprises. They are behind the Muslim Chamber of Commerce in Bengal. In that province the European got five times the representation that they deserve. The innumerable sectional interests militate against all progressive and modern developments. Imperialism has demanded for its operations a backward country and thus is bound to hamper or actively to prevent all progressive tendencies.

The British game in boosting Jinnah is now world knowledge. In the twenties of this century Sir Edward Carson was similarly backed up in Ulster. The English group of landlords who inspired Carson are mostly gone ; so will be gone, in the next twenty years, the group that supported Jinnah. In Ireland, De Valera and the patriotic southerners still remember with resentment that episode. The group of Englishmen who had plotted for Fascist Franco have sunk down into obscurity but the patriotic Spainard still remembers those Englishmen's disgraceful part in the national struggle of Spain. The British group that arranged the White army to fight Lenin have similarly gone into obscurity but Lenin remembered and Stalin nurses the memory, which overshadowed every conference that Russians have had with the British. British capital's pact with the devil and plot against God ended in disgrace everywhere in the world, and if it still persists in the same game in India it will have to be satisfied with the same return. No Bengalee will ever forget the part the Briton played in the Legislature to let hell loose upon them by pushing the League up into power or his role in the services and his malicious moves in the vendetta against the Bengal nationalists.

Britain has lost her empire but could have saved her trade. The best asset in all human associations and transactions is goodwill. The present-day British merchants have deviated from this sound principle of trade and in their desire to retain hold on jute, tea and coal in Bengal and Assam have allied themselves with the League against the forces of freedom and progress. The Muslim self-seekers are used as the Britons' stooges. Reports have become widespread that British emissaries are behind the move to oppose the Bengal Partition, and to keep Calcutta out of the hands of a people who can legitimately lay claim to the city. If the Briton in India still believes that his intrigues will succeed, as it had succeeded in 1757, he is sadly mistaken. There was no mass mind conscious in Bengal at that time and therefore intrigues with a Mirjafiar and a Umichand had succeeded. The mass mind is now completely awake and alert, it is no longer possible for a Suhrawardy, Bose or Kiron Sankar to surrender "Sovereign Bengal" to the Bag-Barons of Clive Street.

Muslimisation of the Delhi Telephone System

A series of changes have been effected in quick succession in the higher personnel of the Delhi telephone system within a fortnight's time. The development has been strongly suspected to have been in keeping with the sinister game the Muslim League Members of the Interim Government have been playing ever since they assumed office. Muslimisation of all key positions in departments under their control is rapidly proceeding. But the latest move on the part of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Member-in-Charge of Communications, of pushing out from the Delhi Telephone Organisation all non-Muslims from all the important positions has surpassed the records of his other League colleagues in the Interim Government. The tendency of the League to misuse administrative machinery with a view to strengthen their campaign for Pakistan has been patent in all the provinces under League administration. It is also equally significant that the old guards of the Imperial Services have always been behind these designs. The details of what has happened in the Delhi Telephone Organisation as has been reported by the special correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* are as follows :

> Observers here are disposed to interpret this move as a part of deeper game than a mere capricious change in the personnel of the Delhi telephone system. Malik Feroz Khan Noon who seems to be a stormy petrel in the Muslim League ranks has already started a press campaign for the inclusion of Delhi within the Pakistan zone. For the present, of course, it seems to be in the nature of a "feeler." But we have always noticed a method even in the madness of the Muslim League leaders.
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> My reading of the situation based on talks with those who may be credited with possessing inside information about the trend of political developments is that Delhi may soon be a centre of *direct action* on lines of what was recently witnessed in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier.
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> And to be forearmed for a contingency like

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that, Communications Department of the Government of India has lost no time in completely Muslimising all the important posts in higher cadre of the Delhi telephone system by replacing the European, Hindu and Sikh officers with Muslims.

Changes so far effected are as follows : (1) Col. W. E. Harwood, District Manager Delhi Telephone District—replaced by Mr. Mohammad Hussain on 29th April, (2) Mr. P. Srinivasan, Administrative Officer—replaced by Mr. Ghulam Abba, transfer to take effect from 21st May, (3) Mr. Chanan Singh, Assistant Engineer, Trunk Exchange—replaced by Mr. Abdul Latif on 19th April, (4) Mr. R. B. Malhotra, Engineer, City Exchange—replaced by Khalil Ahmed, transfer to take effect from 31st May, (5) Mr. K. P. Ghose, Engineer—replaced by Mr. Aziz Ahmed on 29th April.

A mere glance a this list will show that all strategic and key posts have been placed in charge of the Muslim officers so that in case of an emergency like what the Punjab and the North-West Frontier have recently passed through, communication by means of telephone between different parts of Delhi itself and also between Delhi and other parts of India through trunk exchange may be absolutely under their control.

I understand from a very reliable source that Sardar Patel, Home Member, Interim Government, has already been apprised of this sinister move and there is a possibility of this matter being raised for discussion at a meeting of the Cabinet.

Calcutta Corporation Supports Bengal Partition

A resolution tabled by 37 Councillors of the Calcutta Corporation demanding partition of Bengal and dissolution of the present Muslim League Ministry was passed by the Corporation at a special meeting held in a district office of the Municipality. The change of venue had been made necessary by the Muslim League Councillors who had resorted to disgraceful tactics of creating disturbances within the Central Municipal Hall in order to make it impossible for the Mayor to conduct the meeting. On the first day, when the resolution came up for discussion, the League Councillors and some supporters of that party who had come in as visitors maintained an uproar within the hall. When the visitors were requested by the Mayor to leave the hall, all except those belonging to the Muslim League obeyed the Mayor. The League Councillors did not help the Mayor in clearing the hall of the disturbing elements, instead they themselves joined in the uproar by shouting and striking the desks with paper weights. At the next meeting, visitors were not allowed. This meeting was adjourned for ten minutes to mourn the death of a Judge of the Calcutta High Court. After ten minutes, the Mayor went to the hall and found the Mayoral chair occupied by one of the League Councillors who refused to vacate it. The Mayor again adjourned the meeting and announced the change of venue for the meeting which was directed to be held at the office of the Municipal District I. The Muslim League and the nominated members were absent at the meeting. Two British Councillors attended and tried to obstruct the meeting but ultimately refrained from voting. On a point of order, Mr. Wise claimed that the passing of the resolution would be a prejudicial act under the Bengal Special Powers Ordinance and as such punishable under it. He explained that by prejudicial act he meant any act involving breach of public peace and harmony. The Mayor, in reply, remarked that Mr. Wise should rather give his advice to those members who were responsible for breaking the peace and also to the Ministry. One of the Councillors said that the change of venue for the meeting had been made not because the movers of the resolution were afraid of others but they wanted to maintain peace and harmony.

The resolution runs as follows :

> This Corporation requests the Governor of Bengal to dissolve the present Ministry forthwith and pending final partition of the Province, to constitute separate regional Ministries, or in the alternative, to take into his own hands the responsibility of maintaining law and order in the Province as provided under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935.
>
> The Corporation is most emphatically of the view that the Hindus and the Nationalists of Bengal must have a separate home of their own where they shall be free to maintain and develop their culture and civilisation unhampered and that in order to achieve this consummation most devoutly to be wished, this Corporation demands that a new province be constituted out of those parts of Bengal including this great City, wherein they form a majority of population, and that under no circumstances the City of Calcutta be constituted into a neutral zone.

Division of the Punjab

After all the blood that has flown on the banks of the five rivers in the Punjab, it is needless to debate the desirability of dividing the province so that such ghastly happenings may never take place in the future. The Hindu and Sikh leaders of the Punjab are unanimous on this issue. There is, however, room for discussion regarding the boundary line to be drawn for partitioning the Punjab. A controversy on this subject has taken place in the *Tribune* of Lahore and we consider Prof. B. M. Bhatia's views on it worth serious attention. He says :

> The total population of the Punjab according to the census returns of 1941 is 2,84,18,819 of which Muslims number 1,62,17,242 or 57·06 per cent. Hindus and Sikhs constitute 40 per cent of the population of the province. But unlike Sind and N.-W. F. P. where Muslims constitute an overwhelming majority in each district, the population in the Punjab is so divided communitywise that we get a large contiguous geographical area on the eastern side of the province where Hindus and Sikhs are in numerical majority. Of the five divisions in the province, Ambala and Jullundur are predominantly Hindu and Sikh while the two western divisions of Multan and Rawalpindi are predominantly Muslim. In the Lahore division, Amritsar district has a majority of Hindu and Sikh population, the Muslims forming 46·52 per cent of the total population of the province. Amritsar has an importance of its own, it being the holy city of the Sikhs who have been recognised as the third major community in the country. If Amritsar is taken away from Lahore division and added to Jullundur and Ambala divisions, the two parts of the province get the following composition of the population on communal basis :

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MUSLIM MAJORITY AREA

Division or District	Area (sq. miles)	Total population	Muslims	Non-Muslims
Rawalpindi Dn.	21,381	47,00,958	40,20,121 (85.52 p.c.)	6,80,817 (14.48 p.c.)
Multan Dn.	31,763	63,65,817	48,01,565 (75.43 p.c.)	15,64,262 (24.57 p.c.)
Lahore Dn. ex Amritsar	10,631	58,04,125	35,41,963 (61.02 p.c.)	22,62,162 (38.98 p.c.)
Total	63,775	1,68,70,900	1,23,63,669 (73.29 p.c.)	45,07,231 (26.71 p.c.)

NON-MUSLIM MAJORITY AREA

Ambala Dn.	14,750	46,95,462	13,18,136 (28.07 p.c.)	33,77,326 (71.93 p.c.)
Jullundur Dn.	18,992	54,38,581	18,77,742 (34.53 p.c.)	35,60,839 (65.47 p.c.)
Amritsar Dist.	1,572	14,13,876	6,57,695 (46.52 p.c.)	7,56,181 (53.48 p.c.)
Total	35,314	1,15,47,919	38,53,573 (33.35 p.c.)	76,94,346 (66.63 p.c.)

The above division would seem to be 'natural' if unfortunately we continue to be divided among ourselves on a communal basis. But a glance on the Punjab map will show that there is no natural boundary line between the two parts and that Amritsar district which forms the western skirt of the eastern part is sandwiched between the two districts of Gurdaspur and Lahore. Gurdaspur is not a Muslim district in any sense of the term, for the Muslim population forms only 51·14 per cent of the total population of the district or just one half. The district can be claimed by either side as its own. Lahore presents a more difficult case. The Muslims number 60·62 per cent of the total population of the district and are in definite majority. But in drawing a boundary line between the two administrative territories, mere counting of heads communitywise cannot be regarded as the sole satisfactory criterion. Two other considerations must be kept in view. One is the geographical contiguity of a region demarcated for separate administration. This principle has already been conceded by the Muslim League in its Lahore Resolution wherein it demanded separate sovereign states for Muslims. The second is the determination of the ownership of landed property and industry in these districts communitywise. The fate of these marginal districts may be decided by the application of these principles and that community should get these which has greater stake in them.

Simple majority should not be the guiding factor in determining the boundary line of the new province. In a vital issue like secession from the mother country, at least 60 per cent should be considered as the minimum basis for determining "predominance" of particular communities in particular areas. It should be remembered that while explaining the Lahore resolution, Mr. Jinnah had himself stated that Pakistan should be formed out of contiguous Muslim areas containing a majority of 70 per cent.

Fundamental Rights in a Free India

The Report of the Fundamental Rights Committee has been presented in the Constituent Assembly by Sardar Patel, the Committee's Chairman. The Report depicts a plan to make India the most progressive country in the world. The following are some of the salient features of the Report which guarantees freedom of conscience but at the same time removes all threat of communal rule in the country. The features are :

1. No person will be compelled to pay taxes the proceeds of which are specially appropriated to further or maintain any particular religion or denomination.

2. Conversion from one religion to another brought about by coercion or undue influence shall not be recognised by law.

3. The freedom of religious practice shall not debar the state from making laws for the purpose of social welfare and reform.

Sardar Patel moved that the interim Report of the Fundamental Rights Committee be taken into consideration. In a note to the President of the Constituent Assembly, Sardar Patel said, "The fundamental rights contained in the Report are equality to all persons regardless of religion, race, caste or sex, and consequent to the recognition of such equality the Report says that untouchability in any form should be abolished. Other rights include freedom of speech, assembly, association, movement, acquisition of property and occupation, prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour, freedom of religion and of worship but the prohibition of forcible conversions, protection of cultural and religious rights of minorities, *habeas corpus* and the right to constitutional remedies."

Dividing the rights into two parts, *viz.*, justiciable and directive, Sardar Patel explained, "The fundamental rights should be prepared in two parts, the first part consisting of rights enforceable by appropriate legal process and the second consisting of directive principle of social policy which though not enforceable in Courts, are nevertheless to be regarded as fundamental in the governance of the country. Of these latter, we propose to submit a subsequent report. At present we have confined ourselves to an examination only of the justiciable fundamental rights. We attach great importance to the constitution making these rights justiciable. The rights of the citizens to be protected in certain matters is a special feature of the American constitution and the more recent democratic constitutions. In the portion of the constitution act dealing with the powers and jurisdiction of the Supreme Court suitable and adequate provision will have to be made to define the scope of the remedies for the enforcement of these fundamental rights."

Emphasising the need for a uniformity in the fundamental rights of the citizens, Sardar Patel said, "Clause 20 of the Statement of May 16, 1946, contemplates the possibility of distructing fundamental rights between the constitutions of the union, the groups, if any, and the units. We are of the opinion that fundamental rights of the citizens of the union would have no value if they differed from group to group or from unit to unit and are not uniformly enforceable."

The Fundamental Rights Committee has, therefore, recommended that rights set out in its Report be incorporated in the constitution so as to be binding upon all authorities whether of the Union or the units. The Committee has made a special provision in regard to full faith and credit being given to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of the Union in every unit and for the judgments and orders of one unit

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being enforced in another unit. The Committee regarded this provision as very important and appropriately falling within the scope of fundamental rights.

The Fundamental rights Committee and the Minorities Committee were agreed that the following should be included in the list of fundamental rights :

Every citizen not below 21 years of age shall have the right to vote at any election to the legislature of the Union or of any unit thereof, or where the legislature is bicameral, to the lower chamber of the Legislature subject to such qualifications on the ground of mental incapacity, corrupt practice or crime or may be imposed and subject to such qualification relating to residence within the appropriate constitution as may be required by or under the law.

The superintendence, direction and control of all elections to the legislature, whether of the Union or of a unit, including the appointment of election tribunals shall be vested in an Election Commission for the Union or the unit as the case may be, appointed in all cases in accordance with the law of the Union.

The Justiciable Fundamental Rights

The text of the more important justiciable rights contained in the Report of the Fundamental Rights Committee is given below :

All existing laws, negotiations, regulations, customs or usages in force within the territories f the Union inconsistent with the rights guaranteed under this part of the constitution shall stand abrogated to the extent of such inconsistency, nor shall the Union or any unit make any law taking away or abridging any such right.

Every person born in the Union or naturalised in the Union according to its laws and subject to the jurisdiction thereof shall be a citizen of the Union.

(1) The state shall make no discrimination against any citizen on grounds of religion, and race, caste or sex.

(2) There shall be no discrimination against any citizen of any ground of religion, race, caste or sex in regard to

(*a*) access to trading establishments including public restaurants and hotels ;

(*b*) the use of wells, tanks, roads and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of public funds or dedicated to the use of the general public.

There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens on matters of public employment and in the exercise of carrying on of any occupation, trade, business or profession.

Nothing herein contained shall prevent the state from making provision for reservation in favour of classes who, in the opinion of the state, are not adequately represented in the public services.

No citizen shall on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth or any of them, be ineligible from possession of property or exercising or carrying on any occupation, trade, business or profession within the Union.

Untouchability in any form is abolished and the imposition of any disability on that account shall be an offence.

No heritable title shall be conferred by the Union.

No citizen of the Union and no person holding any office of profit or trust under the state shall, without the consent of the Union Government, accept any present, emoluments, office, or title of any kind from any foreign state.

There shall be liberty for the exercise of the following rights subject to public order and morality or to the existence of grave emergency declared to be such by the Government of the Union or the unit concerned whereby the security of the Union or the unit, as the case may be is threatened :

The right of every citizen to freedom of speech and expression ;

The right of the citizens to assembly peaceably and without arms ;

The right of citizens to form associations or unions ;

The right of every citizen to move freely throughout the Union ;

The right of every citizen to reside and settle in any part of the Union, to acquire property and to follow any occupation, trade, business or profession.

Provision may be made by law to impose such reasonable restrictions as may be necessary in the public interest including the protection of minority groups and tribes.

No person shall be deprived of his life, or liberty, without due process of law, nor shall any person be denied the equal treatment of the laws within the territories of the Union.

Subject to regulations by the law of the Union, trade committee and intercourse among the units by and between the citizens shall be free.

Provided that nothing in this section shall prevent any unit from imposing on goods imported from other units the same duties and taxes to which the goods produced in the Units are subject :

Provided further that no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue by a unit to one unit over another.

Traffic in human beings and forced labour in any form including *begar,* and involuntary service except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, are hereby prohibited and any contravention of this prohibition shall be an offence.

No child below the age of 14 years shall be engaged to work in any factory, mine or any other hazardous employment.

All persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience, and the right freely to profess, practice and propagate religion subject to public order, morality or health, and to the other provisions of this chapter.

The wearing and carrying of *kirpans* shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion.

The above rights shall not include any economic, financial, political or other secular activities that may be associated with religious practice.

The freedom of religious practice guaranteed in this clause shall not debar the state from enacting laws for the purpose of social welfare and reform.

No person may be compelled to pay taxes, the proceeds of which are specifically appropriated to further or maintain any particular religion or denomination.

No person attending any school maintained or receiving aid out of public funds shall be compelled to take part in the religious instruction that may be given in the school or to attend religious worship held in the school or in premises attached thereto.

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Conversion from one religion to another brought about by coercion or undue influence shall not be recognised by law.

Minorities in every unit shall be protected in respect of their language, script and culture, and no laws or regulations may be enacted that may operate oppressively or prejudicially in this respect.

All minorities whether based on religion, community or language shall be free in any unit to establish and administer educational institution of their choice.

No property, movable or immovable, of any person or corporation, including any interest in any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken or acquired for public use unless the law provides for the payment of compensation for the property taken or acquired and specified the principles on which and the manner in which the compensation is to be determined.

No person shall be convicted of crime except for violation of a law in force at the time of the commission of that act charged as an offence, nor be subject to a penalty greater than that applicable at time of the commission of the offence.

No person shall be tried for the same offence more than once nor be compelled to any criminal case to be a witness against himself.

The right to move the Supreme Court for appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of any of the rights guaranteed by this part is hereby guaranteed.

Without prejudice to the power that may be vested in this behalf in other courts the Supreme Court shall have power to issue directions in the nature of the writs of *habeas corpus, mandamus,* prohibiting *quo warranto* and *certiorari* appropriate to the right guaranteed in this part of the constitution.

The right to enforce these remedies shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion or other grave emergency, the public safety may require it.

The Union legislature may by law determine to what extent any of the rights guaranteed by this part shall be restricted or abrogated for the members of the armed forces or forces charged with the maintenance of public order so as to ensure fulfilment of their duties and the maintenance of discipline.

The Union legislature shall make laws to give effect to those provisions of this part which require such legislation and to prescribe punishment for those acts which are declared to be offences in this part and are not already punishable.

Union Powers Committee Report

The Report of the Union Powers Committee has been drawn up and submitted by Sir Gopalaswami Iyengar to the April Session of the Constituent Assembly. The Report was signed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Pandit G. B. Pant, Sir Gopalaswami Iyengar, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiya, Messrs. B. Mitter, Jairamdas Daulatram, K. M. Munshi, V. T. Krishnamachari, Viswanath Das and A. K. Iyer. The text of the Report is given below. This Report will greatly facilitate the work of the provinces sitting in Sections by giving them a direction regarding the powers they should surrender to the Union in order to ensure national unity. The Report is :

We the undersigned members of the committee appointed by the resolution of the Constituent Assembly of January 25, to examine the scope of Union Powers, have the honour to submit this report. Sir V. T. Krishnamachari and Sir B. L. Mitter were nominated to the committee on April 10, 1947, and the rest of us have had an opportunity of going over the entire ground again with them.

We consider that the scope of the subjects, defence, foreign affairs and the communications in the Cabinet Delegation's statement of May 16 covers the following :

(*a*) DEFENCE : "Defence" connotes the defence of the Union and of every part thereof and includes generally all preparations for defence, as well as all such acts, in times of war, as may be conducive to its successful prosecution and to effective demobilisation after its termination. In particular, "defence" includes :

(1) The raising, training, maintenance and control of naval, military and air forces and employment thereof, for the defence of the Union and the execution of the laws of the Union and its units : The strength, organisation and control of the existing armed forces raised and employed in Indian States.

(2) Defence industries.

(3) Naval, military and air-force works.

(4) Local Self-Government in cantonment areas, the constitution and powers within such areas of cantonment authorities, the regulation of house accommodation in such areas and the delimitation of such areas.

(5) Arms, fire-arms, ammunition and explosives.

(6) Atomic energy, and mineral resources essential to its production.

We recommend further that in order to enable the Union Government effectively to discharge its responsibility for defence, it should be vested with the powers similar to those contained in Section 102 and 126-W of the Government of India Act 1935 :

(*b*) FOREIGN AFFAIRS : "Foreign Affairs" connotes all matters which bring the Union into relation with any foreign country and in particular includes the following subjects :

(1) Diplomatic, consular and trade representation.

(2) United Nations Organisation.

(3) Participation in international conferences, associations and other bodies and implementing of decisions made thereat.

(4) War and peace.

(5) The entering into and implementing of treaties and agreements with other countries.

(6) Trade and commerce with foreign countries.

(7) Foreign loans.

(8) Naturalisation of aliens.

(9) Extradition.

(10) Passports and visas.

(11) Foreign Jurisdiction.

(12) Admiralty Jurisdiction.

(13) Piracies, felonies committed on the high seas and offences committed in the air against the law of nations.

(14) Admission into, and emigration and expulsion from the Union.

(15) Port quarantine.

(16) Import and export across customs frontiers defined by the Union Government.

(17) Fishing and fisheries beyond territorial waters.

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(c) COMMUNICATIONS : The term "Communications" although it is wide enough to cover any connection between places should, for the present purposes of the Union, in our opinion include the following :

(1) Airways.

(2) Highways and waterways declared by the Union to be Union highways and waterways.

(3) Shipping and navigation on inland waterways, declared by the Union to be Union waterways, as regards mechanically propelled vessels, and the rule of road on such waterways, carriage of passengers, and goods on such waterways.

(4) Posts and Telegraphs :

(a) Provided that the rights existing in favour of any individual State unit at the date of the establshment of the Union shall be preserved to the unit till the same are modified or extinguished by agreement between the Union and units concerned, subject, however, to the power of the Union to make laws for the regulation and control of the same.

(b) Union telephones, wireless, broadcasting and other like forms of communication : the regulation and control of all other telephones, wireless, broadcasting and other like forms of communication.

(5) Union Railways : The regulation of all railways (other than minor railways) in respect of safety, maximum and minimum rates and fares, station and service terminal charges, interchange of traffic and the responsibility of railway administrations as carrier of goods and passengers : the regulation of minor railways in respect of safety and the responsibility of the administrations of such railways as carriers of goods and passengers.

(6) Major ports, that is to say, the declaration and delimitation of such ports, and the constitution and powers of port authorities therein.

(7) Maritime shipping and navigation, including shipping and navigation in tidal waters, admiralty jurisdiction.

(8) Aircraft and air navigation, the provision of aerodromes, regulation and organisation of air traffic and of aerodromes.

(9) Lighthouses, including lightships, beacons and other provision for the safety of shipping and aircraft.

(10) Carriage of passengers and goods by sea or by air.

(11) Union meteorological services.

(12) Inter-unit quarantine.

(d) POWERS OF TAXATION : The expression "The Powers" necessary to raise the finances required for the Union subjects in the Cabinet Delegation's statement necessarily includes the power to raise finances by taxation and loans. In existing circumstances we recommend the following sources of revenue for the Union :

(1) Duties of customs, including export duties.

(2) Excise duties.

(3) Corporation tax.

(4) Taxes on income other than agricultural income.

(5) Taxes on the capital value of the assets, exclusive of agricultural land, of individuals and companies taxes on the capital of companies.

(6) Duties in respect of succession to property other than agricultural land.

(7) Estate duty in respect of property other than agricultural land.

(8) Fees in respect of any of the matters in the list of Union powers, but not including fees taken in any court other than the Union Courts.

(e) TAXATION IN STATES : We realise that in the matter of industrial development the States are in varying degrees of advancement and conditions in British India and the States are in many respects dissimilar.

Some of the above taxes are not regulated by agreements between the Government of India and the States. We, therefore, think that it may not be possible to impose a uniform standard of taxation throughout the Union all at once. We recommend that uniformity of taxation throughout the units may, for an agreed period of years after the establishment of the Union not exceeding 15, be kept in abeyance and the incidences, levy, realisation and apportionment of the above taxes in the State units shall be subject to agreements between them and the Union Government Provision should accordingly be made in the constitution for implementing the above recommendation.

This is in addition to the recommendations of the sub-committee on fundamental rights regarding internal customs duties.

(f) EXPRESS POWERS OF UNION : It is impossible to enumerate the power implied or inherent in or resultant from the express powers of the Union. We think that in any case the following powers come within the category:—

(1) Union judiciary.

(2) Acquisition of property for the purposes of the Union.

(3) Union agencies and institutes for the following purposes, that is to say, for research, for professional or technical training or for the promotion of special studies.

(4) Census.

(5) Offences against laws with respect to any of the matters in the list of Union powers.

(6) Enquiries, surveys and statistics for the purposes of the Union.

(7) Union services.

(8) Industrial disputes concerning Union employees.

(9) Reserve Bank of India.

(10) Property of the Union and the revenue therefrom.

(11) Public debt of the Union.

(12) Currency, coinage and legal tender.

(13) All subjects in respect of Union areas.

(14) Powers to deal with grave economic emergencies in any part of the Union affecting the Union.

(g) POWERS BY AGREEMENT : We are of the opinion that provision should be made in the new costitution for the recognition throughout the Union of the laws and public acts and records of the judicial proceedings of the units and for judgments and orders delivered in one unit being enforced in other units. We note that a provision to this effect has already been made in the list of fundamental rights.

(5) In addition to the above subjects which, in our view, come within the scope of Union powers in accordance with the Cabinet Delegation's statement, we hope that the following subjects will also be included in the Union list by agreement:

(1) Insurance.

(2) Company laws.

(3) Banking.

(4) Negotiable instruments.

(5) Patents, trade mark, trade designs, copyright.

(6) Planning.

(7) Ancient and historical monuments.

(8) *Standard Weights and Measures* : Such an agreement will ensure uniformity, throughout the

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territories of the Union, in matters bearing on trade and commerce as has in fact been recognised in many federal constitutions. We have included planning in the above list for the reason that although authority may rest in respect of different subjects with the units it is obviously in their interest to have a co-ordinating machinery to assist them.

(6) We recommend the insertion in the constitution of a provision on the lines of Article (34) of Section 51 of the Australian Constitution Act.

(7) We also recommend that by agreement there may be a list of concurrent subjects as between the Union and the units.

States Committee Report

Pandit Nehru presented to the Constituent Assembly the report of the Committee of the Assembly appointed to negotiate with the States Negotiating Committee. In presenting the Report, he said, "The first thing to be cleared about is 'to proceed' with the full acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's Statement. Apart from the legality of that statement, one thing also seems to be obvious, namely, that the scheme is essentially a voluntary one, where no compulsion except compulsion of events is indicated. It has been repeatedly stated on our behalf in the Constituent Assembly and outside that we have no objection to it, we accept that, and we do not want to come in the way of the monarchical form of Government at all. I can concede territorial boundaries being changed for economic reasons for facilitating governmental purposes, etc., but any such territorial readjustments should be made with the consent of the parties concerned and not be forced down."

In regard to some confusion that arose in regard to subjects and powers, Pandit Nehru said that the Congress took its stand on what the Cabinet Mission specifically stated in their Statement. It stated, "The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union." Pandit Nehru declared that the Congress accepted this statement in its entirety and said :

> We further explained that the Constituent Assembly would not possibly take up the position that they were not prepared to discuss matters with states not represented on the Chamber of Princes' Negotiating Committee or with the representatives of States, perhaps as that would involve an element of compulsion which was contrary to their principles. As a result of the above exchange of views the States Negotiating Committee proceeded to consider the two matters on which we had been asked to negotiate by the Constituent Assembly. After a preliminary discussion it was decided that the question of the distribution of the 93 seats should be referred to the Princes and their recommendations placed before the next meeting of the two committees on March 1, 1947.
>
> In the meanwhile, the Dewan of Baroda had asked for direct negotiation with us on the representation of Baroda in the Constituent Assembly. We accordingly met Sir B. L. Mitter on February 9.
>
> In the course of discussion he made it clear that it was the decision of the Baroda State—both the ruler and the people—to give the fullest cooperation to the Constituent Assembly in its work and that they were prepared to take steps forthwith for the selection of representatives so that these could take part in the work of the Assembly at the earliest possible date. It was agreed between us and the Dewan that Baroda should, having regard to its population, send three representatives and that these should be elected by the Dhara Sabha (the State Legislature) on the principle of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote and that only its elected and nominated non-official members should take part in the election.
>
> The next joint meeting of the two committees was held on March 1, 1947. At this meeting we urged that the declaration on February 20 had introduced an additional element of urgency in our task and that it would be greatly to the advantage of the States no less than to the British Indian representatives in the Constituent Assembly if States representatives could function forthwith on some of the committees set up by the Constituent Assembly, particularly the Union Power Committee and the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights, etc. The States Negotiating Committee, however, expressed their inability to take these steps in the absence of a mandate from the general conference of rulers whom they promised to consult at an early date.
>
> After this, we discussed the method of selecting representatives. Various proposals were made and discussed in a joint sub-committee set up for the purpose. Eventually, after consideration of the sub-committee's report, the following formula was accepted by both committees, *viz.*, that not less than 50 per cent of the total representatives of States shall be elected by the elected members of legislatures and where such legislatures do not exist, of other electoral colleges. The States would endeavour to increase the quota of elected representatives to as much above 50 per cent of the total number as possible.
>
> This formula has since been ratified by the general conference of rulers held on April 2. A copy of the resolution passed by the conference is attached. He pointed out that in regard to two States, *viz.*, Hyderabad and Kashmir elections, their legislatures had been boycotted by important organisations representing the people of the States concerned, and the legislatures, therefore, could not be considered to represent the people as they were intended to do. In the case of these two States we suggested that a suitable method of electing representatives for the Constituent Assembly should be devised. The Chancellor said that he would communicate the suggestion to the States concerned.
>
> A committee consisting of the following members : (1) Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, (2) Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, (3) Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, (4) Sir Sultan Ahmed, (5) Sir B. N. Rau, (6) Mr. Maqbool Mahmood and (7) Mr. H. V. R. Ayengar, was set up to consider the modifications referred to in para six above and other matters of detail that might arise from time to time, and to report, if necessary, to the two negotiating committees.
>
> We have been informed that the States of Baroda, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Rewa, Cochin and Bikaner have already selected their representatives in accordance with the agreement arrived at. These representatives have been invited to take their seats at the forthcoming session of the Assembly. The States of Patiala, Udaipur, Gwalior and Bhavanagar have also announced that these will take part in the work of the Constituent Assembly.

Led by Sir B. L. Mitter, Dewan of Baroda, a number of States' representatives had taken their seats in the April Session of the Constituent Assembly declaring that the Indian States were an integral part

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of India, Sir B. L. Mitter said, "We wish to share the freedom of India. We, therefore, want to share the responsibility of framing the constitution. We are here by right of being Indians. We want to march along with you but the pace has to be regulated without impeding the forward movement. We are at one with you in that the Indian Union should be strong at the Centre so that India may hold her head high in the comity of nations. We do not believe in isolated independent existence which can only weaken the Union. We have come in a spirit of wholehearted co-operation, not in a spirit of securing special privileges at the cost of the Union We shall endeavour to make the constitution develop according to the genius and capacity of the different units so that we may make it natural and healthy."

Speaking next, Sardar K. M. Panikkar of Bikaner explained that a very substantial proportion of the States people had been represented in the Constituent Assembly and refuted the charge that they had been coerced to come in. He said :

> We represent actually some 20 million people out of the 93 million people in the Indian States. Those who had firmly and publicly announced their intention to come in form another 15 million. So that, actually we have a very substantial portion of the Indian States represented in the Constituent Assembly.
>
> I should like to make it clear that we are here by no means as a result of any coercion or any pressure. There has been no coercion or pressure used on us. The Assembly is a voluntary association —this has been made clear from the beginning. Any person who declares that it has been due to coercion speaks without knowledge of facts. To suggest that we are here under coercion is really an insult to us ; because are we so disinterested in the affairs of India that we have to be coerced to take action in a matter in which it is our right and duty to take part ? I want to say clearly that there has been no coercion. It will not be in the wisdom of things to talk of coercion of one part by the other.

Mr. P. G. Menon of Cochin said, "During the past 27 years under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and other great leaders. India has been fighting for her independence. In that fight, the people of the States have always taken their due share. We feel it is our duty and right to participate in the deliberations of the Assembly." Sir T. Vijayraghavachari of Udaipur, Mr. J. Vyas of Jodhpur and Raja Nath Shri Bahadur Singh of Rewa also participated in the discussions that followed. Other States, who could not send their representatives to attend this session are making active arrangements to choose their nominees so that they might be present in the coming session.

Indian Christians in New India

Indian Christians number about 2 per cent of the total population of India. In the State of Travancore, they comprise a third of the population and in the Madras Presidency there are more Indian Christians than in any other province. As a minority community they are more in number than the Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Parsis or Anglo-Indians, and they rank next to the Muslims. Dr. S. D. Malaiperuman writes in the *Asiatic Digest* :

> Christianity in India is said to be the cultural invasion by the West, backed by political superiority and industrial efficiency of Western civilization. The heritage of the Indian Christian is a combination of the social and cultural background of India with that of Western Christianity and theology. Indian Christians are drawn from all castes, creeds and communities at various stages of development, and the cultural background is therefore hybrid. Being heterogeneous they represent India in miniature more than any other community. This is their strength as well as their weakness. They have inherited the divisions of caste, and in South India, even today, many Indian Christians still cling to their old caste traditions and seldom inter-marry. Add to this the schism of the Western Church imported to India with all the sectarian and denominational differences that has introduced further sources of division. Of the total population of Indian Christians three-fifths are Roman Catholics and two-fifths Protestants. In the past the gap between these two groups has been wider than that between Christians and Hindus.
>
> Politically they have been rather conservative, and in the past kept aloof from the national struggle for freedom. They were cautious and calculating, and have not sacrificed much as a community for the political development of the country. Their attitude is due to a false assumption that politics is corrupt and Christians should keep away from them. This was the view held by many missionaries whose leadership the converts followed. Fear of participation in national politics, as Dr. Eddy Asirvatham (an Indian Christian leader) points out, became an obsession with some Christians, who felt that such participation might lead to a clash with the British Government in India. They were led to believe by missionaries and their subordinates that the British Empire was Christian, and considered themselves allies of a Christian Government. Christian missions and their adherents fought shy of national questions till very recently.
>
> Foremost among the leaders of the community in the past was Kali Charan Banerjee, Registrar of Calcutta University, an honoured member of the Indian National Congress, who narrowly missed the coveted honour of being its President. He founded the Christo Samaj and "sent the clarion call summoning the faithful to rally around nationalism which at that time symbolised all that was best in India." The wave of nationalism that has swept over India has had a powerful influence on the educated classes of Indian Christians, and in the last two decades their outlook has changed considerably. The ferment of nationalism is acting powerfully to bring internal changes in the community. The desire for political equality, national solidarity and economic betterment has come to stay with the rising generation, and they are determined to create a new India. . . .

In a free India Christianity will not be looked upon with suspicion as an alien religion backed by the ruling power but will have the greatest scope to develop. Mr. Arthur Mayhew, a distinguished educationist, in one of his books remarked, "There is no hope for Christianity in India so long as there is a British Government." Indian Christians would do well to remember the words of Pandit Nehru who told a special correspondent of the London *Catholic Herald*, "The claim of the Indian Christians not only to profess but also to propagate the faith stands to reason that any faith whose roots are strong and healthy should spread ; and to interfere with that right would be a blow to the roots themselves. For the sake of harmony we shall have to respect the religious convictions of all, irrespective of numbers and any given faith proves a menace

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to public order, or its teachers thrust it down unwilling throats of men owning other persuasions, there can be no justification for measures which deprive any community of its rights."

The state of isolation created by the Indian Christians must now come to an end and they must now identify themselves with the people and march with the entire nation in the re-building of free India.

Indian National Trade Union Congress

The draft constitution of the Indian National Trade Union Congress was approved at a convention of the Hindusthan Mazdoor Sevak Sangha recently held in Delhi. The formation of such a separate Trade Union Congress, distinct from the existing one, not only in leadership but also in aims, methods and composition, holds out a new prospect both short-term and ultimate. While wholly welcoming the immediate aim of isolation and neutralisation of the present anti-national leadership of the national labour, we can not help sounding a note of caution as to the ultimate likelihood of dovetailing permanently the position and interests of labour with the powers that be.

The objects of the new Congress as formulated in the inaugural conference are :

(*i*) Progressive elimination of social, political and economic exploitation, inequality and profit motive in the economic activity ;

(*ii*) Placing industry under national ownership and control in suitable form ;

(*iii*) Organisation of society in such a manner as to ensure full employment and secure increasing association of works in the administration of industry ;

(*iv*) Securing speedy improvement of conditions of workers and obtaining for them social security benefits ;

(*v*) Guaranteeing a minimum wage for every worker and regulating working hours suitably ;

(*vi*) Establishment of justice in industrial relations ;

(*vii*) Redressing grievances without stoppage of work, through negotiations and conciliation and failing that by arbitration and adjudication, and where adjudication is not applied and settlement of disputes by arbitration is not available for the redress of grievances, facilitating the recourse on the part of the workers to other legitimate methods including strikes ; and

(*viii*) Raising the workers' standard of efficiency and discipline.

The programme and scheme of organisation that the Congress proposes to adopt for the achievement of the above aims has also been outlined. The Congress will not affiliate more than one organisation belonging to one industry in a local area and each affiliated organisation shall pay an annual affiliation fee of Rs. 5 per every 2,000 primary members or any fraction thereof and one per cent of its total annual subscription. Every affiliated union shall offer to submit to arbitration every industrial dispute in which a settlement is not reached by negotiation and shall not sanction or support a strike unless avenues of settlement have been exhausted and majority of its members vote by ballot in favour of strike. Thus the Congress wishes to be guided by the principle of truth.

The General Council of the Congress will be elective—5,000 members electing one member. It shall meet at least once in six months. One president, five vice-presidents, one general secretary, one or more organising secretaries, one or more assistant secretaries and one treasurer will be elected by the General Council. They along with nine other members shall form the Working Committee.

Excepting for the pointed emphasis on methods of peace and conciliation as the best for vindication of labour rights, the new Congress does not mark any new departure from its older parallel—the All-India Trade Union Congress. In view of this the conception of the new Congress has been alleged to be a deliberate attempt at confusing the labour unions. But the actions of the present leadership of the A.-I.T.U.C. in pursuit of their policy of strikes have cost the country much both economically and politically. While production has been hampered on the one hand at a time when production was most needed as the country is in the grip of an artificial inflation, the prevalent anarchy of the unsettled politics of today has still more been helped on the other. Even on the merit side, the present leadership could only achieve some isolated gains risking separation of labour interests from the broader national interest. The contention that the present leadership could be ousted from the A.-I.T.U.C. in a democratic way has to be rejected because of the known unscrupulous methods of some of those at the top, who are blind to all considerations excepting those solely relating to their own personal ones, and because of the immense importance of each single hour of this interim period. And finally the machinations of the so-called Communists of India, who are leading the "leaders" of the A.-I.T.U.C. by the nose have to be countered without further delay.

Jagjivan Ram on Harijan Disabilities

"The problem of untouchability in India will not be solved by statutory measures alone, but by a change in the outlook of the Hindu community," said Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Labour Member of the Interim Government, inaugurating the Conference of Harijan Sevak Sangh workers held at Versova, a suburb of Bombay.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that as long Hindus do not consider the Harijan as one of their own and treat them accordingly, the problem of untouchability would remain. Untouchability was a blot on Hindu religion. He expressed the hope that the caste Hindus would change their social outlook and the problem of untouchability would not be allowed to continue as a blot in Hindu society after India had achieved her freedom.

Referring to the propaganda carried on by interested and selfish persons that Harijans should quit the Hindu fold to secure betterment in life, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said :

It is utterly cowardly to talk of a change of religion, for, a coward would be kicked wherever he would go and the last thing we want is to be a coward. The talk of our leaving the Hindu fold is ludicrous. We have been the best Hindus all these thousands of years. I challenge any Brahmin or any other Hindu to bear for more than 24 hours the sufferings we Harijans have borne all these centuries without giving up the Hindu religion. On the contrary, Harijans have patiently borne all cruelties and calamities and have yet stuck steadfastly to their religion. That is because we are Hindus and we are going to remain Hindus.

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Mr. Jagjivan Ram struck a bold note when he said, referring to social reforms, that he did not look upon them so much as a matter of assertion of their rights. These reforms were rather an uplift of the Hindu religion itself. He was emphatic in his statement that he did not enter the Hindu temples to assert his right as a Hindu but because he wanted to purify the God enshrined therein who had been cut away from the real devotees by unscrupulous men.

He advised his community not to revive the old controversies like the abolition of untouchability. The advance of science and modern outlook towards society would automatically abolish untouchability.

Rights and Obligations of Labour

Improved working and living conditions for workers and increased productivity should be our watchward, said Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Labour Member of the Interim Government, opening the eighth session of the Indian Labour Conference at New Delhi. He said :

> These can be brought about only by each recognising not only its rights, but its obligations, not only to the other party, but to the community as a whole. For, let us not forget that in the complex economic structure in which we are living, a strike in an important industry is not merely a dispute between an employer and a worker, but involves a stoppage of production which causes serious inconvenience to the community, and in the case of basic industries, paralyses the productive effort of the community. It is because of this that the community cannot stand by as a disinterested spectator when a strike is on in any important or essential industry and has, therefore, provided a machinery for the peaceful resolution of differences between employers and workers.
>
> It may be that in certain circumstances, where no other remedy is available or where the conscience of the community is not sufficiently roused to bring sufficient pressure to bear upon the parties or authorities concerned to bring about a just settlement of the workers' legitimate grievances, the strike weapon may have to be handled, but it is a weapon which ought to be used with extreme discretion and discrimination and never with any political objective. If the worker has a right to expect assistance from the community and the State representing the community—and nowadays no abiding improvement will be possible unless the demands of the workers are backed by public opinion and the authority of the State, wherever necessary,—the community equally has a right to expect that its normal activity should not be disrupted, except under the gravest provocations. I am mentioning this because our recent experience in several cases has shown that no Government can function if it allows the workers to be made a pawn of political parties interested not in bringing about an improvement in working conditions consistent with the general economic conditions in the country, but to secure a position of advantage for their own parties.
>
> The Labour Member referred to labour unrest in the country during the past months, specially in a few basic and essential industries which resulted in 'go slow' policy adopted by the workers. He said :
>
> I am not suggesting that the workers have no legitimate causes for dissatisfaction. They have been subjected to considerable strain during the war period which has now been accentuated by the continued scarcities of essential goods, an acute shortage of housing and fear of unemployment resulting from the contraction of war-time activity. I have said on many occasions that no industry has a right to exist if it cannot provide decent living standards for the workers. To bring about an improvement in the working and living conditions of workers, various measures are in train and I have no doubt that they will yield results, which will in the near future, be apparent to all. At the same time, I cannot emphasise too strongly the need for increased production. A mere increase in wages unaccompanied by increased productivity will be worse than useless, because it will set in train a vicious inflationary spiral of high prices and high wages each trying to catch up with the other.

Labour leadership during the past years, specially during the war, under the Communist party has been, to say the least, anti-national. They fought against strikes at a time when increased production was a desperate necessity for Britain to maintain the Empire and prevented the labourers from getting their legitimate increment when it was easier for them to obtain it. They are fomenting strikes today in every industry when the nation is in need of increased production which alone can give relief to the workers and the masses by bringing prices down. While the Government of India have taken the initiative in formulating a five-year programme of amelioration of labour conditions, which includes a thorough overhaul of the Existing Factories Act and a prescription and enforcement of right standards in regard to lighting, ventilation, safety, health and welfare of workers and while the Interim Government of India are taking steps to effect immediate increases in wages, the Communist disrupters are actively at work to hamper national interests through unwarranted strikes. The sooner the newly created Indian National Trade Union can draw away Indian labour from their pretended friends and real enemies, the better both for the workers and the masses.

Future of Berar

On the eve of India attaining her freedom, all sorts of "claims" are being put forward by persons who have thrived under British Imperialist patronage. Following Jinnah's "claim" for a quarter of India, the Nizam of Hyderabad has made his "claim" on Berar. In the course of a letter to the President of the Vidarbha Provincial Congress Committee, Pandit Ravisankar Shukla, Premier of C. P. and Berar, says that he and his colleagues are unanimously of the opinion that Berar should be completely free to determine her own future uninfluenced by extraneous factors. He says :

> We are confident that when the rest of India is looking forward to complete self-rule within the next few months, the freedom-loving Berar who has played no mean part in the struggle for independence, will not be content with mere change of masters. As for the rest, there are several alternatives before Berar. She may if she so desires continues to form a part of C.P. and Berar or she may join the united Maharashtra Province when it is formed or remain with the Central Provinces. Marathis may form a province of their own called

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the Mahavidharva or lastly, she may decide to be an independent unit by herself of the Indian Union.

We, of the Central Province, have no desire to hold Berar as a part of C. P against her will. If Beraries wish to part company with C.P., the people of C.P., we have no doubt, will wish them godspeed and good luck. But the people of Berar may rest assured that any attempt, no matter by whom, made to force them against their will into a constitutional arrangement they do not like will be resisted by Government and people of C.P. and Berar with all resources at their command. Let there be no mistake that we both Government and the people of C P. and Berar are pledged to the support of our Berar brethren to the last.

Finally, we deprecate efforts of a neighbouring State to sow seeds of disunion among Beraries by the time-honoured methods to try to find a quisling here and a quisling there. We are sure they will not succeed. We have no doubt that a fitting reply will be given to the invitation for informal discussion on the future of Berar to the effect that no Beraries will be a party to the bartering away of Berar's hard won freedom.

If the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam wishes to have friendly discussions regarding this, the proper venue is the Constituent Assembly on which Berar is represented and to which Hyderabad is invited to join.

Concluding, Pandit Shukla says :

It is being rumoured that Berar will be in complete autonomy in her internal affairs. The world will believe that statement if the remainder of the Hyderabad State is given at least the vestige of freedom : Charity begins at home. Let not Berar be deluded by these gilded promises.

We hope Berar will be able to defeat the conspiracy to tack her on to the Nizam's State. India will be poorer if the ancient land of Vidarbha does not remain within the Indian Union.

Indians in Western Transvaal

The following news agency message gives an indication of the degree of oppression through which Indians are passing in South Africa. It has later been stated that the Smuts Government have just begun to feel the pinch of economic sanctions imposed by India. Frantic attempts have been made to circumvent the sanctions and South Africa had actually succeeded in securing some jute bags through U. K. The sanction should be still further tightened to make the Smuts Government realise that it is no longer possible for any country to ignore the weight of Indian popular opinion. The message reads :

Durban, April 8.—A reign of terror is going on along with the boycott of Indian traders in the small farming towns of Western Transvaal, says the special correspondent of the *Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, in a despatch to his paper.

The correspondent adds :

An attempt was made to waylay a European farmer outside Great Marico after his voting against the boycott at a public meeting at Zwartruggens ; other Europeans opposed to the boycott have been ostracized by the neighbours ; threats of violence have been made against natives patronising Indian traders and goods bought by them have been taken away from them by Europeans who fine them according to the size of the purchases. Natives particularly are being intimidated and assaulted. Hundreds of them working outside Zwartruggens are being forced to buy at a European store.

European garages are refusing to sell petrol to Indian motorists. In every Western Transvaal town the boycott is operated. Europeans are afraid to enter Indian stores. Hitherto they have merely been shunned by supporters of the boycott, but now they fear physical assault. Indians themselves are wondering whether attempts will be made to set on fire their stores. Everyone agrees that Western Transvaal is a tinder box which is likely to 'go up' if supporters of the boycott continue taking law in their own hands.

Referring to the activities of the boycotters Mr. Y. A. Cachlia, Joint Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress, states : "The Transvaal Indian Congress has in possession statements from Europeans who have been threatened with physical violence for trading with Indians. In one town, the boycotters had the temerity to atack a European in the presence of police in charge of an office simply because he was against the boycott. Despite this no criminal action was instituted against the culprits. The Congress has ample proof of intimidation and assault on the Africans by the boycotters for not joining the boycott move."

The Transvaal Indian Congress has sent urgent telegrams to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Justice for immediate steps for the prevention of further deterioration of the situation.—*U.P.I.*

Food Position in India

Addressing a Press Conference at Bangalore, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Food Member in the Interim Government, said that India was facing a difficult food situation owing to the failure of wheat crops in India and inadequate arrival of the allotted quantity of foodgrains from abroad.

He disclosed that out of 400,000 tons of rice allocated to India during the first half of this year, only 182,000 tons had so far been received. The Government expected to get another lakh tons by May and June which would still leave a deficit of about 120,000 tons to be covered up.

Dr. Prasad expressed anxiety over the Washington report that India had not been allotted any rice for the second half of this year and said that India's representative had seemingly failed in his case for more rice imports to India.

Giving an over-all picture of the food situation, Dr. Prasad said that the current wheat crop in the country had suffered in most parts of India owing to rust. It was estimated that the losses in the wheat yeild would be in the neighbourhood of two million tons. Unlike last year, when Government were prepared for a food crisis, this year they were not prepared as crops which showed a promise in the early stages had declined towards harvest and consequently they did not know that any crisis was coming.

The most difficult period in the view of Dr. Prasad, would be from July to November. He added that while 400,000 tons of rice were expected from Burma, he was afraid India would not get that quantity. While India was helped considerably last year in regard to wheat imports, no wheat was obtained this year from Argentina and things were in an unsettled state with regard to wheat this year. India had sent her representatives to the International wheat conference expecting to get an idea of wheat purchases that India could make in the next five years. But that conference failed.

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India's efforts to secure food from abroad was explained by Mr. K. L. Punjabi, Food Secretary to the Government of India, in a Press Conference at Karachi. He said that India had made a demand on the International Emergency Food Council to the extent of 4 million tons of foodgrains in order to meet her internal requirements during the current year. He added that imports of the foodgrains depended to a great extent on India's ability to give the wheat exporting countries what they needed in return. Most of these countries had asked for jute, textiles, etc.

Outlining the internal food position, the Food Secretary said that the overall picture regarding rice was not bad but the wheat position was far from satisfactory. The International Emergency Food Council had made an allotment of 410,000 tons of rice to India in the first half of this year while the allocation for the second half had not yet been announced. The wheat situation had deteriorated as a result of the heavy damage caused to the wheat crop in Central India from Gujerat to Hyderabad (Deccan) by red rust and the damage was estimated at about 4 million tons.

Imports, Mr. Punjabi said, had been held up due to indecision on the part of the International Wheat Conference on questions of fixation of prices and the period of contract. Following the failure of the Conference in these respects, negotiations were being carried on by the Government of India with the surplus countries on the basis of individual agreements. The main difficulty lay in the large-scale barter system.

Believing that rationing in India would have to continue for a considerable period till the "grow more food" campaign plans were accomplished, Mr. Punjabi said that with the food production in Siam still under pre-war level and that of Burma far below her pre-war output and the intenational wheat position being very unsatisfactory, India would have with the fullest co-operation of Provincial Governments to maintain her rationing and controls.

Burma's yearly exports during the pre-war period was about 1,500,000 tons of rice and unless Burma quickly built up her production this amount could not be imported from there. Speaking about imports from Indonesia, Mr. Punjabi said that Indonesia was not able to supply India the full contracted amount of paddy because of internal transport difficulties as India was able to send trucks only in October when rains had set in. The imports thus fell short about 650,000 tons of paddy from Indonesia last year. The Food Department had the opportunity to take up the matter with the Indonesian Premier and the Food Minister when they were recently in Delhi and they had promised to do their best for India. The target had been set at 100,000 tons. He declined to say any thing about the future visit to Indonesia of any Food Officials from India.

In conclusion the Food Secretary reaffirmed the Government's acceptance of the principle of restoration of free trade of foodgrains but its implementation was not possible so long as the world control of things continued and the shortage of foodgrains prevailed. He also revealed that the Provincial Governments had agreed with the Government of India that irrespective of provincial production, food distribution to the people of India should be equitable. He hoped that the country would just pull through this year.

The "grow more food" campaign in India has not met with the amount of success as should have been the case considering the vast sums of money spent on it. The irresponsible wastage of the "grow more food" grants for Bengal ought to make the Central Government wiser in respect of making grants of large amounts to those provincial ministries who have earned notoriety for inefficiency and corruption. The crores of money wasted in Bengal might have been utilised in other provinces with substantial results. The last few years' experience has demonstrated that it is dangerous for India to depend on outside supplies of foodgrains. It has always been seen that the supplies dry up at a moment when it is needed most and leaves little chance of making up at home. The disclosures made by Dr. Prasad and Mr. Punjabi make out a strong case for putting an end to sending Indians for food at international bargaining counters, termed Conferences and Councils, with the dangerous risk of being betrayed at the last moment. An all-out effort to increase internal production and building up of a strong internal reserve will soon bring the bargaining counter within India itself.

National Shipping Policy for India

The need for a national shipping policy for our country, similar to the policies adopted by important maritime countries of the world is emphasised by the Reconstruction Policy Sub-committee's Report to the Government. The Report points out that every maritime country looks upon its shipping as a powerful instrument of national economic policy and a second line of defence. Almost every maritime country has a well-defined shipping policy. India should naturally be a great maritime country with her commanding geographical position in the Indian Ocean. In that case, it is imperative for India in her own interests and in the interest of Indian Ocean countries to have a large and powerful navy and mercantile marine. It is therefore of supreme importance, according to the Report, that India should lay down her shipping policy for building up her national mercantile marine.

Strongly criticising the Government of India for their past neglect of Indian shipping, the Sub-Committee points out that strategic and economic considerations make it imperative both in the interest of India as well as in the interest of other countries in the Indian Ocean that India should have a large and powerful navy both of supply and defence. While every maritime country has a well-defined shipping policy of its own, India alone is a glaring exception to this universal rule.

To make good these defects with the Indian shipping industry, the Sub-committee recommends adoption of the measures on following lines :

(1) Indian shipping should be defined as shipping owned, controlled and managed by nationals of India. The Sub-committee are of the view that this is a matter of vital importance and state that their definition has been arrived at after giving very careful consideration and thought to India's economic needs, security and requirements and strategic position.

(2) Owing to a number of practical difficulties, it is not possible for the Sub-committee to lay down at this stage the specific target tonnage this country should eventually have. Their recommendations therefore suggest a programme of action for the next 5 to 7 years only. Proceeding on the generally accepted

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principle that a country should carry in its own national bottoms at least 50 per cent of her maritime trades, it is recommended that 100 per cent of the purely coastal trade of India, 75 per cent of India's trade with Burma and Ceylon and the geographically adjacent countries, 50 per cent of India's distant trades and 30 per cent of the trades formerly carried in the Axis vessels in the Orient should be secured for Indian shipping in the next 5 to 7 years.

(3) The volume of trade involved in the preceding recommendation would be more than ten million tons of cargo and about three million passengers in a year and India will need two million gross tons of shipping for this purpose (excluding country craft).

(4) As the Indian shipping industry is still very young emphasis should properly be placed on how Indian companies could extend their fleets ; it is not possible at this stage to define what an 'economically adequate unit' would be so far as this industry is concerned. It would not be desirable now to fix a tonnage limit for Indian shipping companies nor should there be any restriction on them with reference to their capital structure, but it is necessary at the same time to prevent monopolistic exploitation.

(5) The various new trades available for Indian shipping should be divided equitably between different companies.

(6) The defects in the existing system of compilation and publication of statistical data should be set right.

(7) Commerce Department should take over the administration of port trusts from the Transport Department.

The Sub-committee have suggested as measures for implementation of their recommendation, setting up of a Shipping Board with following functions :

As coastal shipping would be reserved to the Indian flag, it would necessarily imply licensing. The setting up of a Shipping Board is, therefore, recommended for the efficient working of the licensing system and to regulate coastal trade. The Board which should comprise an independent chairman, possessing considerable judicial training and experience, representatives of Government, shipowners and commerce, would, *inter alia*, have the following functions :

(*a*) To consider all applications for financial and other aids to Indian shipping operating in the overseas trade and to recommend to Government the form and nature of the aids and the extent to which they should be granted ; and also to lay down the nature and forms of State control that would need be exercised over the companies which may receive such assistance, and

(*b*) to submit to Government proposals for the removal of all evils of monopolistic exploitation.

The Sub-Committee considers that the additional tonnage of two million tons required to give effect to its recommendations should be secured by following means :

(*a*) Negotiations with H. M. G. and/or British companies since it is the latter who are dominating the various trades of India ;

(*b*) Importing foodgrains by Indian tonnage and thereby encouraging Indian companies to acquire additional tonnage ;

(*c*) Helping Indian companies to purchase U.S.A.'s surplus ships ; and

(*d*) Encouraging Indian companies to build ships in India and U. K.

The Sub-committee also consider, that if the Indian companies fail to come to an agreement in regard to the distribution of the newly acquired trade, Government should take suitable measures for the fair distribution of the same.

As regards statistics, it is recommended that Indian shipping statistics should be separated from trade statistics and published in a separate volume as is done in U. K. It would be advantageous to ask the Port Trusts to undertake the task of improving the existing statistical data. For this reason shipping policy and all other questions relating to ports should be dealt with in the same department. It is recommended, therefore, that the control over Port Trusts should go over from Transport to Commerce Department.

A Five-Year Geological Plan

As the Government of India have, according to a Press Note, had under consideration the question of formulating a mineral policy for India, it is only fitting that a five-year plan for extending both the fundamental scientific work and the programme of mineral development of the Geological Survey of India is outlined in an official memorandum. The memorandum, which recognises the need for accelerated mineral development in the existing industrial context of the country, also feels accurate mapping in increasingly larger inch-scales to be very necessary. The bottleneck of dearth of technicians is suggested to be met by an expansion in the scope of training abroad.

Of the total area in India that has been geologically surveyed, only about 18 per cent has been mapped on the one inch to one-mile scale, the standard scale in England being 6 inches to the mile. Of course, in 1925-9 revision, the geological maps of Jharia and Raniganj coal-fields assumed as big a scale as 4 inches to 1 mile. Maps of similar scale are now under preparation for the Central India coal-fields and mica-belt in Bihar. Besides, many other areas are spotted out for systematic surveys. These include north-west Himalaya, Sikkim and Darjeeling, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Sambalpur area in Orissa, Cuddapah rocks in the Mahanadi Valley, Wardha Valley coal-fields in C. P. and some other selected areas in Madras, Bombay, Sind and Baluchistan.

Among the minerals to be specially investigated into, those required for expansion of iron and steel industry would be given particular attention. These will include not only coal and iron, but magnesite-bauxite and mica, as well. Besides, the coastal sands bearing thorium-bearing minerals and such other heavy minerals as ilmenite, zircon, rutile and sillimanite. As for coal, the Tertiary coal fields of Jammu in Kashmir and in southern plateau of Assam, the Kamptee Nagpur area, the Pathakhera field and Wardha Valley coal-fields of C. P. and Sone Valley coal-fields in Central India, lignite deposits of the Cuddalore area in Madras and the Gondwana area of the Godavari Valley will receive special attention. Magnesite deposits will be surveyed in a greater detail than formerly. An early examination of the promising deposit in the Almora district of the Himalaya is being undertaken. A systematic Survey of Bauxite deposits is already in progress in the Ranchi and Palamau districts of Bihar. Field-work on the investi-

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gation of raw materials for ceramic industries, which has proceeded already in Madras and Bihar will be extended to Bengal also. A beginning is being made in Rajputana with the detailed examination of the pegmatite minerals—mica, beryl, tantalite, felspar, rock-crystal. A beginning has already been made with an examination of the coastal sands of Orissa and parts of Madras and this work will be rapidly extended during the coming field season. In view of the importance of thorium for the production of atomic energy, low-grade monazite bearing sands may assume considerable commercial and political importance.

The Engineering Section has also got a plan for expansion, now that a number of dam sites are being explored in the country in connection with the multi-purpose river-schemes. The Geophysical Section of the Survey has already begun work on problems of dam-foundations and river sand supplies in connection with the Damodar Flood Control Schemes and on the detection of the metalliferous ore-bodies. It is to such purposes which are connected with the immediate development of the country rather than to big tectonic investigations for oil or otherwise, that this section will have to devote its attention for some years to come.

The formation of a Mineral Information Bureau is another item envisaged in the five-year plan. Its work will be supplemented by a quarterly journal named *Indian Minerals* to be published shortly by the Bureau.

As to the technicians, it is stated that a batch of eight Assistant Geologists of the Geological Survey of India were deputed to Australia for a course of training in the Melbourne University. The Government have decided to award more scholarships to an increased number of students for practical training in metalliferous mines. Recruiting of suitable technical personnel from abroad for short periods is also contemplated as a stop-gap measure.

The Kosi Project

Taking its cue from the achievements of the American T. V. A., India, of late, has been giving her attention to plan her rivers with similar multipurpose objectives. The objectives include promotion of inland nagivation and irrigation, development of communication, generation of hydro-electric power and eradication of malarial swamps. The Central Waterways Irrigation and Navigation Commission and the Central Technical Power Board have already made some leeway with the Duduma project in Madras, Hirakund project in Orissa and Damodar project in Bengal. Now the Government of India is taking up the Kosi project which includes a 750 feet dam across the Chhatea gorge just above the famous temple of Baraha-Kshetra. It will be capable of storing about 11 million acre-feet of water and will contain a power plant at the dam-site, capable of generating 1·8 million kilowatts of cheap power. While the two main measures will be a barrage in Nepal and a barrage in Bihar, the aims will include soil-conservation, reclamation of water-logged lands, control of malaria, promotion of navigation and facilitation of fish-culture. This will be the highest of world's dams, with America's Boulder dam at 726 feet, as the second and it will control one of the most wayward of Indian rivers. Kosi is the third largest in India with 2,228 square miles of its drainage under heavy glaciers.

Although the project would take for its completion 10 years of work with daily requirements of 100 wagons of cement and would cost some 100 crores, it is nevertheless very urgent in view of the vast devastation that is being caused by the uncontrolled Kosi. The river is subject to sudden floods, the water sometimes rising to over 30 feet in 24 hours. Besides, during the past 200 years, it has been changing its course destroying towns and villages and laying waste large areas estimated between 2,000 to 3,000 square miles in Nepal. Mr. J. L. Savage, the American expert, who built the Boulder dam and has been engaged by the Government of India, is to visit Nepal shortly to inspect the site and to examine the plan finally. Let us hope that the familiar constitutional obstacle of provincial autonomy and State's paramountcy will not prove insurmountable. The scheme which will affect a region covering more than one State or Province should be administered by a regional body which can supersede for the sake of the operation of the scheme of any provincial or State opposition. If T.V.A. is taken as the model for the operation and shape of the project, let it also be the model for the administration of the scheme.

Damodar Project Makes Headway

"It will be a proud day in the history of the inter-provincial relationship in this country if we can in this conference today see the successful issue of the negotiations which we initiated two years ago," said Mr. Bhabha, Member, Works, Mines and Power, presiding over the Fifth Inter-Provincial Conference. The redeeming feature of this conference is the fact of official delegation from Bengal and Bihar. The conference is further reported to have evolved a draft constitution, more or less on lines of the American T. V. A., of the 'Damodar Valley Corporation,' now awaiting final acceptance by the provincial Legislatures of Bengal and Bihar. This progress is remarkable in view of the fact that the execution of the multi-purpose Damodar project aiming at generation of power and irrigation and promotion of navigation, communication and sanitation remained long held up due to the singular constitutional difficulty involved in the setting up of its administrative machinery.

Now that some co-ordination is voluntarily agreed upon by the provinces, the concrete details of both the composition and function of the body are also broadly outlined. The Board of Directors, controlling the corporation, will consist of three members including a chairman, appointed by the Government of India, in consultation with the Governments of Bengal and Bihar. Though the composition of the administrative body may be rather small, the variegated functions are considerable. The corporation will have the right to fix the water and electrical tariff and no dam or other construction shall be maintained along or on the Damodar River or its tributaries without the approval of the Board. The corporation shall avoid submersion of coal or mineral deposits and shall co-operate with the coal mining industry and the Central and Provincial Governments to minimise the inconveniences to the coal industry. It shall also endeavour to avoid inconvenience by its schemes to communications and in these matters co-operate with the Governments concerned.

The financial and enforcing powers necessary for discharging the above responsibilities are also

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guaranteed to the corporation. It will have the right to call upon the Provincial Governments to make it obligatory for the cultivators and other consumers to pay the rate of water and electrical tariff fixed by it. It will also be entitled to levy fees for navigation. The corporation will have at its disposal the services of the Land Acquisition officers in its own acquisition of lands and resettlement of displaced population. It will also have the right to raise loans in the open market and is entitled to its own separate fund with the Reserve or the Imperial Bank of India. The accounts of the corporation are to be subject to the examination of the Auditor-General of India and shall be audited at least once a year.

Richest Thorium and Uranium Deposits in India

India, which possesses the richest known deposits of thorium as well as some uranium, will direct her atomic energy research which has already begun entirely towards industrial and scientific purposes and not towards production of atomic bombs. This fact was revealed to the world by the Delhi correspondent of the *Associated Press of America.*

Although uranium was used to make the atom bomb, American scientists have reported thorium can maintain a chain reaction in combination with uranium. A survey of India's important minerals is being undertaken by Government of India to determine the extent of thorium deposits lying in the State of Travancore, on the sub-continent's southern tip and whether the uranium present is in usable quantities. The Government of India, which recently set up an atomic energy committee to dirert an overall effort is currently attempting to implement her atomic energy policy by negotiating an agreement with Travancore Government for joint control of thorium and any other similar minerals. The Travancore Government announced last summer cessation of exports of the thorium-bearing monazite sands which spread for 150 miles along her beaches.

Since that time Travancore is reliably reported to have signed an exclusive agreement with a British concern to permit only that company to mine monazite. The agreement provides for the British firm to separate sands into thorium nitrate left after India's needs are satisfied. An American firm (National Carbon Company) has since made a similar application. Although nothing has been started by Travancore under contract with the British firm, the Government of India is seriously objecting to "both because it wants control of disposal and because it opposes exclusiveness." Travancore is being "co-operative" in discussing arrangements for control of minerals and a satisfactory agreement is expected to be reached.

Meanwhile, Indian scientists have developed at Bombay laboratory a new and cheap method for separating thorium nitrate from monazite sands, by modifying and combining two previously known principles. The Bombay laboratory has been concentrating on this problem. Cyclotron experiments have already been started in Calcutta where there are two laboratories. Another is expected to be set up in Travancore itself. Later the so-called "pile" experiments for production of atomic energy on a small scale are expected to be started at Bombay.

Asian Economy

The Asian Relations Conference, which has evolved a permanent organisation of Asian countries to strive for the liberation of Asia, also entertained a report on the transition from colonial to national economy presented by Prof. D. R. Gadgil. The report makes suggestions which might help to overcome the difficulties encountered by all countries, but points out that each country will have its own peculiar problems which will have to be solved individually. For the attainment of a national economy, the report outlines certain general policies and objectives including the diversification and modernisation of agriculture, improvement in the technique and organisation of the handicraft industry; development of co-operatives to assist agriculture, small industries and internal trade; development of indigenous credit organisations and indigenous shipping and foreign trade organisations; the development of an efficient and progressive system of local self-government; the assurance of security to the people by means of stabilisation of prices; fixation of minimum wages, social insurance, etc; and the development of manufacturing industries specially related to the internal resources and of opportunities in the country.

Dealing with the difficulties that might arise during the transition the report mentions the following as the most important:

1. A diminution in the surplus of commercial crops available for export or for industry as diversification of agriculture would lead to the growth of small peasant countries and a consequent increase in the importance of farming and a greater production of cereals for better subsistence.

2. Retardation in the improvement of the standard of living and a burden on the consumer due to protection of manufacturing industries which may have to be undertaken by the State. Unemployment may increase, if there is rapid development of the manufacturing industry which would inevitably lead to the disintegration of the artisan industry. Furthermore, the existence of a stratified social structure might lead to concentration of economic power in the hands of small groups.

3. A large-scale development programme in countries whose economies are poor may retard the raising of the standard of living.

4. In the beginning shortage of trained personnel may be encountered due to educational backwardness and lack of training facilities.

5. An increase in indirect taxation whose incidence would be progressive in order to meet increased governmental expenditure demanded by the State social policy without securing the standard of living.

6. Obligations incurred by membership of international organisations, such as the International Monetary Fund and International Trade Organisation may bring about a conflict with the economic policies necessitated by national economic policies.

7. As long as the new international order is not fully established policies of individual units will be largely influenced by security considerations necessitating modification of development programmes.

But such a transition from colonial to national economy warrants that the State should be able to free itself of the dominance of foreign political influence and of foreign capital. By way of meeting this problem, principally a political one, the report suggests there should be exchange of information relating to terms and conditions of foreign borrowing.

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SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE AND INDIA

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It is generally thought that a nation formulates a certain doctrine as a guide for its actions in relation to other nations. But the fact remains that statesmen, whose solemn obligation is to preserve "national security" and "promote general welfare of the people," under particular circumstances, adopt a policy ; and due to its efficacy this policy takes the form of a doctrine and is officially proclaimed as a particular doctrine.

1. So far as the United States is concerned, its first doctrine was enunciated by the Father of the American Republic, George Washington—*the doctrine of Non-entangling Alliances*. Before the declaration of this doctrine, in connection with the Farewell address of General George Washington, as the President of the United States, the American statesmen found that to preserve American freedom, they should avoid all forms of "foreign intervention in American Affairs." They, therefore, practised *the principle of 'non-intervention'* in other nation's affairs and maintained its neutrality on all possible occasions. They felt that if they practised "non-intervention" and "neutrality" they should expect that they would not be involved in other nations' wars.

Although, to achieve American independence, it was necessary for the American colonies to form alliance with France, Spain and Holland—Britain's enemies, yet after the attainment of freedom Americans wanted to pursue a policy which would not drag them to Europe's wars. Thus came the famous doctrine of George Washington—*Non-entangling Alliance*—which was also supported by Jefferson. This doctrine is generally, now-a-days, condemned as "Isolationist Policy." But during the early days of the existence of this Republic when it was weak and struggling to set its own house in order it would have been the height of folly for the United States to meddle in Europe's interminable wars. Thus, for national security of the United States and general welfare of the people. they had to follow such a policy which had its great value.

2. While the American statesmen were anxious to have peace so that they would be able to build up America and thus pursued the policies of "non-intervention," "neutrality" and "non-entangling alliance," it became clear to them that it was not enough to follow negative policies while the danger of wars was hovering on the frontiers of the United States. Thus, *American statesmen had to follow a policy which would result in the elimination of the existence of any European Power in the American continents*. The young republic, feeling her own strength, began to move for expansion to eliminate causes of future wars. Thus, long before the formal adoption of a policy of **checking** "European expansion in the **American continents**" which is generally known as the Monroe Doctrine (declared in **1823**), President Jefferson actively pursued the policy of elimination of France and Spain and carried out "Louisiana Purchase" on his own executive authority ; and later on to check Russian expansion in the Pacific North-west of North America and to eliminate any possible intervention of European powers under the leadership of the Holy Alliace, the United States made the unilateral declaration of the Monroe Doctrine.

When the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed Britain was happy, because for economic and political reasons she was opposed to Holly Alliance and was interested in preservation of independence of Latin American States. Britain's Foreign Secretary Canning was anxious to have a joint declaration by Britain and the United States ; but American Secretary of State Adams opposed any "entangling alliance with Britain." America was not in favour of British expansion in the American continents and was not going to give even an indirect aid to such a possibility.

At the beginning, many European statesmen derided at the audacity of the United States in making such a declaration ; but none was anxious to challenge America, because in Europe, Powers were divided and felt that if any European Power was involved in a war with America, the latter will be supported by other Powers which might be disastrous to a Power challenging the Monroe Doctrine. Thus Europe's wars gave America the opportunity to consolidate her position and maintain the Monroe Doctrine, until America was rent asunder by her Civil War of 1861-65.

During the American Civil War, European Powers were not only anxious to see the United States partitioned in rival states, but they wanted to occupy Mexico and entrench themselves in other parts of the continent. This fact made America doubly determined to maintain her *Monroe Doctrine at any cost.*

To be fair, it should be noted that the Monroe Doctrine is not an isolationist doctrine. It is a doctrine of American expansion in political and economic influence in the American continents. It remains in force and will continue to be effective as long as the United States will remain mindful of her national security.

3. By the time the Spanish-American War ended and in 1898 America acquired the Philippines as American outposts in Asia, she could not be content with old policies. And in 1901-2 she was asking for *Open Door Policy* in China, to further her own economic and political interests there and also to prevent partition of China by European imperialist powers in Asia. Thus the Doctrine of "Open Door" was utimately a *doctrine for the preservation of National Interest or National Security.* This doctrine is the legitimate outcome of American expansion in Asia. This doctrine remains in force and American interest in preserving territorial integrity of China is a by-product.

4. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the United States of America was no more a non-interventionist power. She was actively inflowed in international affairs of Asia, Europe and Africa—the Russo-

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Japanese War, the Algiers Conference, opposition to German expansion. Thus Woodrow Wilson actively intervened in European War of 1914-18 and incidentally announced the doctrine of "self-determination of nations" which was based upon the principles of American Revolution, the Monroe Doctrine and the "Open Door" policy in their broadcast implications.

5. After the first World War, the United States of America became one of the greatest of World Powers; and this sense of national security made her assume a different attitude in world affairs. The unilateral character of the Monroe Doctrine even during the administration of Woodrow Wilson assumed a different form, without changing the substance and objective. It became the Good Neighbour Policy and then it has recently become *Hemisphere Defense Policy* in which not only the United States and the Latin American Republics but also Canada have become involved.

President Truman, in setting forth a new American policy, called for aid to Greece (1) and Turkey (2). He observed that if Greece fell under the domination of an armed minority the effect on Turkey would be immediate and serious and confusion might pervade the Middle East.

6. Similarly, we find the "Open Door Policy", during the administration of President Hoover, took a different and more positive form. It became the *Stimson Doctrine* by which the United States gave notice to the world that she would not acknowledge the validity of Japanese expansion in Manchuria which would violate "Open Door Policy" and "China's territorial integrity." Thus the Stimson Doctrine was an affirmation of the policy of intervention to preserve freedom of nations in Asia which might become victims of aggrandisement. It was nothing more than America's active stand in favour of "self-determination" of a people. *It was America's Monroe Doctrine in Asia.*

7. Before America intervened in the Second World War, she proclaimed the *Atlantic Charter* which was nothing more than re-statement of the above American doctrines with broadest implications that they were applicable over the world and to uphold certain ethical principles which were enunciated in the "Four Freedoms."

8. The Truman Doctrine* is the summation of all these principles. It has been made public to check any further Russian expansion, especially in the Near East, at the cost of Greece and Turkey. *But, it is declared to maintain American world interests on a world-scale and to give notice to all powers that the United States as the strongest of world powers with her world-wide political and economic interests will oppose any and all moves against annexation of any part of the world by any power or against bringing a state within the orbit of another power, if such an act interferes with American security.*

9. When the Truman Doctrine is applied in relation to India it becomes clear to me that the United States of America will be willing to give every form of support to the cause of Indian Freedom. (It may be noted that Mr. Truman gave such an assurance to Mr. Asaf Ali, when he received credentials as India's First Ambassador). The United States will be interested in extending economic aid to strengthen India.

At the same time when the Truman Doctrine may be applied to India—*re* partition of India—American reaction must be opposed to it; because a "Pakistan" would certainly interfere with American interests in India and the region around India. *Pakistan may become a wedge for the extension of Russian influence in a region nearing the Persian Gulf and the adjoining area. Pakistan would endanger India's national security, as the detachment of Azerbaijan from Persia or the region of Kar-Erzarum from Turkey will enhance insecurity of these countries.*

The United States of America has become the greatest of World Powers and its interests are not limited within the western hemisphere, Asia, Europe, Africa or Australia, but it has become universal. Thus the Truman Doctrine is so all-pervasive in scope. *The most hopeful thing about this doctrine is that it, even by implication, does not lay claim in annexing any territory from any other nation but promises aid to the Powers struggling to maintain their integrity from aggressions of an armed minority within or from aggression from outside.*

The Truman Doctrine is not an empty gesture on the part of the United States. It will be applied and upheld not only by American might but in co-operation with other Powers—members of the United Nations. It is to be hoped that Indian statesmen will co-operate with the United States for upholding the *Truman Doctrine which stands for World Freedom with American leadership. And in one way, India can do it by extending assurance of aid to Turkey, in case her independence is threatened by any power.*

March 23, 1947.

* The text of Mr. Truman's speech delivered before the joint session of the U. S. Congress on March 12, 1947, is reproduced in our Foreign Periodicals section.

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INDIA'S INTERNATIONAL OPIUM POLICY

By H. C. MOOKERJI, M.A., Ph.D.

III

The American Proposals of 1923

Investigations carried on by a duly authorised Committee showed that, in the United States, the number of habitual users of such drugs as morphine, heroin, cocaine, etc., had increased beyond all previous estimates so that the taking of immediate and drastic steps against this menace had become essential. When the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States considered the report of the above Committee submitted in its final form towards the end of February, 1923, they passed certain resolutions. These stated that, as the result of the production and distribution of raw opium largely in excess of the world's medicinal and scientific needs, there had ensued

> "the diversion of large quantities of it into the channels of illegal international traffic and in the unlawful importation into the United States, and the sale there for unlawful purposes, of preparations therefrom such as morphia, heroin, etc."

To safeguard its people from the ravages of habit-forming narcotic drugs, the President of the United States was requested to urge upon the Governments of Great Britain, Persia and Turkey, the largest of the opium-producing countries,

> "the immediate necessity of limiting the growth of the poppy (Papaver somniferum) and the production of opium and its derivatives exclusively to the amount actually required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes."

In accordance with the above resolutions, an official delegation proceeded to Geneva to present the views of the United States Government before the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium of the League of Nations. This privilege it could claim as one of the original signatories to the Hague Opium Convention.

As the American delegation sent by the President of the United States had the approval of his Cabinet and both the political parties, it may be assumed that the views expressed by it were those entertained by the American nation as a whole.

The Advisory Committee held its fifth session from May 24 to June 7, 1923, and the views of the American delegation led by Mr. Stephen G. Porter were presented in the following form :

> "I. If the purpose of the Hague Convention is to be achieved according to its spirit and true intent, it must be recognised that the use of opium products for other than medicinal and scientific purposes is an abuse and not legitimate.
>
> "II. In order to prevent the abuse of these products, it is necessary to exercise the control of the production of raw opium in such a manner that there will be no surplus available for non-medical and non-scientific uses."

Before proceeding further, it has to be stated here that the machinery created for supervising the operation of the Hague Opium Convention was a three-tier one. At the bottom was the Opium Advisory Committee, the recommendations of which were placed before the Council, the final and the highest authority being the Assembly of the League of Nations. The June, 1921 resolution of the Chinese delegate, practically identical with the second of the two propositions put forward by the American delegation, had been killed in the Council standing between the Advisory Committee on the one hand and the Assembly on the other. It was therefore that the whole process had to be commenced *de novo*.

Presenting his case with the whole weight of American public opinion behind him, Mr. Porter requested the Advisory Committee to give its serious consideration to his interpretation of the Hague Opium Convention and, if it was accepted, to recommend that it should be adopted by the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations. It is noteworthy that some of the countries opposed to it began calling his suggestions "American" proposals as though nothing reasonable or practical could emerge from that country.

The proceedings of the Opium Advisory Committee show that these not unreasonable proposals gave rise to what in courteous language was characterised as "a heated debate," as also that, at least at the beginning, the only nation which supported it was China. Towards the end, all the countries participating in the discussions except one agreed to them. And that country was India or rather the British administration ruling India and shaping its opium policy. The position as given in the *Report of the Advisory Committee On Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs* to the Council was as follows :

> "The representative of the Government of India associated himself with the foregoing resolution (based on the proposals of the United States representatives as embodying the general principles by which the member States of the League of Nations should be guided in dealing with the question of the abuse of dangerous drugs), subject to the following reservation :
>
> "The use of raw opium, according to the established practice in India, and the production for such use are not illegitimate under the (Hague) Convention."

When the above report was considered by the Council in July, 1923, such sharp differences of opinion in regard to the acceptance of the American proposals manifested themselves, opposition to them coming from countries financially interested in the opium traffic, that it was thought expedient to transmit it without any comment to the Assembly of the League of Nations which met towards the end of September, 1923.

Reactions to American Proposals in the Assembly of the League of Nations, 1923

The three opium-producing countries whose clear dereliction of duty had been referred to in the reso-

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lutions of the Senate and the House of Representatives, U.S.A., were Turkey, Persia and India. The first of these not being a member of the League had not sent any representative. The delegate for Persia, wise in his generation, instead of saying anything definite about the attitude of its Government, contented himself with merely stating at the meeting of the Assembly held towards the end of September, 1923 that

> "The peasants of the East would have to substitute some other form of profitable cultivation for the cultivation of the poppy. For this reason Persia had supported the American proposal for the convening of an economic conference."

While not openly against the adoption of the American proposals, Persia, it may be said, was desirous of agreeing to them provided some crop equally profitable could be substituted for the poppy.

The Journal of the Fourth Assembly makes interesting reading showing as it does how the financial motive was the decisive factor in determining the attitude of some of the representatives participating in the discussions. For instance, the Netherlands representative replying to criticism regarding the opium policy followed in its colonial possessions in the Far East drew attention to the fact, that "the Opium Convention had only been concluded two years before the war." Continuing he said :

> "Countries should be distinguished according as the abuse of opium was of recent or of ancient date."

The Dutch delegation expressed the hope that

> "The question of the consumption of opium for eating purposes would not be raised, and that those participating in the conference should be allowed time to arrive at an understanding with their authorities in territories overseas."

The representative of the India Government stated that it would collaborate with the League of Nations in the campaign against the abuse of opium but "India could not consider as illegitimate the use of opium as a family drug." He had been asked to state by his colleague nominated by the British administration that

> "Contrary to the general belief, the consumption of opium in India did not exceed the legitimate needs of the country, as the whole world might judge for itself."

Here he was reckoning without his host for, according to *India 1923-24* (p. 223), a report submitted to Parliament by the British administration : "The total consumption per head per annum (in British India) only amounted to 26 grains," whereas the finding of the Health Committee of the League of Nations in February, 1924, was that

> "The estimate (for legitimate requirements) ought to be reduced to 450 milligrammes (equal to 7½ grains), it being understood that the figure represents a maximum."

Under these circumstances, one uncharitably inclined would have some justification in stating that either the delegate was innocent of all knowledge of the matter on which he was pronouncing an opinion or that he was trading on the ignorance of his colleagues which he had taken for granted.

On the 27th September, 1923, the Assembly of the League of Nations adopted the report and resolutions of the Opium Advisory Committee "taking note of the reservations contained therein," at the same time requesting the Council to take necessary steps to put them into effect.

The standpoint from which the American proposals were viewed, was described in the following terms in the report to Parliament (*India 1923-24*, p. 225) :

> "The representatives of India . . . found it necessary to put forward the reservation that the use of opium according to the established practice of their country was not illegitimate under the (Hague) Convention. Indeed in view of the customs of India, it is difficult to see what other attitude they could have assumed."

The following comment of an American observer shows in what light the matter was viewed by those who, not being financially interested in the traffic, could afford to be outspoken :

> "It is a great thing, however, to have the British Government of India come out squarely into the open and show from what quarter the opposition comes."

Problem of Opium Smoking at the Advisory Committee of 1923

By the beginning of January, 1923, fifty-two countries which had joined the League of Nations had, under Article 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations forming Part I of the treaties entered into after the end of the First World War, automatically agreed to entrust it with general supervision over the execution of agreements in regard to the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs. They included the British Empire, China, France, Japan, Netherlands, Portugal and Siam all having territorial possessions in the Far East as well as two opium-producing countries, India and Persia. These, under Article 6 of the Hague Convention, were pledged to take measures for the gradual and effective suppression of the manufacture of, internal trade in and use of prepared opium.

It has been shown elsewhere how the outbreak of the First World War had the effect of seriously hindering the taking of effective steps for implementing the Hague Opium Convention and that one of its immediate results had been to increase opium addiction in certain parts of the world, the subsequent fall in the amounts consumed being due principally to economic causes. It had also been noticed that there had not appeared any marked diminution in the vice in the course of the ten years or so subsequent to the acceptance of the Hague Convention. This, it was held, was partly because most of the interested Governments had failed to carry out the provisions of the Hague Convention in the spirit in which they had been framed. But a second, and an equally potent, factor responsible for the unsatisfactory situation, was contraband traffic in the drug to which reference was made in the preamble to the Agreement signed at the First International Opium Conference alluded to below.

It was therefore felt by those interested in the problem that the leadership in this direction should come from the League of Nations to which had been entrusted the responsibility of seeing to the fulfilment of agreements concerned with the traffic in opium. It was, under these circumstances, that the Opium Advisory Committee took up the matter at its meet-

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ing held in May, 1923. In addition to drawing on the American proposals which, as shown above, did not find the wholehearted acceptance of some Powers financially interested in the traffic in this drug, it also considered steps likely to reduce opium-smoking.

With this end in view, the Advisory Committee called on those Governments which had territorial possessions in the Far East where this particular form of addiction was common, to consider whether they could not adopt a uniform policy along the following lines (1) that the distribution of opium for smoking should be made a Government monopoly ; (2) that it should be retailed only by Government shops the persons in charge being paid a fixed salary without any commission on the business done so that they would have no temptation to push sales ; (3) that a uniform maximum limit of a certain quantity per 10,000, calculated according to the number of the Chinese adult male population, should be fixed as regards the amount of prepared opium to be made available to the public and that the annual imports of raw opium should be limited to the quota required for that rate of consumption; (4) that the possibilities of the system of registration of opium-smokers should be thoroughly explored with a view to its ultimate adoption ; (5) that an attempt should be made to have uniformity in the price at which prepared opium should be retailed in different territories as also in the penalties for infraction of law in regard to its import, export, sale and consumption.

It was also suggested that those Powers which had, up to that time, permitted opium-smoking should conclude an agreement among themselves to apply the above measures in order to give effect to Articles 6-8 of the Hague Opium Convention which, as explained previously, are concerned with controlling it.

The above recommendations of the Advisory Committee were transmitted by the Council to the final authority of the League of Nations, the Assembly, which, after considering them on the 27th September, 1923 passed a resolution to the effect that a conference of the Powers interested in the problem of opium smoking should be called in order to examine and take necessary action on them.

The First International Opium Conference of 1924

It was in accordance with the above resolution that the First International Opium Conference was called at Geneva on the 3rd November, 1924, that is, about a year and a half after the meeting of the Advisory Committee where the question had been originally mooted. It was attended by the British Empire, China, France, India, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal and Siam that is to say by countries interested, directly or indirectly, in the problem of opium smoking and which were under obligation to give effect to Articles 6-8 of the Hague Convention. No invitation was sent to Turkey and Persia, two other opium-producing countries which, like India, also exported the drug to the Far East, mainly because up to that time, they had not agreed to implement the Hague Opium Convention of 1912.

The deliberations of the Conference lasted for nearly three months and a half finally resulting in an Agreement signed about the middle of February, 1925. In it, the signatories expressed their determination to bring about "the gradual and effective suppression of the manufacture of, internal trade in, and use of prepared opium in their Far Eastern territories in which opium smoking had been authorised as a temporary measure and expressed their desire "of taking all possible steps" for the above purpose "with the least possible delay" in order to promote "the social and moral welfare of their peoples."

Of the fifteen articles of the Agreement, the most important was the first one under which it was agreed that except where smoking opium was retailed by Government employees in receipt of a fixed salary so as to prevent canvassing to encourage larger sales, the import, sale and distribution of opium would be a Government monopoly and that these rights would not be "leased, accorded or delegated" to any one.

It has to be clearly realised that the Conference did not find it possible to recommend the immediate suppression of opium-smoking mainly because of opposition encountered from interested quarters. It was therefore, compelled, as a compromise, to accept the substitution of Government monopoly of prepared opium for other systems of distribution then in force.

Uncharitable people might suggest that the alacrity with which it was approved was, at least partly, due to the belief that it would lead to enhanced revenue from this source by cutting out the middlemen's profits. There was also the further fact that as world opinion demanded some kind of action, it was wise to bow down to it and adopt a method of distribution which, it might be contended, could be used later on for rooting out the evil altogether.

A careful examination of the different articles of the Agreement, of the Protocol and the Final Act signed at the end of the Conference shows that only the first two out of the five recommendations of the Advisory Committee mentioned previously found acceptance from the signatories.

Nothing was done as regards the third one which sought to limit the import of raw opium in such a manner as to supply the exact quantity of smoking opium required by Chinese addicts.

So far as the fourth suggestion, the registration of opium-smokers, was concerned, the Final Act while admitting its utility in reducing the number of smokers in some countries, held that it was difficult of application in other countries where illegal traffic in opium on a large scale was being conducted and therefore left to them the duty of selecting the time when they would bring it into force. In the meantime, under the tenth article of the Agreement, the contracting Powers were requested to transmit to the Secretary-General of the League all information they could obtain "with regard to the number of opium-smokers."

As for the fifth suggestion, the attempt to arrive at a common understanding, in regard to the fixing of uniform prices for prepared opium and uniform penalties for infraction of law, proved futile mainly because the representatives of countries financially interested in the opium traffic exaggerated the difficulties which would have to be overcome to give effect to it.

These facts have been placed before the reader merely to show that the decisions arrived at in this Conference did not go far enough being more or less a compromise between the views of those countries which were honestly striving to stamp out opium-smoking and of those others which preferred to maintain the *status quo* as far as possible.

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That the undertakings entered into by countries participating in the Conference were not regarded as adequately meeting the needs of the drug situation by many experts is evident from the comment of the First Deputy Commissioner, Department of Narcotic Drug Control of New York State who, writing immediately after the end of the Conference, said:

> "It is suspicious and dangerous that the First Opium Conference in Article Eleven specifically provides that the agreement (reference to the only satisfactory clause of which from the anti-opiumist point of view has been previously made) shall not apply to opium destined solely for medical and scientific purposes, which, of course, leaves open a very big door and innumerable windows for pretending that opium really intended for addiction is . . . 'destined solely for medical and scientific purposes'."

Restrictions on Opium Smoking in India, 1926-1933

In spite of the above criticism, it has to be admitted that material progress was made under the provisions of the three documents signed by the Powers participating in the First International Opium Conference of 1924. This was mainly because, under the second article of the Protocol, it was agreed that as soon as the poppy-growing countries had

> "ensured the effective execution of the necessary measures to prevent the exportation of raw opium from their territories from constituting a serious obstacle to the reduction of consumption in the countries where the use of prepared opium is temporarily authorised,"

the States signatories would, in addition to strengthening the measures already taken in accordance with Article 6 of the Hague Convention of 1912, take any further steps which might be necessary to reduce consumption of prepared opium in the territories under their authority,

> "so that such use may be completely suppressed within a period of not more than fifteen years from the date when a Commission (to be later constituted by the League of Nations) shall decide that the time is ripe to begin such suppression."

India had her own opium-smoking problem, the addicts consuming the indigenous drug manufactured by the Central and distributed by the Provincial Governments. Under the article referred to above, she was under an obligation to suppress opium-smoking within a certain time-limit. It would not do to ask for its extension on the plea that the narcotic was coming from some opium-producing country which had failed to effectively stop smuggling because India herself produced the drug used by the addicts.

The British administration had all along been asserting that it had not only been carrying out faithfully the provisions of the Hague Convention but also that, in many cases, it had gone beyond and improved upon them and, let it be admitted freely, that there was some justification for this claim. Under the Geneva Convention of 1925, formally signed eight days after the Protocol just referred to, it had undertaken

> "to establish within five years at latest an effective control over the production, distribution and export of raw opium so as to prevent illicit traffic."

The export of raw opium was the responsibility of the Central Government which again was both legally and morally accountable to the League of Nations of which India was a member State to carry out obligations voluntarily undertaken. Under the constitution then in force, the distribution of opium for medicinal, scientific and euphoric purposes inside India was the responsibility of the Provincial Governments and laws restricting the use of the drug for these purposes had therefore to be initiated by them which they did presumably at the suggestion of the Central Government where, as shown elsewhere, all power was vested in the official majority.

Legislation on the Provincial plane began to be enacted from about the end of the official year 1926-27, when opium-smoking by two or more persons in the U.P., or by more than three or more persons in the Punjab, Delhi, North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan was made a penal offence. The Bihar and Orissa Opium Smoking Act passed in the course of 1927-28, allowed only licensed smokers to indulge in the vice either individually or in the company of others. In Ajmere-Merwara, a British Indian enclave surrounded by Indian States, rules were framed under which a person could not lawfully possess more than half a tola and two or more persons more than one tola of smoking opium. Under an Act passed in Assam the same year, opium-smoking became unlawful for any except registered smokers. These were rationed, the ration being reduced by 10 per cent per annum for paving the way for the total prohibition of opium smoking. By 1934, total prohibition of opium-smoking was in force in all the plains districts of this province and in some parts of the Khasia and Jaintia Hills. After preliminary legislation making opium-smoking in company illegal, it was totally prohibited in the Central Provinces with effect from June, 1932. The next year, the licensing of opium-smokers came into effect in Bengal.

Imperfections of India's Anti-Smoking Legislation

All these facts taken together justify the view that the measures taken for checking opium-smoking were not equally far-reaching in every province. Nonetheless, there cannot be the slightest doubt that they were taken in pursuance of an All-India policy which must have originated from the all-powerful Centre on which lay the responsibility of meeting international obligations.

This is corroborated by the fact that not all the areas in which steps were taken to check opium-smoking enjoyed dyarchy, the British officials administering which must have acted in compliance with instructions received from the India Government.

While the above laws were certainly praiseworthy as taking India nearer the day when opium-smoking would come to an end, it can be said, without any fear of contradiction, that a more satisfactory and quicker way to attain this end would have been to implement a uniform policy for the whole of India consisting of the registration of addicts and the rationing of the drug adopting at the same time suitable measures for preventing the creation of new addicts.

It was on the 18th March, 1895, that Mr. Henry J. Wilson, M.P., a member of the Royal Commission on Opium, in paragraph 40 of his Note of Dissent had made the following suggestions for ending opium-smoking. These were, in his language:

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"I. To discontinue all licenses in respect of prepared opium for smoking;

"II. To make unlawful—

(*a*) the manufacture, sale, purchase, or possession of *chandu, madak,* and other preparations of opium for smoking purposes;

(*b*) the manufacture, sale, purchase or possession of materials, untensils, or apparatus for makingt or smoking such preparations of opium;

(*c*) the association of two or more persons at any place for the purpose of smoking opium or any such preparations."

These had been laughed out of court at that time but when the British administration, National India contends under pressure from international opinion voiced through the League of Nations, thought it wise to reconsider its opium policy it carried out Recommendations Nos. I and II (*a*) and (*c*) though as shown previously, not in every part of British India. The Provincial Governments concerned as well as the India Government would have shown their wisdom if they had also adopted the policy suggested in II (*b*). This would have been nothing new at least to the British officials for they must have been aware of the existence of legislation on similar lines in their homeland.

Some Inferences

Our first inference is that as the prepared opium used by Indian addicts did not come from imported raw opium, the administration could and did take advantage of the particular clause in the second article of the Protocol mentioned above which enabled it to avoid the introduction of total suppression of opium-smoking within fifteen years the more so because so far as India was concerned, the question of the appointment of a Commission could not possibly arise.

Our second inference is that the prohibition of opium-smoking throughout British India does not present insuperable difficulties. This is clear from what has been said repeatedly in the annual reports submitted by the British administration to Parliament according to which,

> "Opium is rarely smoked in India proper being confined mainly to Assam and certain large urban centres only."

It has hence been argued that opium revenue would not probably have been seriously reduced if the smoking of the drug had been made illegal throughout British India. It has also been contended that the steps actually taken did not affect it to any market extent.

Critics of the administration have therefore suggested that the India Government's not quite satisfactory drive against opium-smoking was prompted by two motives—the desire to convince international opinion that it was co-operating with the League of Nations in putting down opium-smoking and its urge to do so at the sacrifice of the smallest possible amount of revenue.

Seeing that the anti-smoking legislation, however halting and unsatisfactory from the point of view of National India, did have some effect in checking opium smoking, our third and last inference is that opium eating, admittedly responsible for a very large proportion of the amount consumed inside India, could also have been reduced considerably if similar initiative had come from the all-powerful Central Government. That the will was not there becomes clear from what appears on page 326 of *India in 1929-30* where it is said:

> "The policy of the Government of India is gradually to suppress the use of prepared opium (for smoking)."

The reason given for this is that

> "The smoking of opium (not eating it as in India) was recognised by the First Opium Conference at Geneva in 1925, as being the real evil."

(*To be continued*)

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CABINET MISSION AND AFTER

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V

In the previous article* we expressed our doubts as to whether the A.-I.C.C. Resolution of January 6, accepting the British Governments' interpretation of December 6, of the White Paper of May 16 last, passed in the teeth of considerable opposition and to some extent against the conviction of the Congress leaders only with a view to persuade the Muslim League to join the Constituent Assembly would have the desired result. The Karachi resolution of the League has amply justified our doubts. The League has rejected the proffered hand of co-operation of the Congress by deciding not to change its attitude. It went further and demanded the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly on the ground that the Congress also had not fully accepted the White Paper of May 16. Pandit Nehru on behalf of the Non-Muslim-League members of the Interim Government is reported to have made a representation to the British Government through the Viceroy demanding the dismissal of the League members of the Interim Government on two grounds:

(*a*) The two parts of the Cabinet Mission plan—the long-term and the short-term ones—were definitely understood in the course of the negotiations, to consti-

* Vide *The Modern Review* for March, 1947.

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tute integral parts of a single whole, so that the acceptance of one part was conditional on that of the other. The Congress had accepted both the parts, but the League had accepted only the short-term part and that also, according to the professions of the League leaders themselves and later by the actions of the League members of the Government, not in a spirit of co-operation but with a view to sabotaging the scheme from within, while they had unequivocally rejected the long-term part.

(*b*) When Lord Wavell persuaded the League to join the Interim Government he gave the non-League members of the Government clearly to understand in writing that they had agreed to work both the parts of the plan in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill. Pandit Nehru published Lord Wavell's letter in the Meerut session of the Congress. Mr. Jinnah, however, openly repudiated the suggestion of any such understanding having been given by the League. There the matter stands. Pandit Nehru represented that by the Karachi resolution the League had *ipso facto* voted the League members of the Interim Government out of office and asked the British Government to clear up the position.

The Muslim League also made a representation to the British Government through the Viceroy that the so-called acceptance by the Congress of the Cabinet Mission plan was no genuine acceptance and as such the Muslim League had as much right to be in the Interim Government as the Congress and further demanded the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly as it was not fully representative and therefore had no authority to draft a constitution for the whole country.

The White Paper of February 20 last is a reply to these demands of the Congress and the League and has to be studied against the background outlined above. It is rather a brief document of only sixteen paragraphs. Curiously enough it gives no clarification of the points raised by the Congress and the League which are supposed to have occasioned it. By implication it has upheld the *status quo ante*, that is, both the Constituent Assembly and the Interim Government as at present constituted are to continue to function. Thus the demands of neither the Congress nor the League have been conceded. There is, however, one very significant statement made in the document and that is perhaps the only one which is free from all ambiguity and vagueness and that is what the Congress circles have described as 'fixing a deadline for the transfer of power'. Although there is much in the document that may be interpreted as constituting even retrograde steps, this one provision perhaps outweighs them all in its momentous character and may even neutralise their effect. That is why the Congress circles readily welcomed the statement in spite of the fact that it was silent on the point they had raised, because they hailed it as a response and a concession to their 'Quit India' resolution of 1942. The Congress has always held that there can be no settlement among the rival groups in India so long as the third party is there to encourage intransigence, but as soon as the British quit, the parties would come to realise that they would have to come to some sort of accommodation by themselves without any aid from a third party.

The following extract from Lord Listowell's speech in the Lords debate in defence of the fixing a final date of transfer of power may also be read in this connection :

> "So long as any party believes that it can rely on British protection, it can surely, with comparative safety, refuse to compromise with its adversaries and may secretly hope in the long run to obtain British support for its extreme claims. To say that after the year 1948 our authority can no longer be enforced means that the parties will be obliged to settle their differences . . . That is one important reason why a date should be fixed in advance of an agreement between the parties and not subsequently."

It was in this sense that Mahatma Gandhi addressed the Britishers in 1942 : "Leave India to her anarchy." From this angle the latest pronouncement of the British Government is perhaps more helpful towards the solution of the Indian problem than if it merely ended by offering some cut and dried interpretation of the issues raised and it is in a sense more momentous than all the pronouncements made by them of late. Attaching the fullest weight to the importance of this provision, we cannot, however, ignore the conditions and limitations with which it is hedged.

The statement begins with a historical retrospect of the steps and the policy of the British Government that led up almost inevitably to the Cabinet Mission proposals. In their opinion the proposals of the British Government were the natural consummation of the Indian policy of His Majesty's Government pursued since 1919 and as shaped by the stress of objective conditions. The situation as existing at the time of issuing the document was this : an Interim Government consisting of representatives of different communities had been functioning at the centre and autonomous Governments were working in the Provinces, but the Constituent Assembly though operating was not yet fully representative, as intended in the plan.

Next comes the most vital part of the State Paper, *viz.*, paragraph 7 where it is proposed "to hand over their responsibility to *authorities established by a constitution approved by all parties in India in accordance with the Cabinet Mission plan.*"* They felt, however, that as things were moving, there was not much prospect of such a constitution and such authorities as envisaged above emerging in near future. They also felt that the situation was so explosive that in the event of these not forthcoming, things could not be allowed to drift much longer without inviting serious trouble. It is with a view to put an end to this state of uncertainty and drift that they thought it necessary to fix up a deadline of transfer of power, that is, June, 1948. It is a definite challenge to Indian parties and communities to set their house in order by that date at the latest so that they may get themselves ready to take over when that date comes and the British quit.

Now nobody can foresee the course of events as a result of the declaration. It may have its desired effect and bring about a settlement among the major parties or it may not have. In the first case an agreed constitution would emerge through the joint endeavour of all parties participating in the Constituent Assembly and by the date fixed there would be an authority or authorities to take over peacefully and

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smoothly the responsibility of government from the British. In that case the provision of paragraph (7) read with the first part of paragraph (10) comes into operation. But the statement envisages and provides for the other alternative also, gloomy though it is, that is, if by the fixed date no settlement with the Muslim League is forthcoming and therefore there is no constitution worked out by a fully representative Constituent Assembly and also no central authority created by an agreed constitution to whom power can be transferred. The provision here is naturally more vague and has given rise to conflicting interpretations. In that event the declaration provides that

> "His Majesty's Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over, on due date."

Three alternative procedures are envisaged here.

(*a*) "As a whole to some form of Central Government for British India",

(*b*) "In some areas to existing Provincial Governments",

(*c*) "In such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people."

It is not clear from the above statement when exactly the British Government will begin its consideration as to the procedure to be adopted for the transfer of power in the event of failure of a settlement, that is, whether this would begin from June, 1948 or whether it would begin sufficiently well in advance so as to complete the process of transfer by the date fixed. The wording of the document covers either of the alternatives. But the language of the next paragraph seems to lend greater countenance to the latter alternative. It says :

> "Although the final transfer of authority may not take place until June, 1948, preparatory measures must be put in hand in advance."

And this process should go on consistenly.

If this is read along with the last part of paragraph 7, where the language is still more categorical, *viz.*, "it is their (British Government's) definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948," the apprehensions felt in some quarters that the British Government is still bent on dilatory tactics seem not to be very well-founded. In any case they are now undecided as to the method to be employed for the transfer of power which would be settled in the light of the course that events take in the next fifteen months. It would have been well, if they had not stated the alternatives. In particular, the second alternative suggestetd, *viz.*, that in certain areas power may be transferred to existing Provinces has been very unfortunate. It would have the effect of openly encouraging intransigence of the Muslim League. League quarters appear to have read into it a concession of Pakistan in those provinces where they are in power and also in those where they may in the meantime instal themselves by any means, only if they can hold out in their policy of intransigence. The campaign of civil disobedience since started by the League in the Punjab and the N. W. Frontier Province and proposed to be started in Assam only confirms this view.

On the side of the British Government it may be said that they have mainly relied on the prospect of a smooth transfer of power on the basis of agreement among the parties which they hope would be facilitated by the fixing of the deadline for the quitting of the British. The other alternatives have been stated simply to leave no room for doubts in any quarter that the British Government did not mean to quit India in case no settlement was arrived at between the major parties by the fixed date. Lord Pethick Lawrence has further tried to disarm such suspicions in his reply to the India debate in the House of Lords. He observed:

> "So far as I know, the Muslim League have not expressed any opinion, but I shall be surprised if when they read the terms of the statement carefully and with due consideration they think it is so likely to produce Pakistan."

In spite of all this, there is no denying the fact that the language of the second alternative above lends itself clearly to the interpretation read into it by the Musim League. Already the League circles in Bengal and Sind are thinking in terms of independence after June, 1948 and making preparations to that end. The Sind Government has even announced its decision of setting up a separate constituent assembly to draw up a constitution for the province and Bengal may also perhaps follow suit. Supposing the British Government are sincere in their professions they have done harm to their object in view without perhaps meaning it in putting forward the second alternative as one of the possible modes of transfer of power. In fact if the provision in question be read by itself without reference to the statement of Lord Pethick Lawrence in the House of Lords, it may very well be taken as going back on the White Paper of May 16, or even the statement of December 6, as neither of these envisage transfer of power to a number of separate units and may, therefore, be regarded as a more retrograde step. It is very difficult to reconcile such a decision on the part of the British Government with their categorical rejection of the idea of division of India as embodied in the Cabnet Mission plan which received the full concurrence of His Majesty's Government. In one part of his speech in the House of Lords debate the Secretary of State himself seems to dismiss the idea of handing over power to separate parts; for he stated that in the event of the parties failing to come to an agreement by the fixed date "it will be possible for Britain to hand over power to a Provisional Government which can accomplish the remaining part of the task."

The mention of the two alternatives has the effect of creating an atmosphere of uncertainty to end which the British Government profess to have fixed the deadline for transfer of power. Either party will read it as a concession to its own demand and go its own way without feeling the need for a compromise. Thus they may be kept apart as ever and that at a time when the need for a quick rapprochement is of the greatest urgency. From this stand-point it would have been better if the British Government had stated only the third alternative, *viz.*, powers would be handed over 'in such a way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian

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people', although it may mean anything and nothing. Our only hope that the evil effects of the ambiguous provision of paragraph 10 would be counteracted by the provision in paragraph 11 which provides that "preparatory measures must be put in hand in advance" and also in paragraph 16 announcing the change of Viceroy and stating that the specific commission of the new Viceroy would be the task of transferring to Indian hands responsibility for the government of British India *"in a manner that will best ensure the future happiness and prosperity of India"*. This last portion should be carefully noted. If this direction is faithfully followed, the new Viceroy would be justified in taking any steps that he deems necessary for effecting the transfer of power smoothly by the fixed date and he can confidently count on the support of the British Government. To a very large extent it depends on how the new Viceroy approaches his task and how far he is prepared to avail himself of his powers and opportunities and also on his tact, courage, determination, steadfastness of purpose and statesmanship whether he will succeed in his task or not. Truly has the new Viceroy Lord Mountbatten observed on the occasion of his swearing-in-ceremony on March 24:—"This is not a normal Viceroyalty on which I am embarking." He has also expressed his determination that a solution must be reached, within the next few months, of all the complicated questions. He seems to be fully conscious of his heavy responsibility and let us hope he will act up to his profession so that when he lays down the reins of his office it may be said of him that the last Viceroy of India was the greatest Viceroy.

The very change in the Viceroyalty at this moment is a significant gesture on the part of the British Government indicating a new orientation in their Indian policy. As Mr. Attlee explained in the House of Commons in his reply to Mr. Churchill as to the reasons of the change—that he thought that in the changed phase of the Indian problem it was a suitable time to make a change. This is perhaps no less significant than the fixing of a final date of transfer. The British Government seems to have cut off from its old moorings in regard to the Indian problem in no longer making the agreement among Indians the condition-precedent to the transfer of power. If the British Government are sincere in their professions, as we hope they are, judging from these gestures, all difficulties, however stupendous, will be overcome and there would be a peaceful transfer of power within the specified date ushering in a new era of Indo-British relations based on friendship and cordiality. If it is otherwise Heaven alone help us and our rulers! Let us conclude in the words of Pandit Nehru :

> "The decision of the British Government is a wise and courageous one. The clear and definite declaration that the final transference of power will take place by a date not later than June, 1948, not only removes all misconception and suspicion but also brings reality and a certain dynamic quality to the present situation in India. . . . . We look forward to a peaceful and co-operative transition, and to the establishment of close and friendly relations with the British people for the mutual advantage of both countries and for the advancement of the cause of peace and freedom all over the world."

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ON PLANNING OF EDUCATION AND THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF U. P.

By Dr. S. DATTA, M.Sc. (Cal.), D.Sc. (Lond.), F. Inst. P.

In a previous article* of mine a practical method of surveying the educational needs of Bengal by calculating backwards from the figures of employments was suggested. The method of approach was recognised to be a novel one and encouragement was given by many educationists for carrying out similar analysis for other provinces of India. But although the article under reference was published after the publication of the Sargent report giving a scheme of compulsory education in India, it was actually written before the publication of the Sargent report. Hence in pursuing the analysis no account was taken of the effect which the introduction of compulsory education up to a certain age limit will have in the planning of education beyond the compulsory stage.

In a subsequent article† it was endeavoured to show that on psychological grounds, the age of imparting craft-centred compulsory education should not exceed and go beyond the age of 9. But as "the aim of education is to impart such training as may be necessary for making good citizens," compulsory education cannot be allowed to be stopped at the age of 9 and should prolong till the age of 12 is reached, which is regarded as the age of termination of childhood and beginning of adolescence when permanent sentiments begin to arise and reasoning power begins to make rapid strides. It was, therefore, suggested that at the age of 9, children of normal intelligence should be separated from those below normal by a *gross intelligence test* and the former be selected for various types of high school education which the country requires for satisfactory discharge of the various duties connected with the different avocations of life, while the others be given such training which will arm them with at least one occupation giving sufficient wages for a healthy subsistence. Suggestion was also made for a rather rigorous application of a second intelligence test at the

* *Science and Culture*, Vol. IX, 1943-44, pp. 526-30.

† *The Modern Review*, October, 1945.

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age of 12, so as to (1) eliminate the misfits and (2) regulate the fits by proper entrance tests in the different channels of (*a*) Commercial, (*b*) General, (*c*) Technical types of high schools, so that the right type of child is selected for the right avocation and thereby national energy is properly conserved and the nation's investment on the education of her children is made on a sound basis. The children of delayed intelligence of the 2nd group (*i.e.*, craft-centred) may also be allowed to cross over to the 1st group on passing the 2nd intelligence test. This will remove the very cogent objection that owing to fluctuations in the age of incidence of measurable intelligence no positive test is possible at the age of 9 and hence injustice may be done to children of delayed intelligence by a too rigid application of the 1st intelligence test in regulating their future career.

In performing the present analysis of the figures of employments of male populations, instead of making arbitrary allocations to different classes, I utilised my present position in the Secretariat of the Government of Bengal to obtain a more accurate knowledge of (1) the percentage of employees of different types in different Government offices and, (2) the standard of technical and other educational qualifications required in the various industries. This latter information I have been able to obtain with the help of the Provincial Statistical Bureau, and my thanks are due to Mr. N. Chakravarty, Deputy Director of Statistical Bureau, who was kind enough to send round a questionnaire to representative firms of such different industries as Jute Presses, Jute Mills, Cotton Mills, General Engineering Factories, Ordnance Factories, Tea Gardens and Sugar Mills, and collect for me percentage figures of numbers employed in different works connected with the industries regarding different standards of technical and general education. The returns of figures by the different industries have given me a more accurate picture of the classification of employees according to their education and have made me realise the very important role which trade classes may play in any scheme of industrial education. In every advanced country trade schools by reason of their usefulness as the media of practical instruction in specific trades form a necessary part of the technical system and in any scheme of successful industrialisation of our country greater attention has to be paid to the development of trade schools so that there may not be any dearth of trained workers. Such an organisation giving specialised instruction in single subjects appertaining to industries or trades will be an ideal one in which a large percentage of those who failed to be selected for general education or were forced by circumstances to take to craft-centred basic education between the ages of 9 to 12 would be able to proceed and settle down to a more useful career than they might have pursued by taking up the Senior Basic Course. Giving the boys an opportunity to enter into trade schools at the age of 12 has yet another merit. It will considerably help in improving the economic condition of the poor peasants and labourers who expect to receive contribution from their children towards the maintenance of the family and are not much in favour of prolonged compulsory education on economic grounds.

The above considerations and those discussed in my previous papers emphasise the need for evolving a proper relationship between general and technical education and for a harmonious development of both, the following general scheme of education is proposed :

(*a*) A system of universal compulsory and free education should be introduced for age 6 to 9 in Junior Basic School. The aim of these schools will be to obtain permanent literacy and the knowledge of three R's—the training being imparted through some basic craft as it has been advocated in the Wardha Scheme and subsequently reiterated in the Sargent scheme.

(*b*) After a gross intelligence test at the age of 9, children of normal irtelligence should be given proper facilities of joining the Pre-High Schools and the others the Intermediate Basic Schools. The former type of schools should not be craft-centered and will impart an education up to the stage of class VII which is common to the basic needs of the different types of high schools —General, Commercial and Technical, to some one of which their products will subsequently join.

(*c*) At the age of 12 compulsory education should cease and a more rigorous intelligence test being performed, the successful students should be allowed to proceed after proper entrance tests to anyone of the above three types of high schools according to their aptitude and other considerations. The misfits in Pre-High Schools should be encouraged to join the Trade Schools or the Senior Basic Schools (previously discussed) as it may be found convenient for each case. Children of delayed intelligence may, if found suitable, be allowed to cross over to the high school from inter-basic schools. At the high school stage, scholarships should be given more freely, so that poverty of the parents may not be a hindrance in any case to the able child in taking the fullest advantage of the education provided by the State. Misfits from all the three schools may proceed to Junior Technical and Commercial institutions.

(*d*) After matriculation, the students of the Commercial High Schools may proceed to I. Com. Colleges or to High Commercial Institutions, such as the Government Commercial Institute or to Clerical Institutions which are rather popular in foreign countries. Those belonging to the general high schools will have the maximum option of proceeding to all the different types of Intermediate Colleges and to Senior Technical Institutions, such as Engineering Schools and Railway Schools or Mono-technical Institutions, such as Textile Institute, Silk Institute, Weaving Schools, Tanning Institutes, etc. The third group proceeding from the Technical high schools will be allowed to proceed only to I.Sc. Colleges and Senior or Mono-technical Institutions.

(*e*) After the Intermediate College stage, products of the I. Com. Colleges may proceed to B. Com., those of the Arts Colleges to B.A. and the others (*i.e.*, I.Sc.) to B.Sc., Medical, Agricultural, Engineering and special Technical Institiutions.

(*f*) B. Com. students may then proceed to M. Com. or Institute of Banking and Accountancy, which should be created immediately in places where they do not exist. B.A. students will go for M.A. and Law, while the B.Sc. students will go for M.Sc. and higher technological institutions.

The chart below gives in a tabulated form a brief resume of the proposed correlation :

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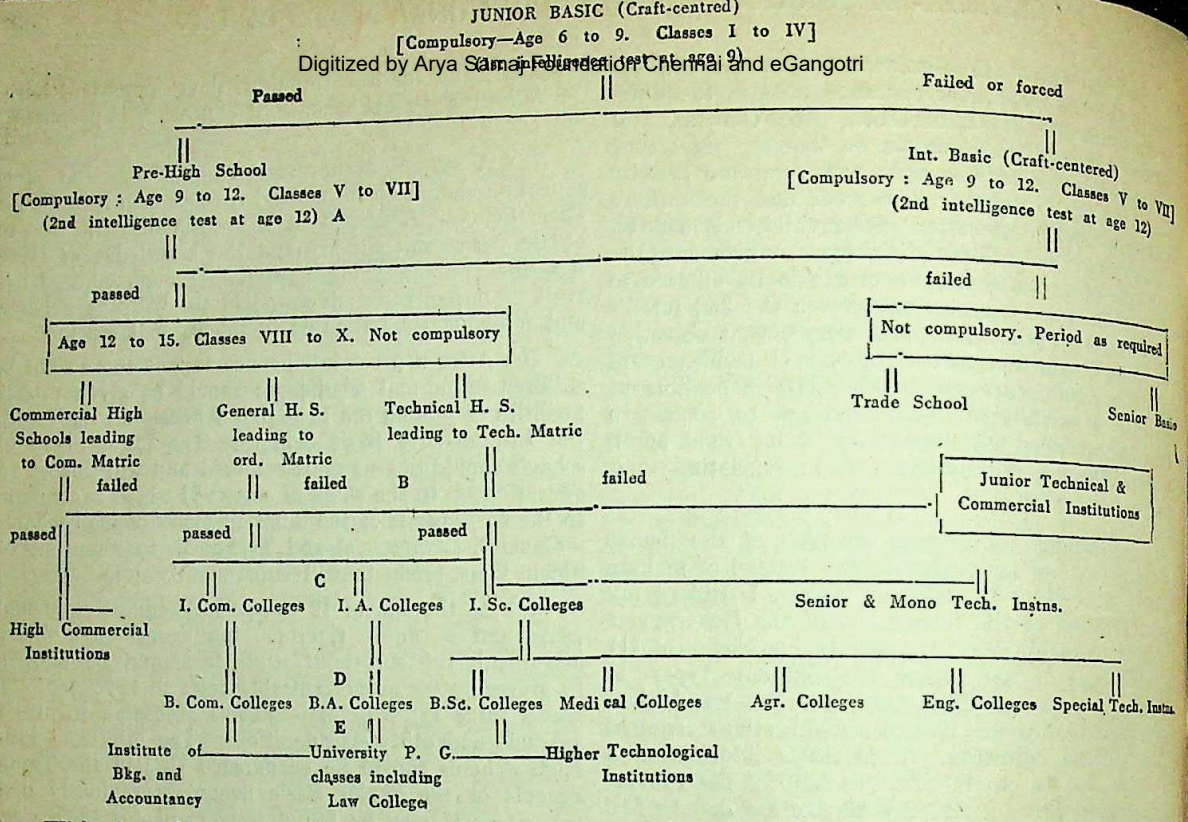

With the above educational plan in view, a thorough analysis of the figures of employments of male populations of U.P. has been made from the Census Report of 1931—as those of 1941 Report do not show the distribution of population by vocation. This is very unfortunate and it merely indicates lack of imagination on the part of the Census authorities of 1941 regarding the usefulness of those figures. It is hoped that the mistake will not be repeated in 1951, rather more careful statistics should be collected so that along with the figures of employment in different vocations the figures relating to standards of education in different employments are also published. The mode of analysis is identical to the one followed in the previous paper (*Science & Culture*, loc. cit.) with the addition of a fourth group comprising the Trade School.

From the number of persons required to have different types of education, an estimate has been made as before about the number of probable vacancies (Table II) and this latter figure has been utilised in the calculation of the number of schools and Intermediate Colleges of each type (Tables III & IV), following the method adopted in the paper under reference.

TABLE II

Type of Education	Total No. employed in thousands	Defection co-efficient	No. of defection= Col 2x Col 3 divided by 100
General low	397.3	3.77	14978
„ high	128.4		4841
Commercial low	135.7		5116
„ high	30.5		1150
Technical low	10.8		407
„ high	17.8		671
Trade	878.9		33134

Consequently the needs of the Secondary and Higher education will have to be formulated in such a way as to impart different types of education to as many persons as will annually yield the number given above.

Assuming the average defetcion in class promotion as 4 per cent and the defection at each distinguishing stage *i.e.*, from A to B or B to C or C to D or D to E as 30 per cent, a progressive loading backwards has to be made in order to arrive at figures giving the number of students in the commencement class of each stage which will enumerate the vocational needs. This is given in Table III below :

TABLE III

Type of Education.	No. of defections as estimated in Table I.	No. of matric candidates in hundreds for replacing the defection in Col. 2 at 30% defection in each University examination.	No. in class VIII of high schools in hundreds for supplying the No. in Col. 3 at 12% total defection from class VIII to X.	No. in hundred in Class VII at 30% defection in the 2nd intelligence test.	No. in hundred in Class V at 12% total defection from Class V to VII.
General low (*i.e.* Matric)	14978	214	243		
General high (*i.e.* Graduates and above)	4841	141	160		
Commercial low (*i.e.* Matric)	5116	73	83		
Commercial high	1150	34	38		
Technical low	407	6	7		
Technical high	671	19	22		
			553	790	898

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The number of students which each type of institutions will have to cater for being known, an estimate of the total number is made as given in Tables IV and V:—

TABLE IV

Type of School	No. to be catered in the commencement class in hundreds	No. of Institutions required at an average of 30 students in the class	No. of Institutions with 50% having 2 sections in each class
Pre-High Schools	898	2993	1995
General Matric	425	1416	944
Commercial Matric	121	403	269
Technical Matric	7	23	15

TABLE V

Type of School	No. of Matric candidates in hundreds going up for college education	No. passing Matric in hundreds	No. of Int. Colleges at an average of 100 students in each class
General and Technical	160	107	107
Commercial	34	23	23

No estimate has been made of the number and type of Trade Schools as appropriate trade classes should be attached to technical institutions and factories in such handicrafts and artifices as have natural environmental advantages in those areas and consequently their number and scope will depend on various factors which can only be determined by a proper survey similar to the one carried by the Technical and Industrial Educational Committee of the Government of Bengal who have made some valuable recommendations in this regard.

CONCLUSION

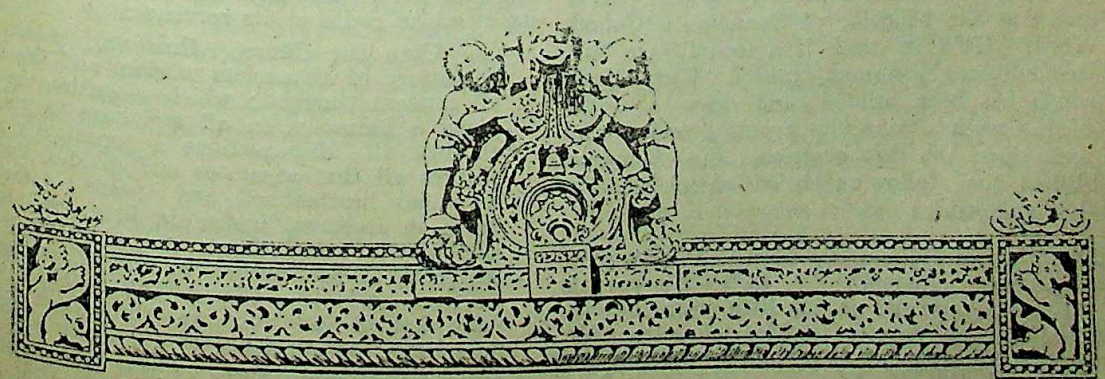
It has already been stated that the analysis given above has been made on the figures of 1931 Census when the male population in U.P. was 2·54 crores. With the increase in population by nearly 14 per cent as revealed in the 1941 Census it is reasonable to assume that there must have been a *pro-rata* increase in the number of employments and hence the estimate arrived at in the present analysis must also receive corresponding increase. That is to say a revised estimate of the total number of institutions of each type in U.P. has to be made as given below:—

TABLE VI

Type of Institutions.	No. of Institutions with 50% having two sections in each class of normal and reasonable strength. according to 1931 Census	revised pro-rata on 1941 Census
Pre-High Schools ..	1995	2265
General High Schools (Matric) ..	944	1079
Commercial High Schools (Matric) ..	269	307
Technical High Schools (Matric) ..	15	17
Intermediate Colleges General ..	107	122
Intermediate Colleges Commercial ..	23	26

The above table gives in a nutshell the educational requirements of U.P. at the present stage. It must however be clearly understood that Education in a progressive country will always be dynamic in character and the static future which forms the basis of the present analysis can at best serve as a guide for a limited number of years. Educational needs depend considerably on the Nation's outlook as well. At the present juncture, when with independence in sight, India is pulsating with new life and energy for proper utilisation and development of her industrial and agricultural wealth, much greater emphasis is needed for the expansion of the technical and agricultural education than is estimated here on the present-day figures of employment in this province, in order to satisfy the growing demands of the post-war reconstructions which the Interim Government have already taken up in hand with enthusiasm and vigour.

In a National Planning a mode of approach somewhat on the above lines is essentially needed if we are to prevent grave wastages and obtain the maximum of collective efficiency at minimum of cost and thereby conserve our National Income and our National Energy.



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REV. DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Rabindranath Tagore Memorial Visiting Professor of the Watumull Foundation to Indian Universities, 1947-1948

By Prof. TARAKNATH DAS, ph.d.,
Editor, "America-India Feature and News Service," New York City

I

"On Indian Independence Day, January 26th, 1947, at the morning service of the Community Church at Town Hall, New York, announcement was made by Dr. Taraknath Das, Professor of Public Affairs at New York University, of the appointment of Dr. John Haynes Holmes by the Watumull Foundation as Rabindranath Tagore Memorial Visiting Professor to the Indian Universities for the year 1947-48. Dr. Holmes will leave for India in September of 1947, travelling by way of England and Palestine. He will confer with Indian leaders and speak at Universities and Colleges in all parts of the country. He plans to return shortly after the new year in January, 1948, stopping briefly to see Kagawa in Japan, and by way of Hawaiian islands. Dr. Holmes will be accompanied by his son Dr. Roger Holmes, Professor of Philosophy at Mount Holyoke College on sabbatical leave."

This news-item, published in the American Press, has a great significance for the Indian and American peoples and the world at large. Because Dr. Holmes's mission to India will be for the purpose of furthering the cause of cultural co-operation and friendly understanding between the peoples of India and America and thus closer co-operation between the East and the West and promotion of world peace. The late revered Rishi Rabindranath Tagore was the apostle of this ideal and preached it in various countries of Asia, Europe and America ; and Dr. Holmes, a fervent admirer of the late Dr. Tagore, will be in India to spread the ideal which is also one of the objects of the Watumull Foundation.

By his own achievements as a scholar, social reformer, religious leader, a champion of world brotherhood and above all a devoted friend of India, Dr. Holmes is eminently qualified for this mission.

II

On February 9, 1947, Dr. Holmes celebrated "Forty Years Service as the Minister of Community Church of New York." This, in itself, is a record. On that occasion he delivered a sermon entitled "Forty Years Of It," which has been printed and gives a vivid account of his work during the eventful and crucial years of our time. On that occasion, the American press published the following brief sketch of Dr. Holmes's life and work :

"John Haynes Holmes was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on November 29, 1879. His parents were Boston people and in his fifth year they returned to their native city in Massachusetts. Mr. Holmes was educated in the public schools of Malden, a suburb of Boston ; graduated from Harvard College in 1902, and from the Harvard Divinity School in 1904. He took his A.B. degree *summa cum laude*, and was elected to membership in *Phi Beta Kappa*. In May, 1930, he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the Jewish Institute of Religion. In June, 1931, he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from St. Lawrence University. In June 1945, he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the Meadville Theological School. He began his ministry in the Third Religious Society of Dorchester (Unitarian) in 1904, and remained there three years. In November, 1906, he was called to the Church of the Messiah, New York City, in succession of Minot J. Savage, and began his work in February, 1907. In 1919, Mr. Holmes left the Unitarian ministry and reorganised his church on a community as contrasted with denominational basis. It changed its name to "the Community Church of New York."

"Mr. Holmes has lectured widely in this country, and travelled extensively in Europe and the Near East. He writes regularly for the *Progressive*, reviews books for the *New York Herald Tribune*, serves on the Editorial Board of 'Opinion,' and has the lead column in *Fellowship* magazine. His many books include *The Revolutionary Function of the Modern Church*, 1912; *Is Death the End?* 1915; *New Wars for Old*, 1916; *The Life and Letters of Robert Collyer*, 1917; *New Churches for Old*, 1922; *Patriotism Is Not Enough*, 1938; *Out of Darkness*, 1942; *The Second Christmas*, 1943; and a new book to be published in March by the Macmillan Company entitled *The Affirmation of Immortality* which is a selection of the Religious Book Club. (The book has been published already). His hymns are to be found the hymnody of all faiths.

"Mr. Holmes has been a champion of many great causes of human welfare and was among the founders of the American Civil Liberties Union, of which he is today Chairman and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

To understand the spirit behind Dr. Holmes' ministry one should carefully study the following creed of the Community Church of New York, which its members recite at its services :

"Unto the Church Universal, which is the depository of all ancient wisdom and the school of all modern thought ; which recognizes in all prophets a harmony, in all scriptures a unity, and through all dispensations a continuity ; which abjures all that separates and divides, and always magnifies brotherhood and peace ; which seeks truth in freedom, justice in love and individual discipline in social duty ; and which shall make of all sects, classes, nations and races, one fellowship of men—unto this Church and unto all its members, known and unknown, throughout the world, we pledge the allegiance of our hands and hearts."

Because of universality of this creed, this unique Church as early as 1929 claimed among its members persons from 36 nationalities including nations on each

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one of the six continents of the globe. The membership included Protestants of many varieties, Roman Catholics, Old Catholics, Greek Catholics, Jews, Mohammedans, Hindus, Zoroastrians, Confucianists, Bahaists, Theosophists and Mormons.

III

It is hard for me or any one to give an adequate account of Dr. Holmes as a friend of India. In America, India had and has many genuine friends. Some of them made great sacrifices for the cause of Indian freedom, with a depth of devotion which comes from spiritual foundation of recognition of brotherhood of man in practice, leading to service to Humanity. The names of these American friends are not known to Indians in India and the present generation of Indians in America. Majority of those who *pioneered* in the field of championing the cause of Indian freedom are dead ; and among them the names of the late Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland, the late George Freeman, the late Jane Addams, the late Lillian Wald should be revered by all who cherish the cause of Freedom of Man. Lest there be any misunderstanding I wish to emphasise that there have been literally tens of thousands of Americans of all walks of life—from University Professors, Ministers to working men and women—who have supported the cause of Indian freedom and education of Indians in American universities and India will never be able to pay her debt to America for generous and kind treatment of the sons and daughters of Mother India.

Then there are others who have given wholehearted support to the cause of India for more than three decades—Prof. Robert M. Lovett of Chicago, Oswald Garrison Villard, the founder of *The Nation*, Dr. Norman Thomas, four times Presidential Candidate on Socialist Ticket, Roger Nash Baldwin, the Director of American Civil Liberties Union, Mr. B. W. Huebsch of the Viking Press who published Lajpat Rai's *England's Debt to India* and also my *India in World Politics* (1923) and others. Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes belongs to this group who befriended all Indians—sages, scholars, politicians, students and workers—and tried to help them in every way.

Dr. Holmes befriended my wife and me for more than 30 years ; and during the World War I, supported the late Lala Lajpat Rai who was working in India for "Home Rule in India". He at the same time supported the cause of political refugees from India who believed in and worked for the establishment of a Federated Republic of the United States of India, long before the advent of the Gandhian era of Indian politics (1920). However Dr. Holmes is neither a politician nor a revolutionary ; but he is a great humanitarian. To champion the cause of Freedom, is an aspect of his Religion and he puts this faith in practice without reservation ; and this makes him *a genuine friend of India.*

IV

Dr. Holmes is a real pacifist. He has the courage to denounce all wars, even when his own country, the United States of America, was involved in World War I and World War II. He is always ready to stand by his faith and not to make any compromise, which might involve any sacrifice of the fundamental principles. Thus he was ready to resign his ministry during the two World Wars, lest the members of his church were opposed to his creed of opposition to all wars. But his followers stood loyally by him in those trying days. From my own experience I can say that during the World War I Dr. Holmes was a solitary man, seeking reassurance of his creed of non-violence; and not until 1920 he got this reassurance in the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. To clarify this point, I shall

Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes

quote the following passage from Dr. Holmes's sermon delivered on February 9, 1947 :

"Here, in the midst of a world abandoned to war and revolution, violence, bloodshed, destruction and death, stood this simple, serene and infinitely lovely figure. I had never heard even so much as his name. He was utterly unknown to American people. He was largely unrecognised, in his true proportions, by his own country. But the moment I touched him, like the woman who touched the hem of Jesus's garment, I felt strength and courage flooding into my viens. Gandhi believed in the pure power of the spirit, and in the capacity of man to utilise this power in every relationship of life. He was a pacifist not in the negative but in the positive sense of the word. Opposed to physical violence in every form, including war, he substituted for it the love of man for man, and men for men, as the basis of all security and the condition of all progress. He presented this higher spiritual law with a persuasion matched only by Buddha and Jesus, and the few divine prophets of the race ; and in addition he worked out and applied a technique of spiritual action, not for individuals merely but for organised masses of men in class conflicts and international wars, which proved him one of the supreme statesmen of human history. Leader of the

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great cause of national independence without violence in his own country, he brought humanity a way of life which can alone deliver us from the encompassing snares of death in our time. As he saved my soul, so I felt he could save the world. Instinctively, as under guidance, on Sunday, April 10, 1921, I preached on Gandhi, and proclaimed him "the greatest man in the world." Everything that has happened since that Sunday, twenty-six years ago, has confirmed my instant judgment. If there is any virtue or any praise in my ministry, any epitaph that I would have placed above my ashes, it is this : "He discovered Gandhi of India ; he knew him, loved him, and strove to follow him."

V

Many Indians have a distorted vision of America and American ideals. India will remain grateful to Mr. and Mrs. G. J. Watumull, the founder and the Director respectively of the Watumull Foundation that an American of the type of Dr. Holmes will visit Indian culture-centres not only to lecture on various topics of great importance, but to know leaders of Indian thought and life more intimately to strengthen the tie of brotherhood of man which he cherishes for fellowmen in India. The subjects of his lectures are divided into three groups and they are as follows :

A

"How America Won Her Independence."
"The Critical Period of American History (1783-1787)."
"How the American Constitution was Written and Why It Succeeded."
"Successes and Failures of American Democracy."
"Why America Is What She Is."
"The Basic Idealism of American Life."
"American Philosophy and Philosophers."
"The Evolution of America as a World Power."
"America in the Post-War World."

B

"Your Country and Mine."
"East and West : Are They So Different ?"
"Tagore as a World Teacher."
"Gandhi as a World Leader."

C

"What's Happening to the World ?"
"India and the Future of Mankind."
"India, Russia and America."
"Religion, Politics and Freedom."

It will not be out of place to give my estimate of Dr. Holmes as an orator. I have lived in America and have been very closely associated with the academic world for 40 years and heard many great speakers. In oratory Dr. Holmes's speeches are in no way inferior to those of the late William Jennings Bryan, the incomparable "commoner" and the late Eugene V. Debs, the American socialist leader whose words stirred the very soul of his audience. Furthermore, the distinction of Dr. Holmes's speeches lies not in flowery oratory but in the substance of the contents and the way of presentation.

I may safely say that Dr. Holmes's visit to India as Rabindranath Memorial Visiting Professor of Watumull Foundation to Indian Universities 1947-1948, will be an epoch-making event in the history of cultural co-operation between India and America. It is to be expected that authorities of Indian Universities and the Inter-University Board of India will make the best use of this unique opportunity.

For further information about Dr. Holmes's visit to India communicate with Mrs. G. J. Watumull, the Watumull Foundation, 937 Malcolm Ave, Los Angeles 24, California.

March 23, 1947

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THE RAILWAY BUDGET

By U. S. NAVANI, B.Sc. (Econ.) London

The Indian public has become used to hearing grandiose plans of successive Railway Members, for manufacture of locomotives, and amenities for passengers. The grandiose plans have always remained plans, and it is with no enthusiasm that one hears the same platitudes from Dr. John Mathai. There is nothing exceptionally cheering about the present budget even apart from the proposal of enhancement of rates. Even the usual wartime array of imposing additions to reserves is lacking.

One may briefly notice the actuals of the year 1945-46 and the revised estimates of 1946-47, before dealing with the current budget. The year 1945-46 ended happily for the Railway member. The actual receipts were larger by ¼ crore and expenditure less by 4·8 crores than anticipated last year. (The fall in expenditure is however illusory as it was mainly due to throw-forward of part of the anticipated debit in the cost of unsatisfactory deliveries of some rolling stock). The net result was a surplus of 38·20 crores of which 32 crores were contributed to Central revenues and the balance of 6·20 crores to Railway reserves. The balance in the reserve at the end of the year stood at 38·13 crores. For the year 1946-47, the revised estimate of earning was higher by 29 crores at 206 crores (owing mainly to upsurge in civilian passenger traffic), but the revised total expenditure was up by 33 crores at 174 crores, owing partly to the throw-forward of the previous year. The net surplus of 8·64 crores is to be distributed among Central revenue (5·61 crores) and Railway Reserves (3¼ lakhs) and Betterment Fund Rs. 3 crores. The Betterment Fund is really a part of Reserves and is only an accounting device to earmark some portion thereof, for the particular purpose of staff welfare and introduction of certain safety devices for passengers. The actual Railway Reserves therefore at the end of 1946-47 is expected to be 41·16 crores (including 13·8 crores of Betterment Fund created by transfer of 12 crores from surplus of 1945-46 and the rest from expected surplus of 1946-47). One may here question the wisdom of earmarking such a large sum (13·8 crores), for the purpose of building quarters for railway workers and providing some safety devices for passengers

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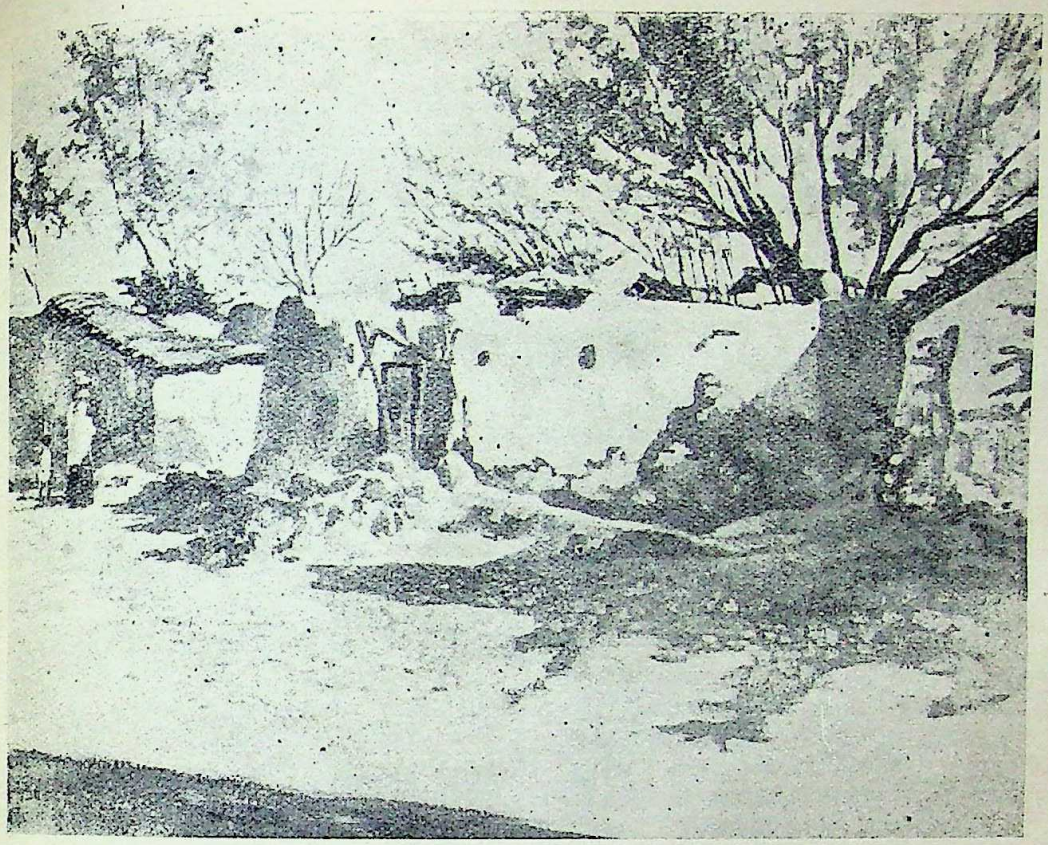

Village Decca *by* Ramendranath Chakravorty

Gopini *by* Jamini Roy

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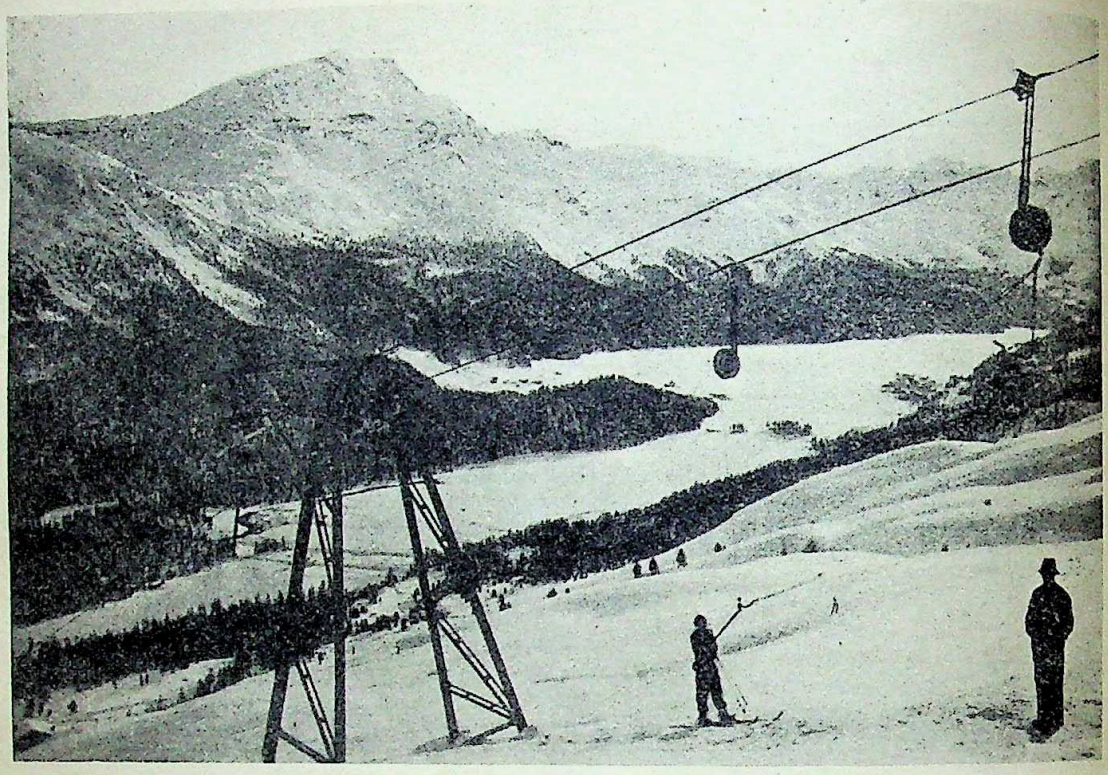
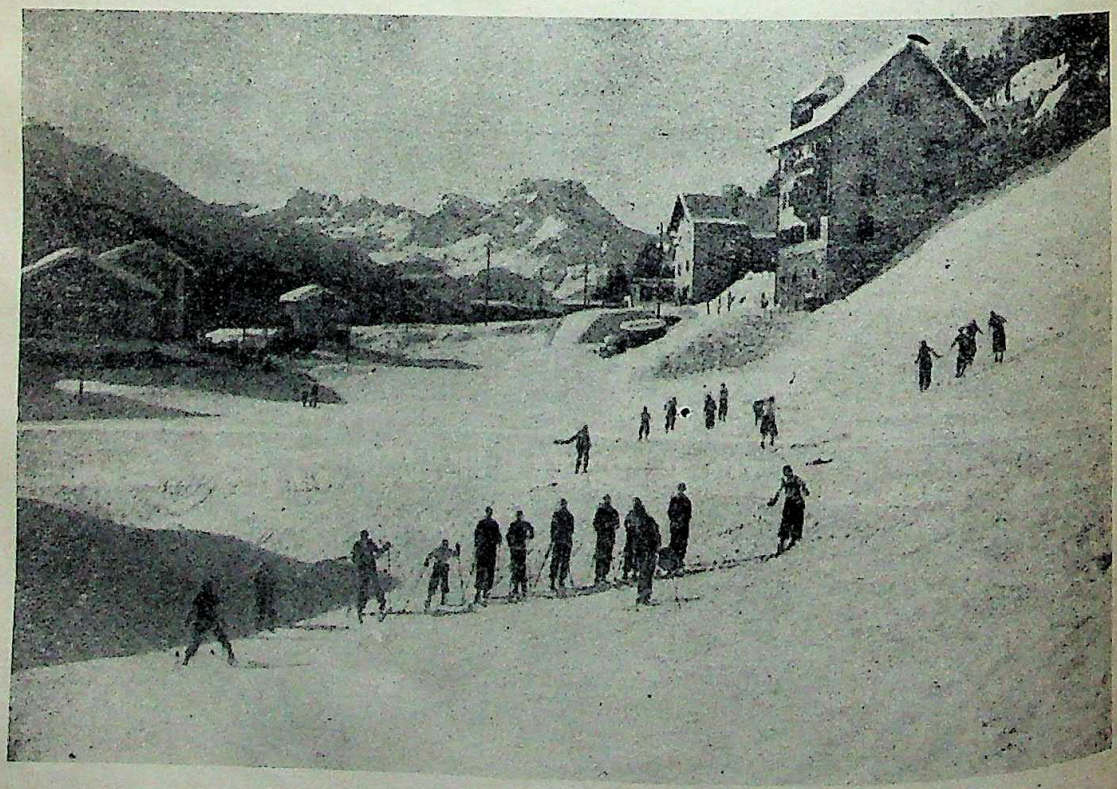


Up the hill on a ski-lift, Switzerland



Winter sports at Silvaplana, Switzerland

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and thus artificially reducing the railway reserves. (One should not also forget the contributions made to the General revenues from surpluses during the last few years). Having artificially reduced the Railway Reserves, the Transport Member asks for an increase in fares and rates on the ground that the reserves are low!

Budget 1947-48

On the basis of existing fares and rates the estimate of gross traffic receipts for 1947-48 is placed at 183 crores. The estimate of total expenditure including appropriation to Depreciation Fund of Rs. 15·34 crores, is placed at 163 crores, leaving Rs. 7 crores surplus for contribution to general revenues and Railway Reserves, as against 7·5 crores fixed by government for contribution to general revenues. The transport Member intends to build up reserves and bring them up to at least 50 crores within seven years. On his calculation (after excluding 13·8 crores Betterment Fund, 5 crores under special rules allocation for rolling stock during the war and 5 crores for arrears of maintenance) the reserves would only stand at 16·5 crores. He has thus to find an additional 10½ crores, to do which, he proposes to increase Railway fares by 6¼ per cent at a flat rate and a small increase in freight rate structure working out at one pie per seer of foodgrain and one pie per yard of cloth. It must be admitted that reserves of Railways having capital of over 800 crores, at 16·5 crores is not at all satisfactory and something has to be done to increase the reserves. But the reserves are not 16·5 crores as shown by the Transport Member, but over 35 crores, if we include the newly created Betterment Fund and the projected expenditure on arrears of maintenance. Surely the reserves are reserves, no matter how they are proposed to be spent. The wail of the transport member about the inadequacy of reserves is therefore misleading. Secondly, doesn't the estimate of receipts at 183 crores seem rather conservative, particularly in view of the experience of the last year, and increasing economic activity in the country? His contention that no increase in passenger fares was made since 1940, merely shows that the increasing surpluses during the period would have made any such action on the part of government look uncalled for. It is no reason why the fares should be increased now. Nor does the argument, that the increase would act as a deflationary tendency, seem justified. There is no analogy between a tax and the price of a railway ticket. The latter is an example of cost of a commercial service, like the cost of a theatre ticket, and increase in it would in practice work as an inflationary tendency rather than the reverse. Further, the flat rate increase of one anna in the rupee would discriminate in favour of higher class travellers at the expense of lower class travellers. The increase in fares therefore seems to be unjustified and the Central Assembly ought to reject it. As regards the proposed increase in freight, the Transport Member stated "the increases contemplated particularly in so far as these relate to the necessities of life as for example foodgrains and piecegoods will be individually far too small to offer any justification for an increase in retail prices." We do not know what action the government would take, if the increase in prices of necessities did occur as a consequence of this increase in freights. But we do know that the powerful interests in textiles and foodgrains will manage to get the prices of their goods raised, notwithstanding lack of justification. We will do well not to be lulled into the belief that the consumer will be spared the effect of this small rise in the freight of necessities.

The increase in reserves is a laudable aim, but it can only be achieved slowly and the best method to achieve it is to increase the efficiency and availability of Railway service to the public; to increase the earning not by charging more but by cheapening the price of Railway usage.

Other Features

The Transport Member suggested the setting up of a committee of the House to go into the whole question of convention of separation of Railway from Finance Budget and to see if a satisfactory solution of the problem can now be found. This is the appropriate time in so far as the Railways have become a profit-earning asset and there is every indication that they will continue to be so.

The other highlights of the budget speech were, proposed electrification of more B.B. & C.I. & G.I.P. Railway sectors, and the proposal to inaugurate a financial control branch, to advise the management of each line on measures of economy and removal of waste. One of the welcome features of the budget was the announcement that 80 to 90 per cent passenger train services, stopped during the war, had been restored. Further nearly half the number of goods stations and over one-fourth of passenger stations closed during the war were opened up to the end of the last year. The Transport Member also gave an assurance that the policy of reopening stations would continue. It has also been decided to revise the entire rating structure to facilitate interchange of goods between railways, a measure of reform long over-due. It was also cheering to learn that more coaching stock and wagon will be in service by the end of March 1948, than were in 1939.

The government also succeeded in averting the strike, notice of which had been given by the All-India Railwaymen's Federation in June last year, by meeting their demands to the extent of 9 crores and by stopping the discharge of surplus workers until the award of the Adjudicator. Notwithstanding this there were isolated strikes on the South Indian Railway and Dr. John Mathai gave a timely warning to leaders against stoppage of work and "Go Slow" policies which, he said, would react on the country's economy and the workers themselves.

As regards plans for the future, it is proposed to set up a new plant at Kanchrapara at a cost of 11·5 crores for the purpose of manufacturing 120 locomotives and 50 boilers a year. No locomotive is likely to emerge from this plant before 1950. Investigation is also proceeding for construction of 5,000 miles of new lines and restoration of 400 miles of lines dismantled during the war. It is expected that 200 new coaches will be turned out in the current year by Railway workshops which have been mainly engaged on repair work. Some new coaches on order supposed to demonstrate the standards of comfort, planned by the Railway Board will be on exhibition in March. The public would certainly be interested to know the comforts to be provided for them. Such a thing is unheard of in the history of Indian Railways.

It is hoped that the Transport Member will be more fortunate than his predecessors and will succeed in translating into reality the above plans.

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INDIAN ART IN LONDON AND PARIS

By AUSTIN COATES*

The Exhibition of Contemporary Indian Art which was recently held in Paris at the time of the UNESCO meetings and shortly afterwards at India House, London, has provided an unexpected opportunity for taking stock of India's artistic achievement since the Tagores gave their great cultural impetus to the country and gave birth to the idea of a school of modern Indian Art which would be able to hold its own in the principal picture galleries throughout the world.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama
Painting *by* Kamal Krishna

The art of the Tagores was seldom exclusive in its derivation of style. The Japanese influence in Mr. Abanindranath Tagore's *Lady with a Bag,* which was one of the small though well-chosen works by which this artist was represented at the Exhibition, is undisguised ; and the affinity of some of Rabindranath Tagore's drawings to the book illustrations which were new in Europe when the poet was a young man is a charming revelation of one of the influences which shaped the creative genius of that great artist. The Tagores seem in their paintings to have had no desire to evade any foreign influence, be it from the West or from the Far East, and for this reason their work is of absorbing interest, while the pictures of those of their students who have sought particularly to avoid artistic contact with the West lack the virility and rest which all lovers of Indian classical Art must surely wish to find in contemporary painting.

The most striking fact emerging from the Exhibition is that the day of the purists and revivalists in Indian Art is drawing to a close. No one would deny the craftsmanship and good taste of much that has been done in recent years in purely Indian modes of painting ; the drawings of Sarada Ukil and his pupil, Mr. Sushil Sarkar, whose *Manipuri Dance* was shown, have an unforgettable finesse of line and rhythm. But art such as this no longer holds the field as it used to ; and the dominating artists in India today—some of them formerly pupils of the Kalabhavana at Santiniketan—are those who express themselves with less conscious effort than the purists and who have borrowed freely and advantageously from the West.

Since the days of Ravi Varma one has learnt to have a justifiable suspicion of any Indian artist influenced by the European schools. From time to time, indeed, an artist painting in the European manner has justly achieved success, but his has more often than not been a lone flight.

At the Exhibition in Paris and London, however, it has been possible to see for the first time how a number of gifted artists from different parts of India have been employing European technique with vigour and agility. Seen in a group together, as they have been at India House, the pictures by these artists throw a new light on India's artistic development, and might be said to indicate that at last some harmony is being reached in Art between the traditional and the European influences. If this is so, it may well be that these artists are laying the foundations of an important modern trend in Indian Art.

The artists of significance in this group would appear to include Mr. Kamal Krishna, surely one of the best painters in India, Mr. N. S. Bendre, whose *Marketing* was among the noteworthy pictures in the Exhibition, Mr. Zainul Abedin, whose art has lost none of its original verve, Mr. Ramendranath Chakravorty, whose *Village Decca* must be placed among the most satisfying of his landscapes, and Mr. Nagen Bhattacharyya, who has the great artistic virtue of consistency coupled with an honest and sound technique.

The work of these artists, and of others like them, is vigorous and stimulating. To the European it is, of course, unexpected ; the average European is surprised, when he was expecting to sense something of

* Mr. Austin Coates, who is the son of the famous English composer of music Mr. Eric Coates, recently spent a year in India as a Flying Officer in the Royal Air Force. In his spare time he took the opportunity of making personal contacts with many of the leading Indian artists, including Mr. Nanda Lal Bose and Mr. Jamini Roy ; he travelled widely, as far South as Cape Comorin, and stayed at Santiniketan on two occasions; in January 1945 he visited Sevagram where he spent a week working as an inmate of the Ashram.—Ed. *M. R.*

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the heat and bright colours of the tropics, to see in an Indian landscape such soft tints as Mr. Chakravorty delights in using. But one has to bear in mind that the average European is apt to overlook the fact that India has a winter, and that the soft colours of sunrise in Bengal, for example, are more attractive to an artist than the colour-drenching light of mid-day to paint which would be similar to asking an English artist to paint nothing but rain !

In all, therefore, one detected three prime influences in contemporary Indian Art as shown in this Exhibition. The first consisted of the pictures by members of the Tagore family which filled nearly one wall of the room ; the second, of the landscapes and genre subjects of the artists mentioned earlier, and which seems to represent the strongest and most favourable trend in Indian Art today. The third influence is that of India's most distinctive and powerful artist, Mr. Jamini Roy, four magnificent examples of whose work dominated one end of the Exhibition room. It seems unlikely that Mr. Roy will ever have any other place in the story of India's artistic renaissance than as a supremely successful individualist painter. The anonymous art of the Bengal villages was his predecessor, and it is difficult to think of him having a successor. But, alone though he stands, Mr. Jamini Roy dwarfs many of his contemporaries by his sincerity, directness, and splendid sense of colour and design. It is not an exaggeration to say that since the time when the best in Indian Art ceased to be anonymous Mr. Roy is the first artist of outstanding merit to come out of India. The fluency with which he has translated the immemorial lines of Indian classicism into a completely modern idiom in his *Gopini* at once shows those unacquainted with Bengali Folk Art the genuineness of his work in the folk idiom, of which the *Madonna with St. John* was a felicitous choice. being perhaps one of his finest pictures.

Naturally his work attracted more comment in Paris than in London, and it is amusing to note how several Parisians who had not seen the *Gopini* were about to condemn Mr. Roy as an imitator of Matisse and Picasso. A look at the *Gopini*, however, quickly assured them of the authenticity of Mr. Jamini Roy's art, which aroused considerable interest. What the Parisians did not know was that Mr. Roy had experienced in Bengal somewhat the same revulsion from the established European techniques as Matisse and Picasso must have felt in Europe when they threw tradition to the winds. It is the fact that Mr. Jamini Roy found in the folk art of the villages an alternative idiom suited to his purpose which has made him in some ways the most entirely satisfactory painter of this strange period in world art through which we are still passing. For, of the principal artists throughout the world who have essayed new forms and styles, Mr. Jamini Roy alone has consistently eschewed ugliness and has known always that without beauty truth cannot breathe.

Altogether the Exhibition has been a most useful step in making the British public aware of contemporary Indian Art, and it has served as a forerunner to the Indian Exhibition which is to be held in the exhibition rooms of the Royal Academy at Burlington House this autumn and of which much is expected, particularly by those who remember the wonderful Chinese Exhibition held there before the war.

Europe has seen little of contemporary Indian Art, and for this reason the recent Exhibition in Paris and London was, owing to the wide range of artists' represented and to the publicity which it received in both capitals, a landmark in the story of modern Indian painting ; and it is greatly to be hoped that in London at any rate exhibitions such as this will become a regular feature of the artistic calendar.

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A TALE OF TWO COUNTRIES

By SAMAR RANJAN SEN

It is a tale of the pigmy who escaped war and the giant who lost it. Switzerland is the playground, and Germany, the dust bowl of Europe. I have just completed a month's tour in the continent. The condition in Germany is terrible beyond description. It is important that the world outside should know something about it. The following photographs are more eloquent than anything that could be written.

We in Bengal may find it difficult to imagine the beauty and prosperity in Switzerland. But we should have no difficulty in realising the terrible misery that lies just across the border. It is just a repetition of the scenes of the Bengal famine. In Bengal, the mortality was indeed much greater because we were already the poorest nation in the world, but even we had not that demoralisation and sense of utter despair that all Germans, high or low, have today. Moreover, Bengal had more help from outside because there was less censorship and more sympathetic neighbours.

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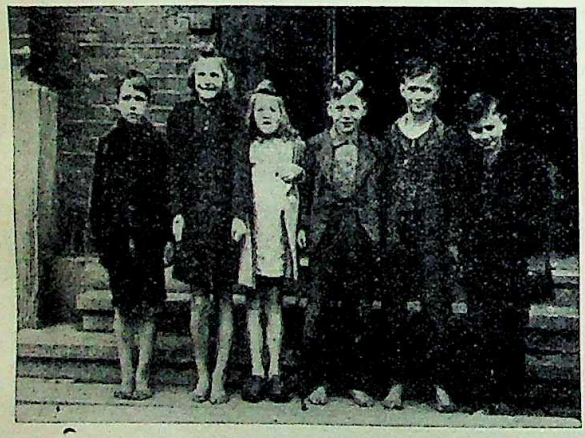
Winter sports at Herthen : Children outside the bunker

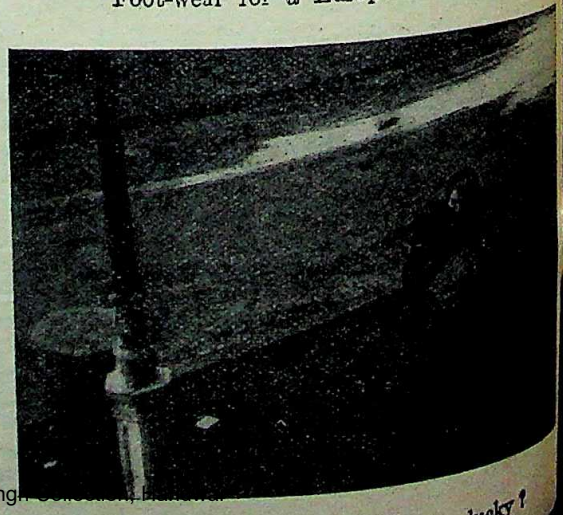
Samar Sen on a ski-run in St. Moritz



Going to school at Aachen

Foot-wear for a European winter

Supplementing the food ration from dust-bins



No other competitor—Isn't she lucky?

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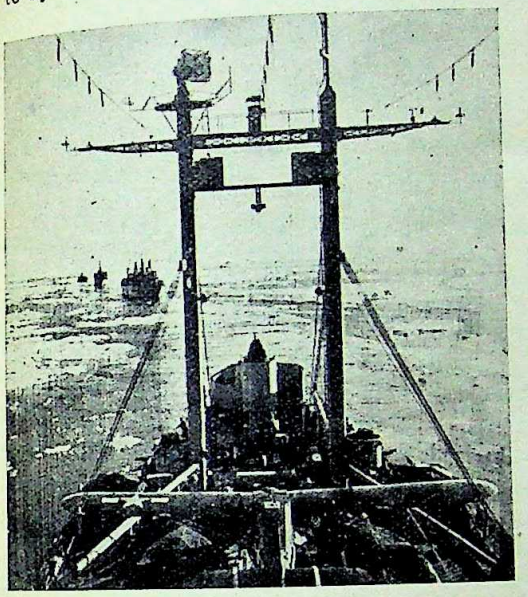
U. S. ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION

A U. S. Naval expedition left U. S. shores in early January for the Antarctic under the command of Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd, who has made three previous trips to the Antarctic. Admiral Byrd is the only man to fly over both the North and South Poles.



Ships of the Central Group of Task Force 68 moving through pack-ice in the Ross Sea area

Rear Admiral Richard H. Cruzen, Commander of the Task Force 68

The undertaking was motivated by the extension of the Navy's policy to develop the ability of naval units to operate under any and all conditions. A task force, therefore, was formed of the Atlantic Fleet which sailed from Norfolk, Virginia, January 2, 1947. Later the group was augmented by ships of the Pacific Fleet.

At the time of sailing the Navy specifically outlined the expedition's objectives as being :

1. Training personnel and testing equipment in frigid zones.
2. Consolidating and developing the results of the United States Antarctic Service Expedition of 1939-1941.
3. Developing naval techniques for establishing, supporting and using bases under comparable conditions.
4. Amplifying knowledge of the area with respect to hydrographic, geographic, geological, meteorological and electro-magnetic propagation conditions.

Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd, Commander, U. S. Navy Antarctic Expedition

While the purpose of the operations is admittedly of a military nature ; that is, the training of naval personnel and the testing of ships, aircraft and equipment under frigid zone conditions, the expedition, because of its versatility and mobility, affords an unequalled opportunity to amplify existing data. To take full advantage of this feature, arrangements have been made with other U. S. Government departments for scientists in a number of specialized fields to parti-

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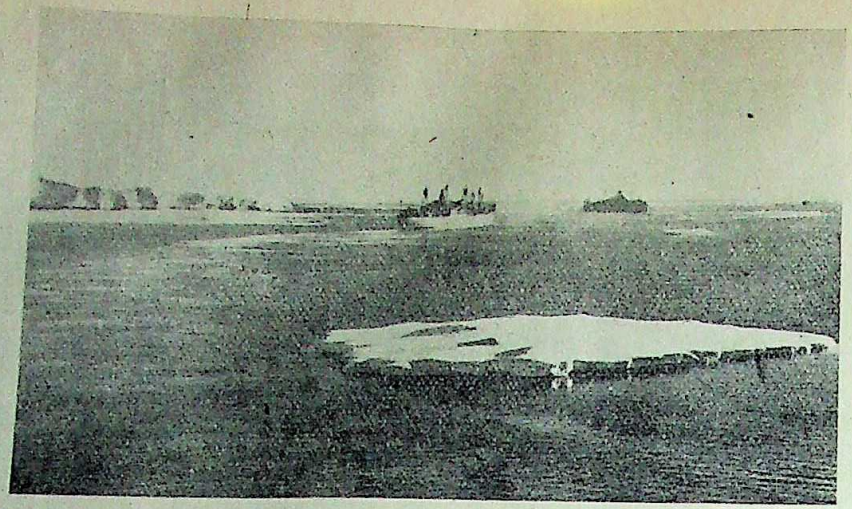
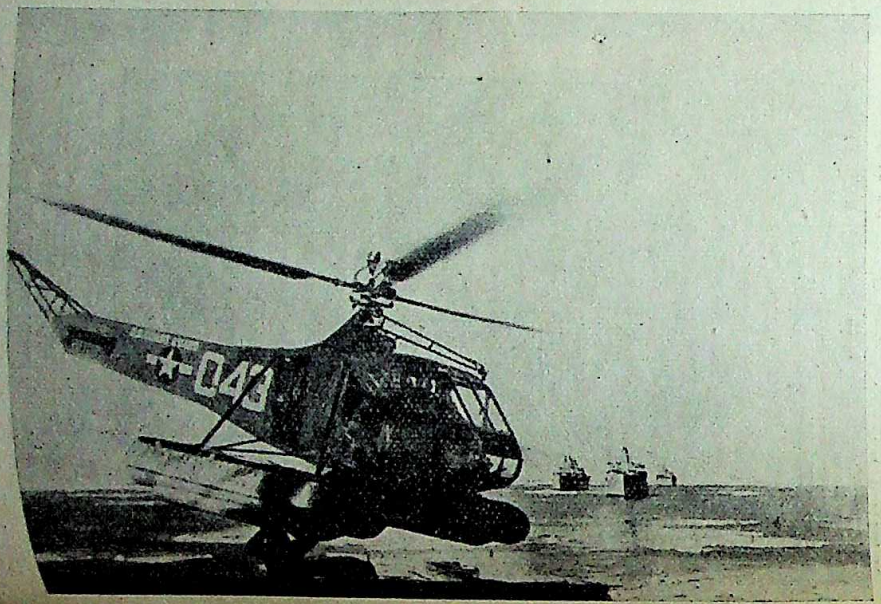
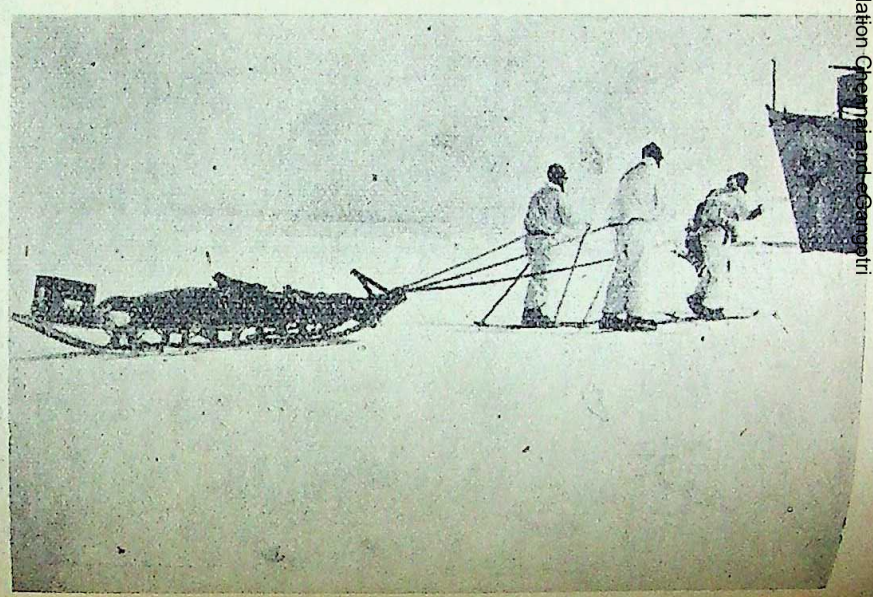


Yancy (left) and *Merrick* (right) follow the U. S. Coast Guard ice-breaker *Northwind* through ice-blocks and huge icebergs in an Antarctic Sea

A view of the Bay of Whales in Antarctica, looking seaward



U. S. Coast Guard helicopter landing on the *Northwind*, after a flight



Hauling a 500-pound seal, bagged during their hunting trip, the

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The United States Army is represented by air and ground force observers and by quartermasters interested in clothing and rations. The Weather Bureau, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Coast Guard, the United States Geological Service, the Hydrographic Office, the material bureaus of the Navy Department, and other Government scientific agencies have provided meteorologists, geographers, oceanographers, hydrographers, photographers and other personnel. The Marine Corps has furnished a part of the air flight crews and other cold weather specialists.

In sailing formation, the force of 13 ships is divided into three main groups; the Central Group includes the flagship, and headquarters communication ship, Coast Guard and Navy icebreakers, two cargo vessels and a submarine; the East Group is composed of a seaplane tender, an oil tanker and a destroyer; and the West Group has the same complement to ships. Altogether, the force carries approximately 4,000 officers and men.

The Central Group proceeded to the south of New Zealand. It entered the Ross Sea and established a base near "Little America," which is about 2,000 miles south of New Zealand. The twin wing group started their operations about 1,000 miles to the east and west of "Little America," and they extended their operations. The central force, off "Little America," established a shore base. From this installation, flight operations were conducted with Navy shore-based aircraft to explore within limits of flying range.

The presence of cargo ships and oil tankers make the entire force self-supporting in supplies and fuel. The submarine contribute materially to the oceanographic research because of its sensitive fathometers and bathythermographs. Both the submarine and the destroyers provided additional safeguards during the over-water portion of operational flights. The major ships are equipped for collecting ocean floor samples, particularly off the sea-weed ends of the main glaciers, since analysis of these samples will furnish data for estimating the geological composition of the terrain under the glacier.

What is called "survival equipment" aboard aircraft includes emergency radio equipment for communications with the home base. On long-range flights plane-crews wear very heavy clothing, rather than heated suits, to be sure of protection against the weather in case of a forced landing. 'Survival equipment" also includes more clothing, skis, tents and a 60-day supply of food. A large portion of the food is the old-fashioned pemmican, the preserved meat explorers have been using for the last 100 years. Cargo vessels pack about six months' supplies.—*USIS.*

——:o:——

MODERN PAINTINGS IN DELHI ASIAN CONFERENCE

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The Delhi Art and Craft Society had made a valiant effort to make the Exhibition of Contemporary Asiatic Art achieve some measure of success. If it has eluded its grasp it is no fault of the organizers, for the time was too short, and the distance of overseas countries was too long, to get representative exhibits. Yet most of the Asiatic countries were represented—China, Japan, Iran, Ceylon, Burma and Bali. The small group of black and white compositions from Bali was surprising in their originality, sincerity, vitality and expressiveness. The Bali exhibits formed the real backbone of the exhibition, and have set an example to Indian artists—the secrets of retaining racial and traditional trends, a lesson which it is hoped will not be lost to the modern artists of India frittering away their talents and energy in aping questionable forms of irritating "isms." The Bali drawings are modernistic to the core, yet true to their Malayo-Polynesian traditions. It was irritating to find a total lack of any definite aims or aspirations in the 179 examples of modern Indian pictures, many makers of which delighted in denying their ancient heritage merely to pose and gesticulate as a "Modern." Our new artists grow up without any intimate contact with the old masters of India. One is tempted to recall the classic advice of Degas, the great French Modern: "You must copy the old masters and copy them again, and it is only when you have absolutely proved you are a good copyist that you may be permitted to paint a radish from Nature." The truth of this doctrine was evident in the exhibits from China, Japan and Iran, and in the solitary exhibit contributed by Nanda Lal Bose. Unfortunately, the pieces from China and Iran were not representative of the best. In the examples

The Ministrel *by* A. R. Chughtai

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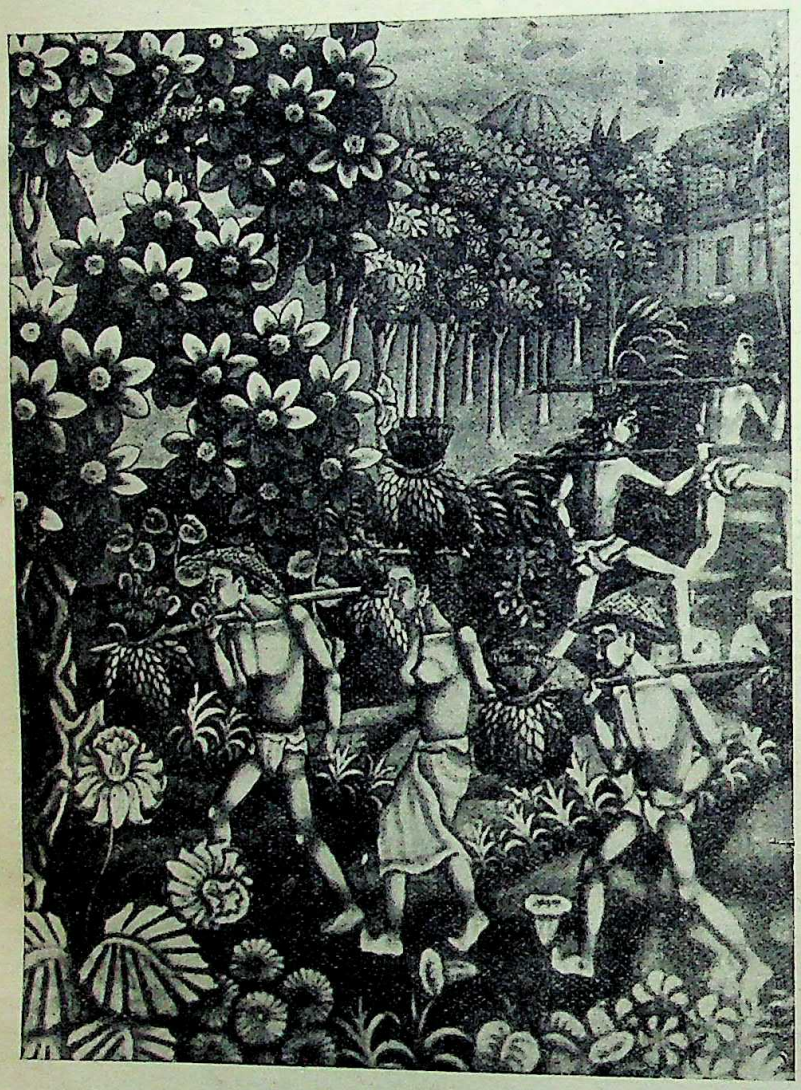
exhibited, the Iranian pieces did not display any original experiments. Even the *Polo Players* repeated the conventions of old masters. It is unfair to judge modern Burmese Art by the few water colours in thin, superficial technique, with no affiliation with its old aesthetic heritage. The Ceylon group was equally disappointing with the single exception of Rev. Mangu Sri Thero's *Nala-Damayanti*, a sketch daringly modern and basically Indian. Sakalasutiya's *Mara's Daughters* is in an aggressively modernistic manner unsuitable for such sacred subjects. Sammuganathan's design for *Portraits in Mosaic* is a praiseworthy piece of experiment. In the Indian section, names from Bengal predominate, though a few pieces from well-known artists from the United Provinces, Bombay, (none from Madras), figure on the wall. Somlal Shah, R. V. Raval, Masoji, Kamal Krishna and other talents are not worthily represented, so that the show could not convey to the Asian delegates the best that India has produced in recent times. Dr. Abanindranath Tagore and Asit Kumar Haldar are very poorly represented, a fact grievously to be mourned. The really interesting pieces were contributed by Sailoz Mukherjea (*Toilet in the Wood*), Rani Chanda (*Mother and Child*), Manishi Dey (*Golden River*), B. Gangoly (*Portrait of Miss Foster*), Hebbet (*Maidenhood*), Girish Mandal (*Golden Bird*), Parimal Roy (*My Friend*), S. Sen's *Red Oleander*, and Sushil Sarkar's *The Dancer*. Of the newcomers, Vishnu Sharma has justly won a prize for *Mending*. It was unfortunate that many new and immature artists covered the walls who had not yet earned a place in an Inter-Asian Show. This can only be explained by the supposition that the organizers must have been hard put to it to fill up the walls, there being no better pictures to spell out an Exhibition worthy of this unique occasion. It is easy to find valid excuses for the poverty of the exhibits,—post-war conditions lengthening the shadows of war conditions, repeated exhaustion of available pictorial assets by recent exhibitions both at home and abroad, and so on. But if the exhibits were not really representative, they have offered enough food for reflections. Buddhist culture and spiritual thoughts had provided rich materials for artistic expression in all parts of Asia during the past two thousand years and held together the whole of Asia in one common unity. And one is inclined to ask if Maitreya, the future Buddha, is late in coming what form of secular art can offer common media for social, intellectual and spiritual intercourse among the affectionate Brotherhood of Asiatic Nations. As matters stand at present, for all the Asiatic brethren the barriers of languages are more formidable than the barriers of mountains, oceans and other frightful frontiers. In this predicament and before an all-Asian Esperanto is devised, the illiterate language of the Visual Arts offers the only fruitful channel of an intimate and dynamic intercourse between the various races and cultures of Asia which were so happily brought together at Delhi in a picturesque assembly.



Landscape with Volcano
By an unknown Balinese painter

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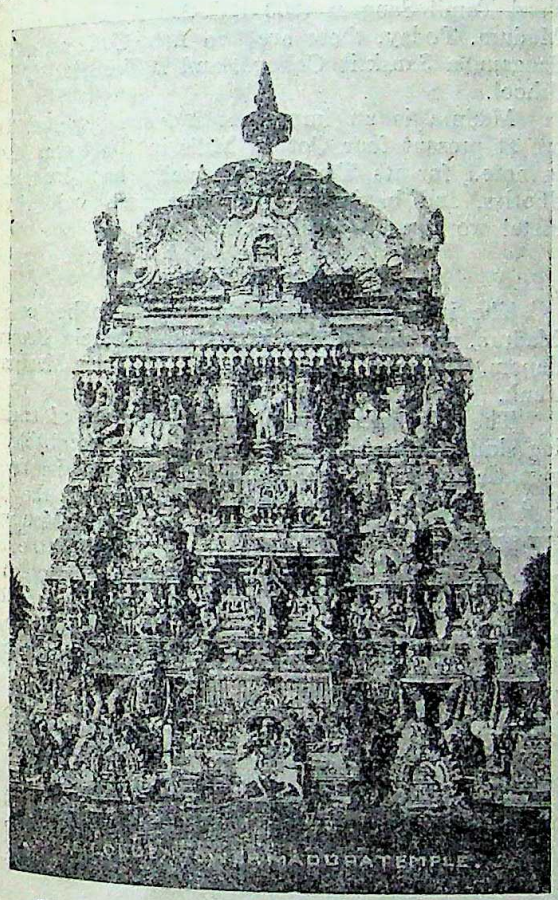
MADURA—THE TEMPLE CITY

By A. V. KRISHNAMURTHY, M.A.

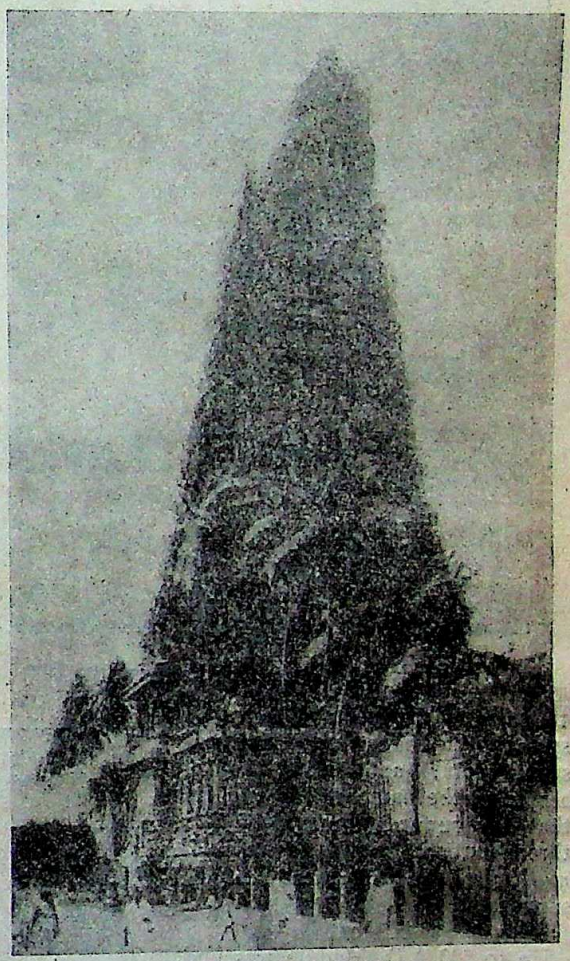
Madura is one of the ancient cities of India. The available records prove that the city is more than two thousand years old. Madura had trade relations with the ancient city of Rome.

Origin

The city was founded by Kulasekhara Pandya. The local folklore narrates an interesting story about the origin of the town. A merchant of Manalur, then the capital of the Pandyan kingdom, who used to travel far and wide for the purpose of trade while passing through the Kadamba forest, saw a Siva-lingam by the side of a beautiful little lily tank. As the sun had already set, he decided to spend the night there. That day being Monday the Devas came to worship Lord Siva. The merchant witnessed the celebrations and at daybreak he returned to Manalur and told the news to the Pandyan King. The King came to the spot and to his great surprise saw a tigress feeding the young one of a deer. Kulasekhara Pandya thought that the place ought to be a sacred one, and decided to found a city there and make it the Capital of the Pandyan kingdom. Accordingly, the forest was cleared and when the layout of the city was being made, the king was bewildered as how to limit the boundaries of the city. At that time God Siva appeared in the form of a *Siddha* and directed the snake which he was carrying in his arms to show the limits of the city. The snake fixing its tail at one place moved round till its mouth touched its tail and thus marked the limits of the city. The town was founded within the limits shown by the snake. As the limits of the city was shown by a snake, the city was named Tiru-Alavai*



The Golden Tower of Madura Temple



The Western Tower of Madura Temple

The fame of the city spread far and wide. The enemies of the Pandyan King became jealous of him and sent a huge snake to destroy the city. The Pandyan King slew the snake in battle ; but before it died the snake spit forth a stream of poison which began to spread throughout the city. The inhabitants of the city prayed to God Chockanatha to protect them. Chockanatha sprinkled over the city a drop of *madhu* (nectar) from the Chandra-Kala which he was bearing on his matress. The venom which spread throughout the city subsided and from that day onwards the city came to be known as 'Madhurai' which

* *Tiru*—Beautiful ; *Alavoi*—Poisonous mouth, here meaning snake.

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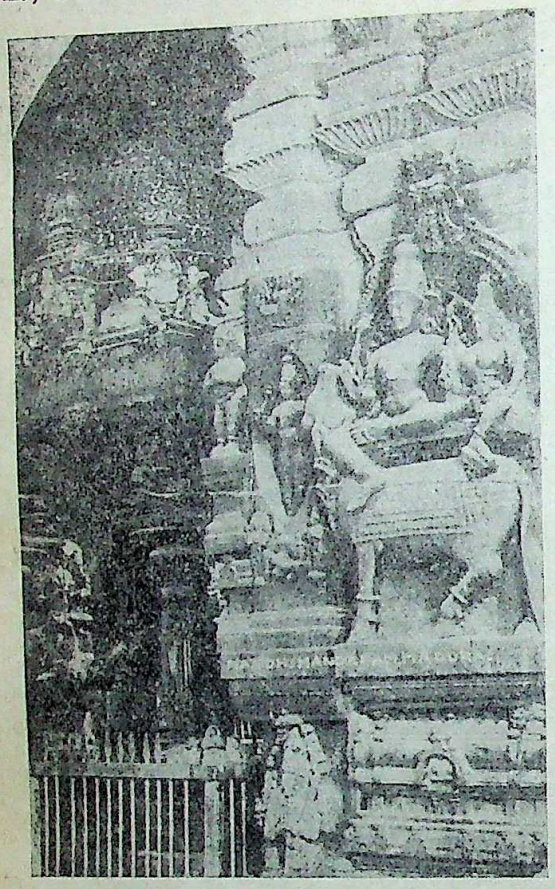
means sweet city (now corrupted into Madura by English usage). The Sthala-Purana describes this incident thus : "As the kind-hearted and beloved Chockanatha, the Lord of all Gods, (by sprinkling nectar)



Nandimandapam, Madura

turned the stream of bitter poison spit by the snake into a river of sweet nectar and made the city beautiful, the name of the city from that day onwards came to be called throughout the world as *Madurai-ma-Nagar, i.e.,* the great city of sweetness."

History

Up to 600 A.D. Madura was under the rule of the Pandyas. Between 600 to 900 A.D., the Pallavas of Kanchi held sway over the city. During the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries the Cholas were powerful and Madura was included in the empire of the greater Cholas. At the end of 12th century the Pandyas again came to power. At the close of the 13th century Malik-Kafur invaded the city ; but there was no permanent conquest. When the Vijaya-Nagar Empire expanded under Krishna Deva Raya, Madura came under Vijayanagar and it came to be ruled by the Naiks, the Viceroys of Vijayanagar. After the death of Krishna Deva Raya, the Naiks became independent and held sway for about two centuries. After that Madura came under the Nawabs of Arcot and then passed into the hands of Tipu Sultan of Mysore. After the third Mysore War, Madura was annexed to the British Territory in 1800.

Present Position

Today, Madura is the second largest city in the Madras Presidency. It is a well-planned city. The temple of Goddess Meenakshi is situated in the centre of the town. The main roads, which are broad and clean, form concentric squares, while the streets cutting across the roads lead to the temple.

Madura from very ancient times is noted as the Centre of Education and Culture in Tamil Nad. The third Tamil Sangam (200 B.C.-200 A.D.) flourished at Madura. Today, there are two Arts Colleges, a Tamil Sangam, a Sanskrit College, and a Technical Training School.

Madura is an important industrial centre. There are at present four Cotton Mills in the town. Madura is noted for its Textiles especially hand-loom saries, dhoties, and banians. Other important industries are metal works and jewellery.

Places of Interest

The important places that are to be seen in Madura, are the famous Meenakshi Temple, Pudumandapam, Tirumal Naik's Palace, and the Mariamman Tank.

The Meenakshi Temple is a marvel of engineering skill. Its architectural beauty is indescribable. The gigantic towers which appear to embrace the sky, the fine sculptures of the Nandi Mandapam, the huge images of Gods in the Thousand-Pillar Mandapam, the life-like statues of the Naik Kings in the Pudu Mandapam, the beautiful Golden Lily Tank and the Golden Vimanam over the shrine of God Sundareswara, the paintings of the Parrot Mandapam,—all these bring forth the splendour of Indian Architecture of the Dravidian type.

A view of Madura—The Temple City

The temple is an immeasurable source of pleasure to the lover of art and architecture. It sends the message of godliness to the seeker of religious truth. It instills poetry in the heart of poets. It furnishes

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of materials for the historian to research upon. There are bigger temples in South India, but in its splendour and beauty, the Madura temple supersedes all.

This famous and holy temple of Goddess Meenakshi was thrown open to Harijans in 1939 when the Congress Ministry under Rajaji was in power. Today all Hindus irrespective of caste or creed can offer worship in the temple.

Next to the temple, the Tirumal Naik's Palace and the Mariamman Tank are worth visiting. The massive pillars, the beautiful Durbar Hall, and the bathing-ghat of the Tirumal Naik's Palace will give immense pleasure to a visitor. The big Mariamman Tank, with a Mandapam surrounded by a beautiful garden in the centre, is very grand to look at. Every year in the Tamil month of Thai (January-February) there is a floating festival when God Sundara with Goddess Meenakshi is taken in procession in a beautifully decorated floating car in the tank.

Four miles to the south of Madura is Tiruparan-Kundram where there is a cave temple of God Subrahmanya. The temple at Alagar-Koil, a village, ten miles east of Madura, is another place of interest. The Alagar Temple is situated at the foot of a hill and it also contains good specimens of sculpture.

Madura is a city of festivals. All through the year there are festivals in the temple of Goddess Meenakshi, the most important of them being the Chitra-festival held in April-May, the Puttu-festival held in January-February. People all over the country attend these festivals in thousands.

Madura is a sacred city. It is called Bhuloka-Kailasa. The poet, who wrote the Sthala-purana, while describing the streets of Madura, says: "Lord Sundareswara wandered in the streets of Madura selling bangles, jewels, and firewoods, for the sake of protecting his devotees; how can I express in petty words the beauty and sanctity of the *streets*, which had the good fortune to kiss the feet of the Lord—the feet which even the Vedas, being unable to touch, praise aloud!" Much less can I describe the splendour and beauty of Madura—the Temple City.

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PLACE OF GEOGRAPHY IN THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY

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As a geographer, I should only like to put forward the scope of contribution of geography to the economic development of our own land of India. At the very outset, it should be conceded that geography is fundamentally a field science which takes into cognisance the individual findings of other allied field sciences—geology, meteorology, hydrology, pedology, agriculture, etc., and synthesizes them in a positive geographical perspective. While other field sciences investigate the various terrestrial phenomena individually, geographers, who must be conversant with the facts and findings of related sciences, make a synthetic study of them conjointly from a solely rationalistic and humanistic viewpoint. All the material phenomena in the geologic, climatic, and edaphic environment of the land are critically studied from the standpoint of man and his society, with particular emphasis on the nature and extent of such geologic, edaphic and hydrologic resources and how far and in what way they can be exploited and conserved for the economic betterment of human society. It is for the geographers to present a clear picture of the country's present and potential natural resources in conjunction with her pressure and pattern of population and to indicate the line of her economic development, so as to bring a balanced state of economy between the natural resources and the population burden in different natural regions of the country. This regional concept of economic development tending to bring about a geographic equilibrium between the natural resources, demographic pressure and socio-economic fabric of a country is a significant contribution of geography in effecting a planned economic life of a nation.

I would like to indicate a few positive lines in which geographers can contribute immensely towards an economic planning for a better and prosperous India, depredated and impoverished by two centuries of exploitation by an alien rule. In this age of 'machine-culture' and scientific technicism, industrial development has become synonymous with the economic progress of the country and as such studies in 'industrial geography' have assumed tremendous importance. It is for the Indian geographers to bring into light the nature and extent of India's terrestrial resources, the amount of reserve of high and low grade basic raw materials of industry, the total reserve of solid and liquid fuels of different qualities and their geographical distribution, in the light of the latest scientific investigations. It is for the geographers to make a thorough survey of minerals in which India is specially enriched, so that they may be properly exploited, as well as proper assessment should be made of the 'strategic minerals' in which India is extremely poor, in order that they may be conserved without that danger of *raubwirtschaft*. It is the main concern of industrial geographers to indicate the prospective locations of India's future industries based on exploitation of her abundant raw materials, with special reference to the availability of cheap power, adequate transport facilities, supply of skilled labour force and accessibility to consuming markets. In any such

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planning for industrial location, the geographical aspect would be to aim at maximum industrial efficiency with the prospect of maximum consumption in market at a minimum loss to the natural resources and to the labour force. In respect of some of the basic raw materials, such as hematite, ilmenite, manganese, chromite, bauxite, mica, etc. India is specially rich and she has a bright future in all types of iron and steel industries, aluminium industry, chemical, electro-chemical and electro-metallurgical industries, as also in various other ancillary ones. In paper, fertiliser and dyestuff industries, India has a promising future considering her forest and grassland resources, abundant water supply and sufficient chemical salts. Agricultural industry, including the harvesting, milling and packing of India's surplus foodstuff, oil seeds and grains on a scientific line, has also an immense scope for development, which will also stimulate the expansion and reconstruction of Indian agriculture. In any case, it is for the geographers to prepare a bold blueprint of the industrial regeneration of India, based on a balanced state of economy between the country's treasure of natural resources, their utilisation in industrial development and their judicious conservation for the emergent period of futurity.

Development of India's power-resources is the *sine qua non* of her industrial development, and the prime objective of industrial geography in India would be to indicate the line of planning for the generation of more million kilowatts of electrical energy from the so-called inferior and waste types of coal scattered all over India, as well as from innumerable streams and rivers so long neglected as useless or dreaded as notorious, in the light of a detailed topographic and hydrographic survey by trained geographers. The aim in this line should be to implement the slogan of 'electricity for millions and for every home and wheel' by way of covering the whole of India in a complete network of electrical grids from every hydro-electric plant and coal mine, producing power at the cheapest possible costs. Development of India's thermal power and reorganisation of her coal and industry would also include among other things, recovery of multitudes of bye-products from sheer wastage and setting up of a chain of subsidiary industries from them at lowest possible cost, adjacent to the mining areas. Particular emphasis should be placed on the possibility of combining all the important heavy and light industries of the adjoining areas in a reciprocating functional relationship within a single electrical grid system, so as to transform each industrial region into an area of 'giant industrial combine.' Such definite 'industrial zones' will have the advantages of industrial self-sufficiency and economic equilibrium and should be planned to develop bases on the geographic concept of regionalism rather than on artificial provincialism. The geographical aspect of industrial planning would also include the problem of congestion of industries on more favoured areas with serious repercussion on the pattern of population, demography and social life of the region, and a geographical approach would immensely help the State authorities in decentralising and distributing the industrial load evenly over the whole country with the help of quick power transmission and swift transport facilities, so as to bring about a regional equilibrium over the entire land with its even burden of population and socio-economic harmony.

In the field of agriculture and food supply, geographic studies are of immense help, if not of fundamental importance, in an agrarian country like India, where about 70 per cent of her population are really 'sons of her soils' for their subsistence and about 90 per cent of her population village-dwellers. In fact, 'agricultural geography' constitutes the fundamental study in the economic life of mankind, about three-fourth of the humanity being ecologically bound to the productive lands of this earth. In India, a proper geographic survey would vividly bring into light the total extent and distribution of land under different types of land usage, as also the nature of her agricultural resources in the shape of maximum productive capacity of food and cash crops and the strength of livestock population. Out of a total area of 1005 million acres, only about 280 million acres are sown with crops annually (of which only 220 million acres are under food crops) and about 110 million acres of land are 'culturable waste' and 58 millions fallow land. In a land of famine and starvation like India, where there is a food deficiency for about 48 million persons every year under normal harvest, such an enormous extent of culturably waste land reflects lack of geographic intelligence. Also the dependence of food production solely upon a uniform monsoonal rainfall, at the hand of fickle Nature, the abnormally low yield of most of the Indian crops in the absence of proper manuring, crop rotation and soil-conserving practices, as also the very heavy pressure of human and cattle population on the limited agricultural lands, with consequent malnutrition and disease to both of them, are some of the burning problems of our agriculture. An elaborate 'Land Utilisation Survey' conducted by expert geographers under the aegis of the State would be able to indicate precisely the areas throughout the length and breadth of India that can be brought under plough in addition to the existing ones, the areas that can be devoted to a rotation of more than one crop including a fodder crop for the cattle, the areas where food crops should be raised at the cost of commercial ones and forests, areas where a new substitute for an uneconomic crop can be successfully grown under the same climate, drainage and soil, as well as areas where market-gardening or dry farming or a mixed dairy—fodder-foodstuff farming can be undertaken most economically. All these are of vital consideration in the problem of feeding 400 millions of India's hungry souls.

A similar 'Soil Erosion and Land Reclamation Survey' of India with the help of geographers, conversant with the details of topography, geologic build up and climato-floral environment of the land, will indicate precisely the colossal extent of land, in fact more than 150 million acres, that have been ruined beyond practical agriculture under the continual attack of various forms of soil erosion. It will also indicate that vast agricultural areas are rapidly losing their productivity and are going to merge into sub-marginality only to be abandoned soon under the insidious attack of "sheet erosion'. Such a detailed geographical survey of ravages and slow ruination of lands under particular climatic and physiographic environments calls for a number of practical steps in controlling the menace of soil erosion and in the reconstruction of Indian agriculture. They include afforestation, gully-plugging, field-terracing and contour ploughing in the severely eroded areas of Siwalik

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foothills, Chota Nagpur plateau, Central Indian hill land; proper irrigation, drainage, liming or planting of new crops in the alkaline lands, waterlogging areas on sandy coastal tracts of U.P., Punjab, Sind, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, as also planting of suitable types of grasses and tree plants as a defensive vegetation against the advancing wind-erosion from deserts in some parts of U.P. and C.P. In the problem of yield of foodgrains and out-turn of field crops, a proper statistical study on an actuarial basis of the climatic control in conjunction with the edaphic conditions would also reveal many potent facts with regard to the maximum return of crops under different climato-edaphic environments. Recent 'climograph-isoplethic' studies in the yield of crops in the U.S.A., as well as research in 'agro-climatology' in the U.S.S.R. have been very helpful to visualise the geographic control of crop-production and in effecting a national programme of agricultural reconstruction. It thus goes without saying that in any task of agricultural reconstruction comprising a proper system of land reclamation, land utilisation and soil conservation, active help of trained geographers are not only helpful but imperative.

In any programme of economic reconstruction of India, development of her transport and communication systems is an essential pre-requisite for promoting economic welfare and social progress in different parts of India. As a matter of fact, expansion and reorganisation of the rail and roadway is the crying need of India today, where 350 millions of her total population live in 700,000 villages scattered all over the vast subcontinent and where the rural life has been the very *raison d'etre* of her national existence. Out of a total area of 1800 million sq. miles in India, the railway mileage amounts to only 41,000, whereas road system accounts for only 30,000 miles of length (of which only 82,000 is metalled) representing on average about one-fifth of a mile of road to a sq. mile of area, or less than half a mile of road for each village. In actuality, thousands of villages are marooned amidst vast expanse of corn-fields or swamps and the faulty system of existing railways and highways has seriously deteriorated the drainage system and inland navigation of the country, accentuating untold misery to millions of villagers. With an elaborate geographic study of the topography and settlement pattern of the country, geographers can aptly advise the State authority in their task of constructing a network of National Highways and Railways, connected with an extensive system of canals over the entire land linking thereby every village of India with the nearby villages, towns, railways or ports. Such a grid system of land and water communication would bring every corner of our village accessible to market and every bit of our land accessible to enterprising tillers, would facilitate speedy transport of agricultural produce and distribution of better seeds, fertilisers and amenities among the farmers, as also promote opening of new factories in far-off lands, linking the industry with the people. Naturally, reconstruction of future canals, roads and railways of India should aim at decentralising and distributing her industries and population burden evenly over the country, so as to bring a regional balance in economic self-sufficiency and demographic pressure in different parts of India. Indeed, the social and ecological aspects of the economic planning for future India should include the task of shifting the urban population load and its social rigidity from the congested industrial conurbations to the rural surroundings, by developing a series of 'rurban towns' or 'garden cities,' where mobility, amenities and comforts of a modern city life can be supplemented by spaciousness, freshness and flexibility of a rural life.

Lastly, it should be clearly realised by all that in any scheme of planning for the development of Indian industry or reconstruction of her agriculture or expansion of her arteries of communication as well as of rearranging her pattern of population, maps representing the basic data are indispensable for the State planners. It is for the geographers and none else to prepare under the aegis of the State a series of "base maps" for economic planning of India, clearly indicating the factual representation of India's mineral and power resources, her prospect of industrial growth, her land usage and soil resources, the prospect of her agricultural reconstruction, her pattern of population and types of settlement, in fact every phase of her national life. Preparations of such a series of "base maps", consequent upon a thorough survey of the demographic pattern and land and water resources of the country, is the *sine qua non* of planning for India's economic regeneration. The United States of America and Soviet Russia have gone ahead in the race of economic progress with the help of their State geographers; let us hope, India will not fail to invite the active help of Indian geographers in the task of bringing up a new and prosperous India.

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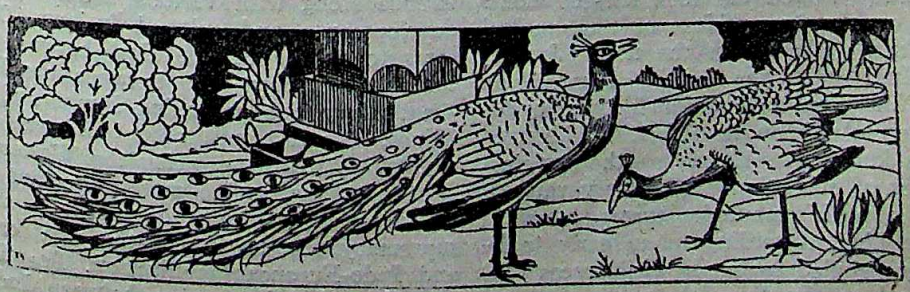

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ASIA : PAST AND PRESENT

By Prof. B. M. BARUA, M.A., Ph.D.

At the time when great things are on the move and the peoples of Asia are interested in being awakened to the fact of their common heritage and fundamental unity and they have met in the historic city of Delhi to confer together as to how they can co-operate in different ways for ushering in a new era of progress, which will be good for them and for all, it is proper and fitting, I think, to make a broad but critical survey of Asia's past and present, particularly with a view to ascertaining the historical background of the manifold inter-Asian relations.

The continent of Asia is certainly the largest of all in its extension over nearly one-third of the circumference of the globe, and it is the most populous by virtue of its containing nearly one-third of the population of the earth. Even in respect of its geological evolution and antiquity it may be regarded as ranking with the oldest formation of land. When viewed as a whole, it appears as the division of the earth where not only the extremes—the highest mountains, the highest plateau, the largest stretches of lowland, the coldest and the hottest places, and the like—meet, but where exist and blend also all intermediate forms of elevation and depression, scales of natural evolution and human civilization, and degrees of perfection and imperfection. And when we look at its map, our attention is naturally focussed on the Pamir Knot in the very centre, from which the longest chains of mountains and high and low ranges of hills run in all directions, forming the table-lands and river-systems, to make us all conscious of the unity in diversity as children in the embrace of their arms along with the oceans and seas and numerous species of the flora and fauna with which our existences are inseparably bound up.

It may be recalled that when our forefathers in India surveyed the world within the four oceans, they precisely did so from Mt. Sumeru in the heart of Asia, and witnessed the seven mountain ranges running west and east, the mighty Himalayas as the most southern range guarding India on the north, and the Sringavan (modern Sayan) as the most northern range forming the southern boundary of the country of Airavata (Eastern Siberia). They noticed the wreath-like Malyavat (Hindukush) as the range which ran east and west. They viewed the four sub-continents of Asia situated on the four sides of the central elevation, Uttarakuru (Siberia) on the north, Jambu-dvipa (Greater India) on the South, Purvavideha (Mongolia and China) on the east, and Aparagoyana (Peninsular Western Asia) on the West. The eastern sub-continent was known to them, as the original home of the horses of noble breed (Bhadrasvavarsha), the domestication of which marked a turning point in the history of mankind. According to an early tradition, India became peopled by many virile races that came in from the sub-continents on the north, east and west. It is significant that by Jambudvipa they understood as much of the southern sub-continent as, of the whole of the earth then known to them. There is no wonder, therefore, that, under this single name, our great kings cherished a twofold outlook, national and international. But it is to the great Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, that we owe the first use of In-tu, derived from Sindhu or Indus, as the name for the whole of India.

It is evident from the mention of four oceans as boundaries that, in the geographical vision of India, the inhabited portion of the earth, constituting the Old World, comprised all the three continents of Asia, Europe, and Africa. It is in this part of the globe between the Pacific and the Atlantic, and between the Arctic Sea and the Indian Ocean, that we trace the entire career of man from the remotest antiquity down to present times. Here we need not go into the dim past of mankind to visualise the painful processes of evolution of man and his civilization through different ages and stages. We need not also go into the controversial problem of the origin of man from primates or from an independent line, in which man started his terrestrial career after abandoning his previous nautical life. But certain it is that the Old World alone preserves the vestiges of his successive achievements, and that the most commendable contributions even to these early developments were made by Asia, particularly by India. It is no less important to reflect how out of a most cruel order of nature, in which one class of beings lives upon another, there could evolve a new order of humanity aspiring after the highest ideals of love, self-sacrifice and brotherhood. This is just one aspect of humanity in which we see the dawn and manifestation of soul-life. It is painful indeed to think that in the purely biological aspect the man should have remained "the fiercest and the most cruel of apes," or that the boasted civilization should have served as mere cloak for his primitive barbarity and cruelty.

When we pass from uncertain past to a state of certainty, we cannot but be confronted with a long and most eventful period of the recorded history of the East beginning with the first dynasty of Egypt and ending in the rise of Iran or Persia under the Achaemenids. In between the two, we are to witness the successive rise and fall of several dynasties and nations along with various tribal movements, racial developments, and cultural fusions. The period presents to us the Middle East between the Indus and the Mediterranean, and between the Hindukush and the Arabian Sea, including Egypt and Ethiopia, Asia Minor, Greece, and other Eastern Mediterranean countries, broadly speaking the Western Sub-continent of the Indians, as the most important scene of action and reaction, contests for political and commercial supremacy, and no less as the great cradle of Eastern and Indo-European civilization. The Trans-Himalayan and Central Asian region between India proper and Siberia, and between the Middle East and the Far East, appears as the notable habitat of the nomads

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of various descriptions, forming as they did a sort of empire and civilization of their own. The Chinese were in the role of civilizers in the Eastern Subcontinent or Far East, while the activity of the Nordic races found its congenial ground in the Northern Subcontinent. So far as India is concerned, the North-Western Division, watered by the Indus system of rivers and traditionally known as the Land of the Sapta Sindhu, draws our attention as the region where most of the tribes and races congregated at first, and which became thereby the most important centre of the Indo-Aryan civilization.

The Achaemenian inscriptions clearly hold before us the mighty picture of an extensive empire founded in the sixth century B.C. over the Middle East as defined above. It comprised Media, Susiana, Arakesia, Armenia, Drangiana, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Khorasmia, Babylonia, Assyria, Sattagydia, Sparda, Egypt, two Ionian (Greek) Colonies in Asia Minor, the Indus region, Kappadokia, Dahae, two divisions of Skythia, Skudria, Aksufaka, Pantia, Karkia, and Kushiya (Ethiopia ?). This empire, the largest of all in that age, came thus to serve as the symbol of unity of several countries and peoples of the Orient. The great Persian monarchy was preceded by the Neo-Babylonian, the Assyrian, the Old Babylonian, the Chaldean, the Sumerian, and the Egyptian. Among the ancient peoples, the Egyptians led the way as the builders of the pyramids as sepulchral monuments superseding the dolmens or megalithic structures of primitive races, as the inventors of the hieroglyphic and hieratic forms of writing, serving evidently as the parent script of all nations and of all ages. Next in order of chronology are the civilization built up by the Sumerians who were the inventors of the cuneiform writing, the materially advanced civilization of the Indus Valley built by the inventors of a third form of writing resembling more the Egyptian than the Sumerian, and the civilization of China built by the inventors of a vertical system of pictographic alphabet. All the later forms of writing and those which are current in the present world are but offshoots or derivatives of one or the other of the four original scripts. Like the Egyptians and others, the Phoenicians noted for their commercial ventures, and the Hittites and Mittanies of Asia Minor were in their own turn in the role of the builders and moulders of civilization.

During this very period the literary productions of the Egyptians, Sumerians, Babylonians, Hittites, Mittanies, and Assyrians in the form of the *Book of the Dead*, and hymns and psalms culminated in and were superseded by the Indo-Aryan hymns in the *Rigveda*. These hymns with their counterparts in the Gathas of the Iranian *Avesta* prominently stood for the elevation of human nature and expression. The Punjab proper, then known as the Saptasindhu or land of the Seven Rivers was the common ground of India and Iran where these hymns and Gathas were composed and chanted, and this was the very place where previously sprang up and flourished the ancient and advanced civilization of the Indus Valley.

In the beautiful garden of Eden, in the environs of four rivers including the Euphrates and in close proximity to Assyria, Ethiopia, and Havilah, was laid the beginning of the history of Judaism with its uncompromising monotheism and strong condemnation of idolatry, leaving nevertheless a loophole for Satan and his terrible mischief-making in the world of man. The subsequent history of the Israelites in the land of Palestine, Syria, Judia, and Lybia is full of agony due to the subjection and slavery of the God-fearing people under the Egyptians. Slavery and idolatry of various forms darkened the social and religious life of the ancient peoples, and they were the two most dreaded evils against which the human soul cried for relief, release, and emancipation. In the Indus Valley, the great *Yogins* developed their insight and spiritual powers, while, in the early Vedic hymns, the gifted seers arrived through reflection at the conception of unity in diversity and the singleness of the supreme being. The hymn-chanters flattered the gods just to employ them best to their service on the principle of "give and take." The religious consciousness of India evolved, and the process reached a stage in which it placed the best of men on the same level with the highest Deity. The religious consciousness of China, too, underwent changes *pari passu*, seeing first the gods and men as living apart and then intermingled, first men as following the customs of gods and afterwards the gods as observing the customs of men.

A glorious chapter in the history of Asia and India opened with the establishment of the Persian Empire. The everlasting fame of Cyrus the Great rests on the fact that he released the Jews from their Babylonian captivity and restored them to their holy city of Jerusalem and also helped them to rebuild their temple. Another striking point is that the Achaemenian rulers expressly espoused the cause of the upliftment of humanity in spite of their boast of the imperium. It was precisely at this time that a new upheaval in human thought took place with the advent of Thales of Miletos as the father of Greek philosophy, of Zoroaster of Media as the great religious reformer of Persia, of Gautama the Buddha as the propounder of Buddhism in India, and of Confucius as the accredited teacher of China. Zoroastrianism with its dualistic concepts of Good and Evil and the ethical motto of good thoughts, good words and good actions and strong reforming zeal had a chance to spread all over the Persian empire including Greece and to shape and mould the thoughts and character of the age. Buddhism was destined to become a great force in Asiatic and world civilization from the days of Asoka. Both the philosophers and law-makers of India championed the cause of freedom from servitude and slavery, from bondages of all description. India then earned an unstinted praise for this from the Greek ambassador Megasthenes. All men were held equal in the eye of the law, and even no foreigners were used as slaves. Individuals were allowed to enjoy the right of ownership over their properties but the social system and religious feelings impelled them to rejoice as willing distributors of benefits to others. *Dharma* as the eternal and universal moral order was placed above the kings and saints alike, and the State was considered only as means of promoting the cause of the *Dharma*. The increase of comforts and happiness of all, even including the animals, and the elevation of human nature through education and by all possible means were set as the two principal aims before each and every state. The great Chinese teacher Confucius too, stood as champion for the moral elevation of the people of China, and, in his opinion, this could be achieved through the proper education of men and the functioning of the State in that very direction. The progressive trend of the political and religious thought

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of India was fully grasped by Asoka who gave it practical shape and made the full use of it to promote the cause of piety in India and the world, and to ensure the real progress of humanity through a proper understanding and appreciation of each other's culture. Thus indeed India came to be "placed between the cultures of the East and the West." It is in Asoka's creative vision of an empire of *Dharma* that we see the fulfilment of India's cherished desire for harmonising the national aspirations with the international amity and solidarity. The Mauryan empire founded by Chandragupta was immediately preceded by the invasion of Alexander, the dreamer of a world empire. Over the ruins of the great Persian empire was built for the time being a Macedonian empire with its destructive and formative effects on the culture and civilization of Asia. The reaction of the Achaemenian supremacy naturally led to the awakening of a new vision of world domination in the Greek mind. With the establishment of the Macedonian empire in Africa and Western Asia the republican spirit of Greece gave way to an imperial craze, and it is true to say that thereafter the history of Macedonian empire became just a chapter of the history of Persia. The North-Western India disunited fell an easy prey to the Greek invader, and the same united under the common leadership of Chandragupta "shook off from its neck the yoke of servitude."

However meagre was the Greek knowledge of India prior to Alexander's invasion, the stories then current in Greece went to depict India "as a land of righteous folk." The Greeks became factors in the history of Asia and India first as Ionians, next as Macedonians, and last as Bactrians, and *Yavana* was adopted in Indian usage as a Sanskritised form of *Yona*, derived from Ionia. The Achaemenian inscriptions that speak of two Greek settlements in Asia Minor distinguish the Ionians as those who wore some kind of head-dress (*takabharas*) and those who dwelt near the sea, meaning the Mediterranean, the first placed to the west of Skudria and the second to the West of Kappadokia. Some of the early Ionians who founded a colony somewhere between the river Kubha (Kabul) and the Indus came to be known together with the Kambojas, the Gandharas, and other warlike neighbours as a Persianised people whose social organization and religious principles differed from those of the Indo-Aryan community. They recognized just two social grades of masters and slaves, meaning, however, no impassable barrier between the two; *Ahimsa* or the non-harming of life was not the cardinal principle of their religion.

The first three Maurya emperors of India were in communication through envoys with the Greek potentates of Syria and Western Asia, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia, and Epirus, all of whom were either the generals of Alexander or their successors. Although Megasthenes, the ambassador of Saleukos Nikator to the Court of Chandragupta (*Sandrakottos*) paid the highest compliment to the Jews and the Indians as the two important peoples who had developed philosophical thinking outside Greece, and noted some striking points of similarity between Indian philosophy and Greek thought, particularly with regard to the study of nature and the idea of soul and its immortality, it is undeniable that the eastern thoughts moved on a higher level of self-consciousness, and viewed and judged things from a higher plane of human experience and spirituality. With the eastern thinkers it is not mere man that he is "the measure of everything" but only that man who is pure in the eye of the maker or one who ranks with the Deity by virtue of his knowledge and self-perfection.

The envoys of Asoka were the imperial agents for carrying cultural mission in the world within and without. The shaping influence of his programme of piety and of his ethical idealism in the whole of human conduct and institution was great indeed. His noble idea and scheme of religious toleration contained something ever precious for the guidance of posterity in all countries and among all nations. It is rightly said that Asoka did for Buddhism what St. Paul did for Christianity by preaching and stressing mainly "the dynamic of conduct."

It is difficult yet to say how far Mazdaism or Zoroastrianism, the national faith of the Medians and Iranians, succeeded in producing any appreciable changes in the Egyptian religion and the then known religion of the Jewish people. But there is evidence to prove that the confidential teaching of Mazdaism had some amount of appeal to the Greek philosophers, including Aristotle, and it is not claimed without reason that Neo-Platonism was definitely its Greek offshoot. The Roman empire came to include the countries in Asia Minor after the decay of the Greek suzerainty. In this very region Christianity arose nearly two and a half centuries after Asoka as an emotional faith with its high moral tone, noble ideas of self-surrender to the Divine will, self-dedication and self-sacrifice, and powerful protest against priest-ridden Judaism.

The preaching of the new gospel of love, peace, and fraternity by Jesus Christ in Western Asia and that of the religion of goodness and humanity by Mani in Turkestan and its neighbourhood were undoubtedly two significant developments in the East. The greatest act of felony ever committed by the Jewish Scribes and Pharisees was the crucifixion of Jesus, and that by the Magian priests of Iran, the death of Mani brought about by them. Mazdak suffered the same fate at the hands of the Zoroastrian priesthood, and the communism preached by his followers was violently suppressed by the Sassanian rulers under the same influence.

In India, at about this time, the growing popular demand for the worship of a supreme Personal God was met through the docetism of the *Bhagavad Gita* which in its universalism sought to make room for all classes of men and for all religious temperaments. There is no cause for astonishment therefore that the Bactrians, the Parthians, the Scythians, and others who came into India were allowed a free stay without molestation or persecution. India showed the same spirit of toleration to the Jews, the Christians, and the Parsees who happened to come here.

The contact with the Greeks in the North-West was fruitful in that the Greek idea of humanity and beauty combined with India's spirituality and sense of infinity led to the development of the Mahayana altruism and ideal of self-dedication to the cause of human service.

India figured at this period as the centre of trade and industry along with commercial enterprises, and if she really succeeded in her foreign ventures, she did so by competing in open markets through the quality of goods and capacity for meeting the local

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demands without the spirit of exploitation and under no political domination. In the same spirit of meeting the cultural and spiritual demands of other peoples, the preachers went far and wide, and through them was established India's inseparable bond of love and tie of friendship with the countries around.

Through all the earlier currents and cross-currents of history, India reached the very zenith of her culture and civilization, opulence and power under the Gupta imperialism, and she shone forth then as the brightest star in the horizon of Asia. Hinduism took a definite shape as a tolerant deistic and mystic faith, and the Indian colonies in the Malay Archipelago became flourishing centres of Indian culture and influence. The close ethnical, commercial, political, and cultural relationship between the mainland of India and the island of Ceylon was established in earlier times. The moral code of Confucius and the Taoist quietism and mystical doctrine of *Tao* had prepared the Chinese mind for the reception and appreciation of India's profound message through Buddhism in the first few centuries of the Christian era, and Central Asia served as the connecting link between the two ancient neighbours. These earlier relations continued, and new relations came to be established with Ceylon, Siam, Further India, Central Asia, Afghanistan, and Tibet, mainly through Buddhism. The religion of the Buddha spread through China to Korea and Japan. India drew to her the Chinese pilgrims for a share of her sacred treasures. The Buddhist universities in Eastern India attracted thousands of students from all quarters as Taxila did in earlier times. Asvaghosha and Kalidasa appeared as two great luminaries in the world of Sanskrit verse to vie with the unexcelled epic fame of Vyasa and Valmiki. India excelled all other countries in the depth of her philosophy and the critical power of her logic and dialectic.

In the latter half of the sixth century, Arabia got her turn to develop into a powerful nation under the banner of Islam and the sole leadership of the Prophet Muhammad. The uncompromising monotheism and iconoclastic faith of Islam with its religious democracy and brotherhood created a momentum carrying everything before it. Historically viewed, Islam was just a further step from Judaism, on the one hand, and Zoroastrianism with its later monotheistic tendency, on the other. At the same time Buddhism and Saivism launched on their respective career of "conquest of the three worlds" with the express aim of boldly facing all positions in man's faith and giving the best of everything needed by all.

Islam spread east, west, and south, mostly in the territories once included in the Achaemenian empire. Placed in an environment of various forms of mysticism that gained ground in Asia among the Chinese, the Indians, the Zoroastrians, the Christians, and the Jews, the Muslim saints came to develop Sufism, which was nurtured in Persia. The Prophet's opinion, that "the pen of the scholar is more precious than the blood of the martyr," seems to have stimulated the intellectual life of Arabia, which grew into an important seat of learning, especially for the study of the sciences and philosophies of the East and the West. Thus the sun of knowledge began to shine forth in the Orient when the Christian Europe remained enveloped in darkness of the Middle Ages.

Both the spread of Islam as the new faith of Arabia with its proselytizing zeal and the expansion of commercial interests of the Arabs needed a strong military backing, which eventually resulted in the establishment of political supremacy and domination. The military zeal and martial spirit of the new converts urged the Muslims to pour into the richest plains of Hindusthan. Here within four or five centuries of Muslim rule a distinct type of the Indo-Muslim culture grew up, and it found its remarkable expression in Indian languages, literatures, arts, architectures, religions, philosophies, manners, and customs. This happy synthetic process in the midst of many conflicts and complexities was at the back of Akbar's *sulh-i-kul* or "principle of universal toleration," which even led him to think of founding a new eclectic religion on the basic principles of all religions and under the name of *Din Ilahi*.

Malikeswar (pen-name "Bahar"), the greatest living poet of Iran, has truly and charmingly painted the glory of India in the palmy days of the early Mughals in his homage, which reads :

"From the time of Humayun to the reign of Shahjahan,
India was the land of comfort for poets ;
India was a market-place for arts,
India was at once the land of love, emotion and refinement ;
Art, skill, and taste took shape,
And developed in Isfahan and Herat ;
Caravans of hearts filled with spiritual commodities proceeded (to India) ;
The Court of Akbar became an object of envy to Ghazna."

And what befell the country thereafter is also depicted in the following pensive lines :

"Tho' today pomp and grandeur are no more,
Yet one knows not the secret of Destiny.
Tho' pomp and power exist no more, still their impressions are there ;
Tho' the pleasures are gone yet their vestiges remain.
Tho' Delhi without her Akbar is not jubilant,
Still the market of learning is brisk everywhere."

It is a cruel irony of fate that the liberal policy of Akbar was rather rudely counteracted by the narrow sectarianism of his great-grandson Aurangzib, Ibn Khaldun's fifth man of the dynasty, after whose death the Mughal empire dwindled beyond recovery, precisely as in the earlier times a narrow Brahmanist reaction set in against the progressive ideas by which India gained her rightful place in the past in the comity of nations. It may also be noted that whatever be other reasons for the dawnfall of Buddhism in India, Middle East and Eastern Turkestan, it was coincident with the military advance of the Muslim forces and the expansion of Islam. The historian must admit, nevertheless, that Islam saved the soul of Asia from the catastrophic Mongol invasion under Quablai Khan and others which struck terror into the heart of all men and proved itself to be subversive of all civilization.

Now, it may be pertinent to review what happened in Asia and other parts of the world since the discovery of the maritime routes by the two Portuguese navigators, Columbus and Vasco-de-Gama. When the great Arabian school of philosophy, science and mathematics ceased to be since the foundation of the first Madrassa at Baghdad, then began the intellectual re-awakening of Europe as a result of the

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study of the works of Plato and Aristotle preserved in the East. This renaissance brought in its train a vigorous reform movement and both were quickly followed by an industrial revolution. The European nations became greatly active in finding out markets everywhere in the world for their goods. During the early period of this movement, the Portuguese played the pioneer and most important role. The Dutch, the Spaniards, the French, and the English followed suit. Out of a series of warfares, which ensued from a keen desire for monopoly and political supremacy, Britain came out as the ultimate victor.

The Portuguese brought in their train an aggressive form of the Roman Catholic faith, which directly or indirectly helped them to proceed with their colonial policy. They carried along with their merchandise, the germs of an infectious venereal disease. It began to spread its contagion from one end of Asia to another. The unwary people of the east identified this disease with the fair name of Christianity. The dread of the disease was such that there is a chapter of the history of Japan in which the Government of the country declared a reward on any and every Christian head. The easterners breathed a sigh of relief when the Britishers became masters of the situation and began to pursue a neutral policy as regards the local faiths. Britain gained supremacy over the high seas after the crushing defeat of the Spanish Armada. The Britons and other Western nations took the full advantage of the internal quarrels and weaknesses of the Eastern countries, and thereby succeeded in establishing their political supremacy and commercial monopoly. In the name of security, justice and fairplay, the Britishers pursued all along the policy of "divide and rule" and practised the diplomatic art of playing off one party against another. All their diplomatic methods and administrative machineries were directed to creating among the ruled a deep impression about their racial superiority, national invincibility, natural uprightness, and good intentions. The people were made to suffer from the consciousness of their backwardness, cultural inferiority, internal dissension and utter helplessness. They ranked nevertheless as the foremost among the foreign masters by virtue of their being the best founders of stable governments and builders of civilization.

In the meantime the heart of the East was groaning under the weight of foreign domination and the spirit of liberty asserting itself from time to time. The national re-awakening of China from the years of self-oblivion and lethargy expressed itself first through the Opium War of 1842. The first widespread and organised expression of a revolt of the coloured people against the alien power was the Indian Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, after the suppression of which the rule of the East India Company ended and India became a full-fledged empire under the British Crown. The entry of "the black-ships" in 1853 under the command of Commodore Perry served, on the one hand, to break "the age-old isolation of the mysterious island-empire," and, on the other, to open the eyes of Japan which stood then merely as "a country of feudal barons, cherry blossoms and pretty girls." The magnitude of Western designs in the Far East was quickly realized by her nobility, and within a decade they combined to do the needful for transforming their country from a feudal into a modernized state. Various contributory factors worked together to make Japan's political consciousness in India, which led to the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885.

At the critical juncture when Britain, Germany and America were busy playing the mischievous game of dividing up China, and Czarist Russia was having a keen eye on Korea, the first good or bad thing Japan did was the declaration of war on China in 1895, which resulted in the snatching away of Korea for making an independent kingdom of it. The signal victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 shook for the first time the faith in the invincibility of the Western powers; it raised the prestige of the East as a whole, and "the land of the Rising Sun" stood up before all as the living symbol of the rise and progress of the Orient. The second good or bad thing done by Japan was the inclusion of Korea in her empire. When China was being freely used as a pawn in the game of international politics and the interested powers were fomenting troubles, Sun-yet Sen appeared on the scene at the critical hour as the esteemed leader of young China whose political genius successfully acted to form the first Chinese Republic in 1911.

The first World War came on in 1914 and ended as an eye-opener in 1918. It exposed human savagery concealed in the boasted civilized life of the West in its naked form. "The right of self-determination," "freedom from oppression," "freedom of trade," "freedom of expression," and the like were the slogans that bewitched the mind of the East, while as principles, they were applicable only to the Western peoples. By this war Great Britain and her Eastern ally Japan made most of the gains. Certain mandated territories were created in the Middle East and Africa outwardly in the name of training them up for self-government and inwardly for military purpose and economic exploitation. India was offered an ostensible dose of political reform, while "Imperial Preference" shaped and moulded Great Britain's commercial policy. The dominant popular tendency was to replace autocracy either by pure democracy or by some kind of constitutional monarchy. In the wake of this the world saw the formation of several republics in Europe, large or small. But as time went on, almost each of them became converted into a supreme dictatorship. This happened particularly in Russia, Germany, Italy, Spain, Eire and Turkey in Europe, and in China and Iran in Asia. Though the general type of the dictatorship was the same, its forms, methods, and purposes differed. The very same tendency of the age would seem accountable for party organizations in India, each under its high command of supreme leadership. Some years before this war a Pan-Islamic movement was started in Turkey, aiming at the unity and solidarity of the Muslim states and co-religionists, and this was followed a few years after the great war by a Pan-Pacific Conference convened by Japan. Here, in India, the National Congress and the Khilafat movement were working together for a united and free India. But after this war, the Pan-Islamic idea was altogether dropped by Kemal Pasha in Turkey, the place of its origin, in the interest of the Turkish nationalism, and the Khilafat movement died out, yielding place to the Muslim League. The Congress and the League were at cross-purposes, whereas the latter as a purely Muslim communal organization gave rise to the Hindu Mahasabha as a counteracting body.

It is not difficult to think with Professor Lasky that in the iniquitious treaty of Versailles was really

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sown the seed of the second World War which has shaken the very foundation of human existence and happiness by the magnitude of its fury. This was an inevitable outcome of economic rivalry, inordinate love of power, large-scale military preparations and implacable race-hatred. It has come too abruptly to an end just to find the world gone completely out of joint. With the fall of the political and military dictatorship the voice of the people is growing louder and louder for a larger and larger share in their governments and socio-economic organizations. To maintain the hard-won peace or to restore the lost equilibrium of the world as a whole, the U. N. O. is brought into existence with sanction behind it in the place of the defunct League of Nations. This is sought to be broad-based on international collaborations for educational advancement and moral upliftment. The boasted New World Order keeps apparently in its view the creation of a World State, which is the last dream of the poets, philosophers, divines and scientists. Although Japan's idea of "Asia for the Asiatics" is found to grow pale before the glamour of Tagore's dream of "world-harmony," it cannot be doubted that along with the growing tide of freedom and spirit of liberty, there is a genuine and deep longing among the peoples of Asia for co-operation in the great task of reviving their cultures and attuning them to all of their progressive moves.

This is just a transitional state of world history. The future constitution of India is in the offing along with those of some of the neighbouring countries. The concept of democracy itself is being critically examined and logically tested. The lurking suspicion of human mind behind the secrecy of atomic energy is that he U. N. O. rests on the same old power politics. The strong impression of the thinking mind is that the United States and Soviet Russia are behaving like "two giant wrestlers feeling each other out before grappling." Great Britain is afraid of "the Russian influence spreading from the north and the American dollar imperialism engulfing around." Japan is calmly struggling between life and death. The Palestine problem remains unsolved as much for the Arabs as for the Zionists themselves. Communal disturbances are occasionally assuming an acute form throughout India. Even at such a critical juncture as this, the Asian Relations Conference meets on the 23rd day of March, 1947, in the Old Fort of Delhi which is known as the meeting-place of seven cities. It is to be opened by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the well-known political leader of India who is gifted with world-vision. The day fixed for this opening session is coincident with the coming in of the New Viceroy and the going out of the Old Viceroy. Though not physically present there at the moment, I can well imagine the colourful grandeur of the vast congregation of men and women, and fully realise the greatness of the occasion. I can feel with others that the atmosphere created is such as to make all the rivers of India flow down and all the breezes blow, proclaiming the march of Asia and the Orient "from serfdom to freedom."

The anticipation is not belied by the following description by an eye-witness of how the conference set the stage for its glorious consummation :

> "Delegates from all over the East—Near, Middle and Far—commingled with their different and distinctive costumes and cultures produced a grand spectacle. There was harmony between complicating notes whether of conversation (each delegate speaking in his mother-tongue) or of colour and clothes proving fundamental unity in apparent diversity. Whether it was the Indian conveners of the great gathering or the distinguished visitors drawn from Mongolian, Semitic and Aryan races, all spoke in the same vein and strain, releasing their respective streams of thought in the same channel, that of Asian unity as a step to ultimate world unity. There was not a note of rancour or vindictiveness against the erstwhile oppressors, the imperialists from Europe against whom every Asiatic nation bears a grudge, big or small. True to traditional oriental philosophy, all countries in the East, expressing themselves from a common forum in Delhi today, forget their old sores against the West, and unitedly stretch their hands of friendship and reconciliation in the common endeavour for world reconstruction."

As for the congregation itself, the impression given is :

> "The courts of Vikramaditya in Ujjain, or of Chandragupta and Asoka in Pataliputra, or of Akbar and Shahjahan in Delhi could not boast of a gathering of all Asian representatives like the one which was witnessed."

National movements for freedom in Asia, racial problems with special reference to racial conflicts, inter-Asian migration and the status and treatment of immigrants, transition from colonial to national economy, agricultural reconstruction and industrial developments, labour problems and social services, cultural problems with special reference to education, art and architecture, scientific research and literature, and the status of women and women's movements in Asia are the main subjects selected for discussion. Though the express aim of the conference is cultural, and not political, the above list of subjects well indicates that it is difficult to draw a line between what is strictly cultural and what is narrowly political.

It is rather sad to have to observe that the Muslim Leaguers are the only section of the people of India not to take part in this conference. The simple boycott of the conference as a negative act of non-co-operation on their part would be intelligible and harmless. All that one might wish is that they were advised not to think of greeting the conference and the new Viceroy with their Pakistan Day and its corollary, especially when the delegates included distinguished representatives of almost all the Muslim States headed by Turkey, Egypt and Indonesia.

But, in spite of all obstacles put in the way, the impression which is likely to be carried by each and every delegate on his or her way back home is that the conference was a grand success as the first of its kind in the history of Asia.

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SASTRIC INJUNCTIONS REGARDING FORCIBLE CONVERSION AND ABDUCTION

By Dr. ROMA CHAUDHURI, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)

After the heart-rending events of Noakhali, the Hindu Society is now faced with a serious problem, *viz.*, that of dealing with the unfortunate victims of forcible conversion and marriage or abduction. It is needless to point out that the very phrase 'forcible conversion' involves a contradiction in terms, for religion can never be a matter of force or coercion—it springs only from within, from real faith, conviction and feeling. What we understand by reason, what we feel by the heart, what we subscribe to and embrace out of our own free will—that alone can be our true religion in any real sense of the term. But no religion can ever be externally super-imposed on any one through mere brute force and threat, through making him take forbidden food and observe certain rites and rituals at the point of the sword. If the heart be not convinced, of what value is this empty ritualism? That is why, no great religion of the world sanctions forced conversion, and so it is entirely opposed to the teaching of Islam no less. In fact, all right-thinking Moslems have in one voice condemned the atrocious happenings of Noakhali as wholly un-Islamic. What is true of forced conversion is also equally true of forced marriage and abduction. Like religion, marriage too is a matter of the heart, and where the heart consents not, there the so-called marriage by sheer force can have no value or validity morally, legally and socially. Chastity is an inner quality, and a woman loses neither physical nor mental purity through brutal outrages perpetrated on her per force. All these are so simple, so self-evident truths that it needs no arguments to prove them. But it is strange that our own Hindu Society in the past failed most lamentably to recognise even these simple truths, these fundamental canons of justice, and insisted on excommunicating even forcibly converted men and women and forcibly married or abducted women. It is useless now to go into the reasons which led the law-givers and society-leaders of those days to adopt such a most unjust and cruel course of action against the canons of all reason, justice and mercy. But, it cannot be denied that Noakhali outrages were in a sense the direct outcome of this very short-sighted policy of the Hindu Society itself. It is because even a forcibly converted Hindu has no place in society, it is because even a forcibly married or abducted woman is abandoned as wholly unchaste, that evil-minded designers have throughout the ages found in Hindu men and women easy targets for their nefarious plots. Had Hindu Society been more liberal, had it consented to take such men and women back into its own fold honourably, forced conversions and marriages would undoubtedly have become far rarer occurrenees so far as Hindu Society is concerned.

However, it is a matter of great gratification that whatever be its past mistakes, during the present crisis Hindu Society has shown a new spirit of courage and broad-mindedness. Every cloud has its silver lining, and face to face with an unexpected disaster that threatens to undermine its very existence, Hindu Society is at long last awakening up from that century-old slumber into which it remained sunk so long, oblivious of the rapidly changing social conditions that call forth re-orientation of social codes and values. As soon as the great disaster of Noakhali came to light, the All-India Hindu Mahasabha declared unequivocally that forced conversions and marriages were to be considered wholly null and void, and the persons affected by these had never ceased to be 'Hindus', so that no *prayaschittas* or purificatory rites would be at all necessary for them. Considering the past regrettable practice of Hindu Society, it was indeed a courageous stand and the All-India Hindu Mahasabha has earned the gratitude of all for their very prompt and just response to the call of humanity in distress. But, deep-rooted prejudices die hard. That is why, although Society itself is now welcoming them with open arms, some of the forcibly converted Hindus and forcibly married or abducted Hindu women—who have so long been taught to think themselves impure and unchaste even if forcibly subjected to these—are reported to be rather reluctant to come back to their society and families for fear of polluting them. For such persons, the All-Bengal Brahmin Sabha has enjoined that although really no purificatory penances are necessary for them as they have committed no sins, yet if they themselves so feel, for their own satisfaction alone, they can perform some easy, token penances, like ablution in the Ganges, or muttering of the name of God, etc. Undoubtedly, such injunctions, too, are quite appropriate for those who will not get any peace of mind unless they perform some purificatory rites for their unintentional 'sins.'

Although generally speaking Hindu Society insisted on outcasting even forcibly converted men and women and forcibly married or abducted women, yet some Smritikaras or law-givers have openly admitted that such men and women incur no sin and should not, therefore, be outcasted. Some have, again, enjoined certain purificatory rites, the performance of which entitles the above persons to their old honourable position in Society. Many of these Smriti-sastras are out of print or rather difficult to get, and that is why the enlightened views of these few Smritikaras are not generally known. Hence, we give here the English renderings of some of these texts.

Mahabharata

The Moksha-dharma section of the Santi-parva of the Mahabharata contains some beautiful verses where it has been clearly declared that as women are entirely dependent on men, women can never incur any sin—sins can belong to men alone. That is, as according to the laws of Society, men are responsible for maintaining and protecting women, so if women are in danger of life and honour through the fault of

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weakness of men, it is men who should be held responsible—why should women suffer or be victimised for that? While commenting on these verses Nilkantha, the most famous commentator of the Mahabharata, points out more explicitly that forcibly outraged women are entirely faultless and should never be outcasted and abandoned. Even women who have committed adultery cannot be punished by Society, for here, too, it is men who take the first initiative and tempt women. That is why it is men who should be punished here, never women. The verses are as follows:

"If men, after uttering the marriage vows and after accepting certain maidens as their partners in religious matters (*i.e.*, after accepting them as their lawfully wedded wives), run after other women, then such men should no longer be worshipped (as husbands). A husband is called the 'Maintainer' (*Bharta*) only because he maintains his wife; and he is called the 'Protector' (*Pati*) only because he protects her. But if these qualities of (maintaining and protecting) cease, he, too, ceases to be her husband (*Bharta* and *Pati*). Thus a woman commits no sin,—it is the man alone who commits sins. Even when a great sin has been committed, it is the man alone who sins. The Smritis declare that the husband is the supreme god of his wife. Ahalya gave herself up to Indra taking him as her husband (and so she incurred no sin). Women commit no sin, it is men alone who commit sins. As women are dependent on men in every respect, women do not commit any sin."—(*Mahabharata*, Santi Parva, "Moksha-Dhamma," Chapter 265, Verses 37-40).

Nilkantha's commentary:

"Apprehending the objection that a woman who has committed adultery is to be killed, other wise inter-mixture of castes will result—(the author replies:) Even when the great sin of adultery is committed, it is the man alone who is the real culprit. For, this sin would not have been committed had the man not approached the woman. Hence, the man alone who takes the first initiative incurs sin. If it be objected that as the woman, too, consents here, she too, incurs sin, (the author says:) A woman gives herself up to a man taking him to be her husband, and so she cannot be said to commit the sin of adultery. Hence, in the conclusion it is said that a woman commits no sin. Moreover, as a woman being weak by nature is dependent on man in every respect, if forcibly outraged, she incurs no sins. For, it is not the woman who requests the man for this sort of thing; it is the man himself who makes this kind of immoral proposal—so there can be no doubt that it is he who commits sin. Thus, women, specially mothers, more specially those who shine in the glory of chastity, should never be killed—this even the beasts, devoid of intelligence, know."

Atri-Smriti, Atri-Samhita, Vasistha-Smriti and Baudhayana-Smriti

All these Smritis are very ancient and in all of them there are certain similar verses which clearly assert that as women are by nature ever-pure, they cannot commit any wrong and incur sin. More specially, forcibly outraged women are never defiled thereby, and so they should never be discarded as unchaste.

Atri-Smriti

The entire fifth chapter of this Smriti has been devoted to demonstrating the essential purity of women as a class. The verses are as follows:

"A woman is not polluted by a paramour; a Brahmin, well-versed in the Vedas is not polluted (even by the acts of violence, like sacrificing animals, enjoined in the Vedas). Water is not polluted by urine and faeces, and fire is not polluted by burning (impure things). A woman who is outraged by force, or when abducted by a thief, or when herself in distress, or by fraud, is untainted by sin, (and so) she should never be discarded—discarding her is wholly improper. She is purified by her courses. Women are unequalled in purity,—they are never defiled by anything whatsoever. Every month their sins are destroyed through their courses. Formerly, women were enjoyed by the gods Soma, Gandharva and Agni. Men enjoy them afterwards, (that is why) women are never defiled by anything whatsoever. If a woman be made pregnant by a man belonging to another caste, then she remains impure only so long as the child is not born. But as soon as the child is born and she passes a period, she becomes pure like pure gold. Soma gave women purity; Gandharva, auspicious speech; Agni, all-purity,—and hence women are always pure. A brass pot is purified by ashes, a copper pot by acid. A woman is purified by her courses, a river by its current, silver by cow-dung, and gold by water. Except wine-pots, all other pots are pure. The wise do not speak ill of seats, beds, mouths of women, Kusa grass (or blanket) and hoofs, just as they do not speak ill of the sacrificial pots. Swarms of bees, current, earth, water, fire, cat, sacrificial spoon, and mongoose are always pure. A calf is pure on the flowing of the milk; a bird, on the fall of fruit; women, on intercourse; and a dog, on his catching a deer. To a lame man, sandals are pure, on a bad road, shoes; among clothes, the loin-cloth, but women are pure all over. Goats and horses are pure in the mouth; a cow, on the back; a Brahmin, in feet; but women are pure all over."—(*Atri-Smriti*, Chapter 5, Verses 1-16).

Atri-Smriti contains similar verses as follows:

"Soma, Gandharvas, and Angiras have endowed women with purity; and fire, with all-purity. Hence, women are ever-pure." (Verse 139).

"The question of purity does not arise at all in the case of women and invalids (as they are ever-pure). A woman is not polluted by a paramour, nor a Brahmin by works enjoined in the Vedas, nor water by urine and faeces, nor fire by the act of burning (impure things). Formerly, women were enjoyed by the gods—Soma, Gandharva and Fire. Men enjoy them later on, (so) they are not polluted by anything whatsoever. If a woman be made pregnant by a man belonging to another caste, then she remains impure only so long as the child is not born. But as soon as the child is born and she passes a course, she becomes pure like pure gold. If a woman is outraged when herself in distress, or by fraud, or by force, or by a thief (or stealthily), she is not polluted thereby, and so she should not be discarded, (as) she herself did not consent to the act. (Such) a woman should be approached at the proper period (as) she is purified by her courses, (*i.e.*, she is to be honourably restored back to her former position as wife; and if a maiden, she should be given in marriage, just as before)." (Verses 188-194).

The Atri-Samhita contains two additional verses regarding the purificatory penances necessary for a woman outraged by a foreigner, *i.e.*, a man of a different religion and community (*Mleccha*). These are as follows:

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"A woman who has been outraged once by a foreigner or by an evil person, is purified by the *Prajapatya* rite and by her courses. A woman who has been outraged once by force or by fraud, is purified by the *Prajapatya* rite." (Verses 197-198).

The Atri-Samhita also contains three verses regarding the purificatory penances necessary for a man who unintentionally comes into contact with a foreign woman belonging to a different religion and community (*Mleccha Stri*) :

"If a man comes into contact with a foreign woman, he is purified through the *Santapana* rite. He can attain purity, again, through the *Tapta-Kricchra* rite. If he has connection with his wife who has been outraged by a foreigner, he can attain purity by bathing with his clothes on and by eating clarified butter (ghee). . . . If he is forced against his will to have connection with the women of Chandalas, foreigners, Svapachas and Kapalikas, then he becomes pure through the performance of *Paraka* rite." (Verses 180-81, 183).

Vasistha Smriti

In the Vasistha-Smriti almost all the above verses of the Atri-Smriti regarding women's essential purity are found verbatim.

Baudhayana Smriti

It contains two verses, very similar to those already quoted above. They are as follows :

"Women are unequalled in purity, they are not polluted by anything whatsoever. Every month their sins are destroyed by their courses. Soma gave them purity ; Gandharva, wise speech ; Fire, the power of burning (all sins)—hence women are ever-stainless." (Verses 2, 63-64).

Manu-Smriti, Visnu-Smriti, and Yajnavalkya-Smriti

Manu-Smriti is revered by the Hindus throughout the ages as the oldest and the best of Hindu Law codes. Visnu and Yajnavalkya Smriti, too, are very ancient. These Smritis contain some clear statements regarding the nullity of all forced acts, and the essential purity of women.

Manu Smriti

It contains a beautiful verse where it has been explicitly said that what a man is forced to do against his will does not entail any sin on his part. The verse is as follows :

"What is given by force, what is enjoyed by force, what is written by force—in short, everything that is done by force, Manu has declared null and void." (Verse 8, 168).

In another place, Manu distinguishes between intentional and unintentional sins by pointing out that according to some authorities only unintentional sins can be atoned for through purificatory penances, and never intentional sins. But Manu himself thinks that only unintentional sins can be atoned for by light purificatory penances, while intentional sins need other heavier ones. The verses are as follows :

"Some wise men hold that only unintentional sins can be atoned for through purificatory rites. But others, relying or the scriptures, declare that even intentional sins can be atoned for. Only unintentional sins can be atoned for through the repetition of the Vedas. But intentional sins committed through delusion can be done so by other different kinds of purificatory rites." (Verses 11, 45-46).

Manu has the following passage regarding the essential purity of women :

"The mouth of a woman is always pure ; a bird is pure on the fall of fruit ; a calf, on the flowing of the milk ; a dog, on his catching a deer." (Verses 13, 49).

Visnu-Smriti

In a verse here, it is declared that what is written by force or by fraud has no legal value at all. No doubt, this rule is equally applicable to all other cases of forced and fradulent transactions as well. The verse is as follows :

"What is transacted by force is not a legal proof, what is transacted by fraud is equally so." (Visnu-Smriti 7, 6-7).

As regards the natural purity of women, the very same above verse from Manu is found here too.

Yajnavalkya-Smriti

Here also we find a similar injunction regarding forced transactions. Compare the verse, "What is written by one's own hand is admitted as a legal proof, even if there be no witness to it. But what is written by force or fraud is never so." (Verse 91).

Baudhayana-Smriti

According to this Smriti, too, forcibly converted people can be purified through certain penances, so that they should not be outcasted. The verses are as follows :

"For those who have been forcibly made slaves by foreigners, Chandalas and rogues and forced to do heinous acts like killing cows, etc., Brahmins should enjoin purificatory penances according to the seriousness or otherwise of those acts." (Verses 5, 5-6).

Devala-Smriti

This Smriti is rarely available now-a-days. The entire Smriti deals with various forms of purificatory rites for forcibly converted people and abducted women. As it is not possible to give English translations of the whole Smriti here, only a summary is given below.

1. If any one is forcibly carried away by foreigners belonging to a different religion and community (*Mleccha*), and is then forced to drink forbidden beverages, eat forbidden food and have connection with forbidden women, then the following penances will be necessary for him according to his caste and according to the time that he is forced to spend in this state :

(*a*) If a Brahmin is forced to live in this state for one whole year, he will have to perform the purificatory rites of *Chandrayana* and *Paraka*. "*Chandrayana*" penance means that the person concerned should take fourteen mouthfuls on the first day of the dark half of the moon, thirteen mouthfuls on the second day, similarly go on decreasing a mouthful each day, and fast completely on the new-moon night. Again, he should take one

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mouthful only on the first day of the bright half of the moon, two mouthfuls on the second day, similarly go on increasing a mouthful each day, and take fifteen mouthfuls on the full-moon night. *Paraka* penance means fasting and practising self-control for twelve days. A Kshatriya under similar circumstances will have to perform one *Paraka* and one *Padakricchra* penances. *Padakricchra* penance means eating only once during the day on the first day, eating only once during the night on the second day, and fasting whole day and night on the third day. A Vaisya under similar circumstances will have to perform half *Paraka* rite, *i.e.*, fast and practise self-control for six days; while a Sudra will have to do so only for five days. (Verses 7-9).

(*b*) One who is abducted by a foreigner and forced to live in that stage for more than a year, will have also to bathe in the Ganges, over and above. (Verse 15).

2. If any one is forcibly made slave by foreigners, Chandalas and rogues, and is forced to do forbidden deeds, like eating cows, etc.; eat and clean the leavings of the food eaten by them; eat the flesh of camels, boars, etc.; have connection with their women and partake food with such women, then the following purificatory rites will be necessary for him. (Verses 17-19).

(*a*) If one is forced to remain in this state for a month, then if he be a Brahmin or a Kshatriya or a Vaisya, he will attain purity through the performance of *Prajapatya* penance. If he be a Sudra he will have to perform the *Padakricchra* rite. (Verses 19, 27).

(*b*) If a Brahmin, a Kshatriya or a Vaisya is forced to stay with the foreigners for a year, then he will have to perform *Chandrayana* and *Paraka* rites. If he be a Sudra, he can attain purity through performing *Chandrayana* rite and through drinking barley-gruel. (Verses 20, 26).

(*c*) If the above are forced to live in this state for more than a year, then the best among the Brahmins should think of other penances for them. (Verse 22).

3. If any one is forced to live and eat with a foreigner, then he will need the following purificatory rites:

(*a*) If he is forced to be in this connection for one to five days, then it will be necessary for him to take respectively one, two, three, four, or five of that five products of the cow (*Pancha-Gavya*), *viz.*, its urine, faeces, thickened milk, curd and clarified butter. (Verses 75-77).

(*b*) If he is forced to live in this state for more than five days, then also he should take all the above five products. (Verse 80).

4. Men of four castes, who are abducted by foreigners or rogues and are taken to foreign lands or forests where they are forced to take forbidden food either through the pangs of hunger or through fear, are freed again as soon as they return to their native places. In that case, a Brahmin should perform a whole *Prajapatya* penance; a Kshatriya, half of it; Vaisya, three quarters of it; and a Sudra, a quarter only. (Verses 45-46).

5. If a man is simply abducted by a foreigner (but not forced to do the above things), then the following penances will be necessary for them:

(*a*) If a Sudra is forced to live in this state for a whole year, then he must perform the *Chandrayana* penance; if for six months, *Paraka* penance; if for three months, half of a *Paraka*; if for a month, *Padakricchra* penance. In the case of a Vaisya, half the above and in the case of a Kshatriya three quarters of the above will be necessary. (Verses 26-28).

(*b*) If one is forced to remain in this state for five to twenty years, he will have to undertake two *Prajapatya* penances. (Verses 53-54).

One *Prajapatya* rite lasts for twelve days. Here, one should eat only once in the morning during the first quarter, only once in the evening during the second quarter, only what is given to him during the third quarter, and fast during the last quarter.

6. (*a*) If a woman is abducted and forcibly outraged by a foreigner, then in the cases of Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra women respectively, the performance of a full, half, three-fourth and one-fourth *Paraka* penance will be necessary. That is, they will have to fast for twelve, nine, six and three days respectively. (Verses 45-46).

(*b*) Those women who have not been outraged by foreigners and have not taken forbidden food are purified by the *Triratra* penance.

(*c*) But a woman, who has been made pregnant by a foreigner either with or without will and has partaken of forbidden food, cannot attain purity through the *Triratra* penance, but has to perform *Santapana-Kricchra* penance and besmear clarified butter over her body. (Verse 49). *Kricchra-Santapana* rite means fasting on the first day, taking the five products of the cow (*Pancha-gavya*), *viz.*, its urine, faeces, thickened milk, curd and clarified butter respectively on the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth days, and drinking only the washings of the Kusa-grass on the seventh day.

(*d*) If a woman be made pregnant by a man belonging to another caste, then she remains impure only so long as the child is not born, but after the birth of the child, she becomes pure like pure gold. (Verse 51).

In the case of old men above eighty and young men below sixteen, as well as in the case of women, boys and invalids, half penances are quite sufficient. In the case of a boy between the ages of five and ten, the penances should be performed by his father, guardian or some such person. (Verses 30-31).

Mahabharata and Smritis on Different Forms of Marriage

The Smritis generally speak of eight forms of marriage, *viz.*, (1) *Brahma*, where the father invites a learned groom and makes a gift of his well-decked daughter to him. (2) *Daiva*, where the father makes a gift of his well-adorned daughter to a priest; (3) *Arsa*, where after receiving the girl from her father the bridegroom presents a cow and a bull to him; (4) *Prajapatya*, where the bridegroom himself asks for the girl; (5) *Gandharva*, where the marriage is arranged by the couple themselves; (6) *Asura*, where the bride is sold to the bridegroom; (7) *Rakshasa*, where the girl is forcibly abducted from her home while she cries out and weeps, after her kinsmen have been slain and wounded and their houses broken open; (8) *Paisacha*, where the man stealthily seduces a girl who is sleeping, intoxicated or dull-witted. Of these eight forms, all authorities are unanimous in taking the first four as *Dharmya* or lawful. There is a

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difference of opinion regarding the fifth, *viz.*, the *Gandharva*.

In one place the Mahabharata speaks of all the above eight forms (Adi-Parva, Sambhava Parva, Chap. 102) ; while in another place, it speaks of only five forms, *viz.*, *Brahma, Prajapatya, Gandharva, Asura* and *Rakshasa* (Anusasana Parva, Chap. 44, Verses 8-9), taking the first three to be as *Dharmya* or lawful and last two as *Adharmya* or unlawful, never to be resorted to. In the same section, it is explicitly said that forced marriage with an abducted maiden or *Rakshasa-Vivaha* is sure to lead one to *Andha-tamas Naraka* or the deepest of hell (Anusasana Parva, 45.22). In the Adi-Parva, of course, Bhisma points out that for a Kshatriya it is quite proper to abduct a girl and marry her. But this kind of marriage cannot be properly called *Rakshasa* marriage, for here although the relatives of the maiden are attacked, killed, yet she herself is not averse to the match. In Bhisma's own case, we find that he abducted the three daughters of the King of Benares for his brother, but when the eldest daughter Amba revealed that she had chosen King Salva as her groom, Bhisma at once set her free. Again, Arjuna also abducted Subhadra, but she herself was willing. Hence, even for a Kshatriya, the Mahabharata never enjoins forcible marriage of an unwilling maiden,—all that it recommends is a romantic kind of elopement with a willing maiden from the house of her guardians, if they be unwilling. When Manu says that for a Kshatriya *Gandharva* and *Rakshasa* marriages are permitted by sarced tradition (3.26), he also means only this kind of romantic elopement—for in the previous verse, he explicitly says that the last two of the eight forms of marriage, *viz.*, *Rakshasa* and *Paisacha*, are "*Adharmya*" or unlawful and that *Asura* (through lawful in some cases) as well as *Paisacha* forms should never be resorted to (3.25). Thus, all the law-givers like Manu, Brihaspati, Narada, etc., are unanimous in holding that *Rakshasa* and *Paisacha* forms of marriage or forced marriages are absolutely "*Adharmya*" or illegal, and must never be resorted to. Thus, so far as these laws themselves go, forced marriages are legally and socially null and void in Hindu Society.

Conclusion

The above is enough to convince any one that although in the past, Hindu Society foolishly refused to tackle with the serious problems of forced conversion and abduction, and tried to get out of the difficulty by simply abandoning innocent and unfortunate people to their fate, yet some law-givers at least propounded a more advanced view even in the face of general opposition. Although, as pointed out above, according to all canons of reason and justice such an outcasting of the unwilling but helpless victims of forced conversion and abduction is one of the most heinous of crimes, and although really it is reason alone, and not Scripture that should have the last say in all social matters, yet unfortunately we have still a tendency in us to look up to the Scriptures for every little matter. That is why these just and liberal views propounded in the Hindu Sastras should be propagated amongst the masses far and wide, so that they may face these problems with a new outlook and courage.

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HELP THE BLIND

Blind persons, who live in a dark prison of this world, must be provided with light. India, where the incidence of blindness is so appallingly large, should have particular attention from all the quarters. The number, according to 1931 Census is over 6,00,000, which must have increased greatly by now due to the last war and so many other calamities that swept over the face of India.

It is now decisively proved and admitted in every civilized society that if properly educated and trained blind persons, instead of swelling the number of blind beggars as is seen now in our country, can be as useful citizens as their sighted brethren. So it is necessary to pay as much attention to the education of the blind as to that of the sighted.

The All-India Lighthouse for the Blind has been doing some useful work for the cause of the Indian blind for over five years in enlightening this dark prison by imparting necessary general education to the adult blind, who alone number over 5,50,000, without any distinction of caste, creed or race. It has on its roll pupils from different provinces having different religious affiliations. This Lighthouse imparts general education up to the Primary standard in addition to training in music (vocal as well as instrumental), weaving and book-binding. Special facilities for higher education are also provided to pupils of abilities.

The school has an attached boarding house of its own and both boarders and day-scholars are admitted as students.

It is really very unfortunate that even such a useful institution is not getting sufficient financial help to manage its affairs and to expand its scope of activities. We, therefore, ardently appeal to the generous public to help the All-India Lighthouse for the Blind in its noble mission by contributing liberally. We hope that the people will show their appreciation of the blessings of sight by helping the blind to help themselves.

Lord Sinha of Raipur, *President*

Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, *Vice-President*

All-India Lighthouse for the Blind,
29, Russa Road, Kalighat, Calcutta—26

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GITA AND PROGRESS—SPIRITUAL AND SOCIAL

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BY K. KALIANA SWAMI, B.A., B.L.

THE characteristic of a well-ordered life is progress, which is not confined to any single or particular aspect of it, but what may be termed an all-round one or *samagra-jivan*, where there is a harmonious and balanced development of all sides of a man's being. In human life, if there is no progress, stagnation or decay sets in and death or a state of existence akin to death is the result. There is no middle course, however much many a deluded man ingeniously tries to explain away his state of stagnation and attempts to gain some sort of glum satisfaction by imagining that nothing is wrong with him and that he is advancing on the seemingly delightful journey of life fairly well.

Leaving aside, for the time being, all other phases of life and confining our attention to the spiritual aspect of it, on which in a sense depend all other aspects, it can be easily seen how progress is very often misunderstood, misinterpreted and misapplied to the realities of one's life on earth.

In his path towards perfection, man is seeking the help of various agencies, the chief among which is religion in some form or other. But it may be asserted, without much fear of contradiction, that only such a religion would be helpful which has the dynamic capacity to influence life to such an extent as to transform it to a higher and a better state, while the other religions would lead to a state of spiritual stagnation, by insisting on an unquestioning submission to meaningless and out-worn usages.

That being so, a time should come in the life of every thinking person, who wants to lead a true or justifiable life, when he should be able to make a stern and rigorous self-examination of all aspects of his life and find out where he stands—spiritually and socially. In the majority of cases, such a serious self-review is shirked and persons who are under the grip of some traditional religion or other, allow their lives to drift under the sway of time-honoured and accustomed ways, irrespective of the conditions and realities of the times in which they live. To such, though they, in some cases, profess to be highly religious, pious and learned, religion is no more than a slavish conformity to superstitious practices and irrational customs, without any thought as to whether they are keeping pace with the advance of human intelligence and knowledge. The question of progress or decadence in matters spiritual and social, never enters their heads or hearts, and many a gross and monstrous atrocity is allowed to be perpetrated in the name of religion through their lives or the lives of those who are under their influence. Not only no question of progress arises in such cases but there is actual retrogression or decay, as with the passage of time and the consequent changes in the modes and methods of life, they are not even able to live up to what is best in the old order of things.

In the modern age, if anything comes more prominently before the eye of every observant person, it is the fact that human knowledge has progressed by rapid strides, thereby contributing enormously to the intellectual expansion of all branches of the human race. In India especially, we have the glory of producing some of the greatest intellectual giants, who had attained international fame and are acclaimed as world figures. This highly developed intellectualism of India is not an unmixed blessing, as it is quite common to meet with, in this country, intellectual stalwarts who are very often spiritual and social pigmies and reactionaries. When intellectual convictions do not keep pace with the practical work-a-day lives of individuals, ill-balanced and contradictory lives would result and they in no sense can be counted among those which are spiritually and socially progressive.

Spiritual progress has two aspects in relation to a man's life. It is both subjective and objective ; the former representing the intellectual conviction and the latter the way in which that conviction is implemented in actual life. The same is the case with social life. Unless both these aspects are developed in equal degree, the consequence would be a kind of self-contradictory life, characterised by the divorce between profession and practice, such as that led by the large class of armchair politicians and academic Brahmos.

Subjectively, it aims at the perfection of the individual self by not only the elimination of all that is obstructive in the way of the individual soul reaching the feet of God, which is the goal of all spiritual progress, but by the active cultivation of all that conduces to facilitate the attainment of absolute purity, absolute truthfulness and absolute honesty, and in fact every other kind of virtue which is associated with a truly pious and holy life.

Amongst all the means that are adopted as *sadhana* for the realisation of God, worship of the right kind holds the primary place and *sadhaks* of all religions and all climes are united in giving expression to their common experience that the best means to reach God is through the doorway of worship, which includes prayer and meditation. In fact, prayer has been described as the golden ladder that is laid unto heaven. So, whatever views one may hold and expound theoretically, one has to reach the practical recognition of the unity of the Godhead and the nature of God as a spirit and adopt the means necessary to reach Him. And the best way to reach God, Who is a spirit, is through one's own spirit, which is a spark of the Divine that is implanted in him and not by means of ritualistic observances and ceremonies or material oblations made to idols, however grandly or elaborately they might have been planned.

In the religious history of India, we find that man had passed from the polytheistic worship of God, conceived as a deity behind every phenomenon of nature, who had to be appeased at every turn by material offerings, which had prevailed during the Vedic period, to the Upanishadic age when that momentous discovery was made that God is a spirit pervading the whole universe (*Isavasya midam sarvam*) and that the human spirit is essentially divine. Thus has been established the supremacy of the spiritual worship of God over every other kind of worship and Vedic polytheism gave place to Upanishadic monotheism and Vedic idolatry to the spiritual worship of God inculcated by the Upanishads. So, naturally individual spiritual progress to be real, should subjectively express itself in the cultivation of all the virtues commended by the Vedas and the Upanishads and objectively in a purer kind of worship, wherein idolatory gives place to spiritual worship, that is to say, the subjective spiritual progress of any person should be

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objectively marked by the passage from idolatry to spiritual worship.

Viewing the question of progress from a social standpoint, the progress must be from exclusiveness, created by artificial differences and distinctions, between man and man, to non-exclusiveness, which means the practical recognition of human brotherhood without any reservations. In India, the greatest dividing factor, which is the breeding ground of all kinds of exclusiveness is the system of Caste, which in its turn has given birth to various complexes by which Hindu society is divided, culminating in the abominable absurdities of untouchability, unseeability, and unapproachability, which are the veritable plague-spots in Hinduism. So, unless caste goes these ugly features cannot be wiped from Hindu society and it looks as if reformers who are out to remedy this chronic malady had begun at the wrong end in working for temple-entry and removal of untouchability. It is like aiming to make a sick man healthy by merely attempting to cure the symptoms, instead of by trying to remove the cause, a process which spells its own ineffectiveness. It is very easy for one to write treatises, deliver lectures and associate himself with Harijan uplift organizations but it is difficult to implement all this high-sounding theory into practice by abolishing caste in oneself, in his family and amongst those under his influence. Even institutions pledged to the avowed object of "Brotherhood of Man" have not dared to proclaim and practise castelessness. Thus true progress from a social point of view should consist subjectively of the recognition of the equality of all human beings as members of God's household and objectively, of the passage from caste to castelessness or human brotherhood.

Unless both these objective developments, namely, the passage from idolatry to spiritual worship and from caste to castelessness go hand in hand with the subjective evolution of higher intellectual convictions of the superiority of spiritual worship and human brotherhood, there can be no real progress of man. Spiritual and social progress are so inter-related that the one without the other would be illusory. Hence, it is time that our learned and pious men, pundits and philosophers, critics and commentators of scriptures, of whom our country is so full, had examined themselves by this touch-stone of what genuine progress is or ought to be, and dislodge themselves from the fools' paradise in which they love to dwell. It is this divorce between their professions and practice—between their liberal expositions of spiritual truths and their conservative methods of life, bristling with all sorts of crude and primitive practices, taboos, exclusions and complexes—that is the bane of our country and it is this that in a great measure accounts for its degraded condition, though by some it is solely attributed to our state of political subjection, which after all can be made responsible to only a certain extent of it. It is not as though Hindu society would make the spiritual and social progress, on the lines set forth above, by leaps and bounds, when once the political independence of India is secured.

Let us now see what the teaching of the Gita is on the question of progress. As Prof. D. S. Sarma puts it :

> "With us progress is the process of the perfection of *Dharma*. And the perfection of *Dharma* implies both the perfection of the individual and the perfection of society. In fact, we cannot have the one without the other. They both act and react on each other."—*Lectures on Bhagavad Gita*, p. 86).

Later on (on page 87) he says :

> "As in nature all progress is from the lower to the higher forms of life, so also in society, all true progress is from the lower to the higher values of life."

With regard to the orthodox man, Prof. Sharma's view (p. 82) is that

> "His religion is more a stagnant pool than a flowing stream . . . (p. 83). The Gita has no patience with the old orthodox ritualists of the day, whose religion was little more than a mechanical observance of rites and ceremonies."

The above statements go to show that even the Gita is in favour of a man's passing from a crude ritualistic ceremonial worship to a higher form of the worship of God, which obviously is the spiritual worship of Him.

Even on the social side, the progress envisaged in the Gita is from the lower to the higher values of life, where all that separates man from man is eschewed, and humanity as a whole is viewed as equal in the eye of God. Here also, the passing of man from caste and its inequalities and differentiations to a state of castelessness which stands for human brotherhood, bereft of all distinctions of race, colour, creed and country, is envisaged in the Gita.

But what do we see even among our higher intellectuals who are learned in the Gita and who expound it from a thousand platforms? Like the unlearned man, who drifts with the current of caste, worshipping his family idols, they too have become immobile sticklers of idolatry and caste, from the moorings of which there is no thought in them of budging even an inch, in spite of all their tall talk of higher religion and human brotherhood. Prof. Sarma rightly bemoans (p. 51) the present apathy among those who are supposed to have attained a state of intellectual and spiritual eminence, in the eyes of the world, by saying :

> "What excuse is there for our not stopping inhuman practices like animal sacrifices? Certainly we are not following the lead of the Gita in allowing our popular religion and popular forms of worship to drift for themselves and degenerate from day to day without the consciousness of the ever-present Reality behind them. It is our sacred duty to strive for higher ideals and purer forms of worship not only in our own lives but also in the society to which we belong."

In the same vein were cast the observations of Sir Radhakrishnan (p. xi, of the Foreword to Prof. Sarma's *Lectures on the Bhagavad Gita*). He says :

> "The truly religious man will have little sympathy with those who mistake religion for ritualism and assume that the existing social institutions are ordained by God . . . . If the custodians of religion with their cast-iron conservatism regard the present order with its inequalities as organised by religion, no wonder the critics complain about the futility of religion. Those religious men, who, still with spiritual pride quote scriptures in defence of the inequalities of caste and the horror of untouchability, show themselves to be woefully lacking in the spirit of religion."

These passages clearly indicate, though not in direct language, the way that man should progress

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spiritually and socially—from ritualism, which is the necessary concomitant of idolatry, to a purer kind of worship, of which the best form is spiritual worship, and from caste to castelessness, which abrogates inequalities and abhors untouchability and its attendant evils. Thus a correct interpretation of the spirit of the Gita lends support to the view that spiritual and social progress ought to include as its objective content the evolution from idolatry to the spiritual worship of God and from caste to castelessness or human brotherhood. But the vast majority of the Gita expounders and followers of the Gita, glean support for their spiritual and social stagnation in the words of the Gita itself, where the author of the Gita says :

"Whatever may be the form which each devotee seeks to worship with faith—in that form alone do I make his faith steadfast."—(Chap. VII, 21).

"However men approach me, even so, do I accept them ; for on all sides whatever path they may choose is mine, O Arjuna."—(Chap. IV, 11).

"The four castes were created by me according to the division of aptitudes and works."—(Chap. IV, 13).

And amongst those are the high intellectuals and the so-called pious and religious men, who are fond of dabbling in spiritual matters. So, it is not alone the ignorant and less-cultured people that want to stick to the letter of the Gita, ignoring the spirit of it. Otherwise how could it happen, in the present age, that a person in the position of a High Court Judge should have addressed an audience of cultured people commending image-worship, instead of asking them to grow out of it ; or that another very learned man of the same service, who is the author of several religious and other books, and who is very much in requisition to address public meetings of all kinds, should have in the course of a bus journey, got down at a wayside village to worship the village goddess, Mariamman, to whose wrath are attributed epidemic diseases, like cholera, small-pox and the like, and which the villagers seek to appease by means of animal sacrifices.

Though the Gita has set forth the highest ideal of life to which a man can rise spiritually and socially and has positively drawn attention to the wrong methods of worship, as could be seen from the following verses :

"Not knowing my supreme nature immutable and transcendental, *foolish men* think that I, the unmanifest, am endowed with a manifest form."—(Chap. VII, 24).

"Even those who worship the other gods and are endowed with faith worship me alone, O Arjuna, *though in a wrong way.*"—(Cap. IX, 23) :

Yet it must be said that it has also served to stabilise men in the crude and primitive spiritual condition as they find themselves, without providing the dymanic incentives which could serve to transform their lives, so that, they may be impelled to emerge out of it and reach a higher state ; otherwise there was no reason for the vast majority of Hindus to perpetuate idolatry and caste, all the while feeling satisfied that in doing so, they are following the Gita, their highest scripture.

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THE INFLUENCE OF INDIAN MEDICINE ON THE ARABS

By M. ABDUL ALEEM, B.A.

Arabia is the largest peninsula on the map of the world. From very early times this peninsula had a close contact with India. The Arabs were great naval experts and their fleet touched the shores of Ceylon in the Middle East, and Java and Sumatra in the Far East. To them India was a land of wealth, culture and civilization. The philosophy and astronomy of India had become proverbial among them. They called the Indians as *Ahl-al-Ilm-wa-al-Falsafat* or the people of knowledge and wisdom. The earliest Arabic odes and poems are full of Indian similes and metaphors. The great pre-Islamic poet-prince Emra-al-Qais referred to the sword of India in his famous *Maulliqah* : *Saif-al-Muhannad*. The Arabs were fully acquainted with the coastal regions of India, about her products and fruits. *Al-narazil* (cocoanut), *al-Kafur* (camphor), *al-Anbaz* (mango) they borrowed from India. Certain *Qust-al-Hindi* or *Aud-al-Hindi* was used by them in their medicines. In short, the cultural contact of Arabia with India is of great antiquity and it was not begun with the conquest of Muhammad b. al-Saafi as is commonly believed.

The close of the sixth century was a turning point in the history of Arabia. She gave birth to a child who was destined to play one of the greatest roles in the history of mankind. Muhammad (Peace be on Him) within twenty-three years of his prophetic career, preached a religion, re-built the life and character of the Arabian people. After his death, four able successors carried his message far beyond Arabia and within half a century the echo of Islam was heard from the borders of China to the heights of the Pyrenees. With the fall of the orthodox Caliphs, the Umayyad dynasty came into power. It was the rule of Arab aristocracy and the rulers were more busy in conquests and expansions. They had come from the desert of Arabia to the alluvial plains of Syria and were so much pre-occupied that they had little time to devote to cultural aspects. History gave its verdict in no time and out of their ashes, the Abbasides built one of the mightiest empires of the world. They transferred the metropolis from the border of Syria to the border of Iran and al-Mausur, in the year 762 A.D., laid the foundation of Baghdad, the city of Romance in the Arabian Nights. While at Syria, the Arabs were in touch with the Greek civilization and now they came in full contact with two great civilized nations of antiquity, the Persians and the Hindus. Hence, this transference of metropolis is a most significant event in the annals of the Islamic history and culture. The manners and customs of Persia were introduced into the court of Baghdad and practically the Persians became the major-domo of the House of Abbasides. It was the Persian, Nestorian, Jew, Christian and Indian converts who constitute the greatest factor in Muslim culture, and the genuine Arabs, in the words of Ibn-Khaldun, are *Ab-adu-un-al-Sanat* or 'far from arts'!

When the Arabs first turned to the study of science

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and philosophy, astronomy and medicine. Many of the works of Hippocrates, Aristotle, Galen and Socrates at their reach and they began to translate them with outstanding devotion and sincerity. This period of translations began with Caliph al-Mansur. Ibn-al-Muqaffat translated for him the famous *Qalilah-wa-Dimnan* or *Fables of Bidpai*. The Caliph Harun-al-Rashid and his son al-Mamun were the two great patrons of arts and science. Al-Mamun founded the magnificent *Bayt-al-Hikmaht* or 'House of Wisdom.' and appointed scholars and savants in translating books on various branches of knowledge.[1] Thus the court of Baghdad became the patron of arts and science in those days when the veil of Dark Ages was not yet removed from the western nations.

The following incident, according to Abu-Usaibah, led the Indian physicians to the court of Baghdad and for the first time, the Arabs realized the importance of Indian medicine for the benefit of human society[2]:

> "Caliph Harun-al-Rashid once fell ill. All the physicians of Baghdad became disappointed of his life. One of the nobles of the court (Abu-amr) advised the Caliph to test the Indian medicine. In those days the fame of Indian medicine spread far and wide. The physician to whom this invitation was extended was Mankah al-Hindi which stands for 'Manikya the Indian.' The physician travelled over to Baghdad and by his extraordinary power of medicine cured the Caliph. Wealth and honour were bestowed upon him and he was appointed Director of Hospitals and Colleges at Baghdad."

We know nothing about the early life of this great physician of India. But the wonderful role he had played in the court of Baghdad is a source of pride and glory to every Indian. We shall discuss it by the light of Ibn Abi-Usaibah, our chief authority on the subject.[3] The following anecdote will give the reader an idea about the wisdom, foresight and responsibility of this famous Indian physician :

> "Once in a fine evening Mankah was travelling along with his friends in the streets of Baghdad. Suddenly they came across a man who had spread his wrapper by the street and placed some herbs, bottles and phials on it. He was addressing the crowd that assembled nearby in a very eloquent voice. He said, 'O people, here in my hand is the best medicine ever prescribed by any human being, in it you will find the remedy of fever, pain, headache, plague, ophthalmia, cough, bleeding and thousands of other diseases, in short it is the panacea of all evils. Come and have one please.' The physician and his friends listened to this harangue very carefully. As the physician was not yet versed in Arabic he could not understand a single word of the street-doctor. He asked his friends about what the speaker was telling. They communicated the full significance of the speech to the physician who exclaimed, "The King of Arabs is a fool" (*Mulak-al-Arab-Jahel*). So goes the proverb which is not far from truth. 'How is it?' said the friends. The physician replied, "This quack has been freely selling his stupid medicine in the streets, people are generally ignorant, they will come under his spell and purchase his medicine in the name of remedy and hundreds of them will die of this evil medicine. If the Caliph has had the belief that this only one medicine could cure all the diseases of the world, why then did he invite me from India? He could have taken one doze or a phial of this and would have been cured in the shortest possible way. If he did not believe in it, how then could he grant licence to this quack to sell his medicine in the open market, who would be the cause of the death of a thousand innocent victims. It was the duty of the Caliph to shoot him down to save the life of the public."

The observation of the Indian physician in the city of Baghdad about a thousand years ago is applicable to so many quacks of the 20th century, who sell their false medicines in broad day-light in the most civilized cities of the world !

The second anecdote told by *Abu-Usaibah*, Vol. II, pp. 34-35, is very wonderful where we find the extraordinary power of Saleh-bin-Bahlah, the great Indian physician, in diagnosis and treatment of a patient. Following is the summary of the story :

> "The Caliph Harun-al-Rashid sat by his dining table when the court physician was absent. (It was the custom of the day that the Caliph was not used to touch his food till it was fully examined by the doctor for there might be something poisonous in the food). The absence of the physician caused the anger of the Caliph who promised to give punishment to the physician for his unusual delay. The physician came and read the Caliph's eyes. The physician told the cause of his delay to the Caliph that he went to examine the Caliph's cousin brother (Ibn-a'm) Ibrahim bin-Saheb who was on the point of death (*Ramaq*) and that there was no hope of his life. The Caliph shed tears of sorrow and grief and wanted that his cousin brother should be examined by any good doctor. Certain nobles said that the court physician treated the patient from the Greek standpoint of medical science and Saleh, the Hindi (Indian), treated his patient from the Vedic standpoint of medicine. Hence, the latter should be given a chance. By the order of the Caliph, the Indian physician was sent to the patient. He examined him very carefully. On his return to the Caliph he informed him that the patient would be cured and there was no danger of life. The Caliph became very pleased, ate his meals and enjoyed the company. Towards the end the city police came and informed the Caliph about the death of Ibrahim, and requested him to attend the *zanazah* (funeral prayer). The Caliph flashed with anger and spoke ill of Indian medicine. With a heavy and gloomy heart the Caliph attended the funeral prayer. Tears were rolling down his cheek. The body of Ibrahim covered with coffin was placed before the congregation. The Indian physician was standing aloof and was silently witnessing the event. At last with folded handed he requested the Caliph not to bury Ibrahim when he was alive. The Caliph laughed at it. The physician insisted upon it and wanted to examine the body again if the Caliph so pleased.

1. *Arabic Thought and its Place in History*, p. 112.
2. *Tabaqat-al-Atibba*, Vol. II. p. 33. Cairo.
3. *Ibid*, Vol. II. p. 33.

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His prayer was granted. The physician went near the body, and came back and said that the dead was still in life and if the Caliph wanted to make him speak he might do so.

On obtaining the royal assent the physician told that there were some difficulties in the way. He could perform the miracle if the coffin of the dead was removed. His body was placed again on the sick-bed and was washed very carefully. Because there was the scent of *Hanut* (Arabic scent), if on coming into his senses the patient smelt this scent, his heart might burst away. By the order of the Caliph, the difficulties were removed and the physician sent for some medicine to his pharmacy. After the careful application of the medicine the dead body began to move his limbs and shortly came to his senses and on opening his eyes said, how beautifully he was sleeping. The Caliph asked what had happened to him. The patient replied, that he knew nothing about it, he simply knew that he was dreaming a fine dream when suddenly a dog came and bit his finger and he pointed out to his finger. On an examination it was found that it was the finger where the physician penetrated his needle when he was examining him for the second time."

The narrator of the story Abu-Salmah was an eye-witness and took an active part in washing the body of Ibrahim. Ibrahim lived a long life, married the daughter of Caliph Al-Mahdi and had become the Governor of Egypt and Palestine where his tomb was traceable when Abu-Usaibah wrote his famous history. It was, perhaps, such wonderful fore-sight, wisdom and knowledge of the Indian physicians that placed them in so glorious a position in the court of Baghdad.

The House of Al-Baramaka played the greatest role in the court of Baghdad. It presented renowned *vizirs* to the court, each of whom won undying fame and glory in the annals of Islamic history and culture. Yahyeah-al-Barmaki had sent a man to India in search of medicine. He was also instructed to study the Indian people, their religion, culture and civilization. A copy of his report written by Yaqub-al-Kindi, dated, 249 A.H. was seen by Ibn-al-Nadim, the famous author of *Al-Fihrist*.[4] According to Ibn-al-Nadim, the Barmaks invited many Indian physicians to the court of Baghdad. According to *Jahid* (or *Jahiz*) thus invitations were extended to Marmakr, Falsarhal, Sadbar, and Bahlah al-Hindi. To the latter Jahir had put this question: "What is rhetoric ?"[5]

Besides Mankah and Saleh there was another physician known as Dahn. But the Arab writers called him Ibn-Dahn (the son of Dahn). He was an erudite scholar and translated many books on medicine, he was also appointed Principal of the Medical College at Baghdad.[6]

Another notable physician in the court of Baghdad mentioned by Abu-Usaibah was Kankah (probably Kanak). To Ibn-Abu-Usaibah "he was the greatest physician and philosopher of India."[7] The famous author gave the following list of his works on medicine :

1. *Kitab-al-Namuzar-Fi-al-A'mr.*
2. *Asrar-al-Mawalid* (the secrets of the children, probably the Sanskrit *Kaumara-tantra*).
3. *Al-Qiranat-al-Kabir.*
4. *Al-Qiranat-al-Saghir.*
5. *Kitab-Fi-al-Tawabham.*
6. *Kitab - Fi-Ihdath-al-Alam- wa-al - Daur - Fi-al-Quran.*

All the books have been translated into Arabic. According to Abu-Usaibah, the following physicians also adorned the court of Baghdad : Bakhr, Rahah, Sukh, Daher, Ankar, Jankal, Andi, Jari-Zabhar and he also mentioned that their works had been translated into Arabic.

The famous *Charaka Samhita* was translated from Persian by Abdullah-b-Alee. *Susruta Samhita* was translated by the order of Yahya-b-Kalid.

We now propose to present our reader a complete list of books on medicine translated into Arabic and Persian with their short details, besides the books mentioned above :

1. *Badan*—There is treatment of four hundred and four symptoms of disease.
2. *Sandesan*—Translated by Ibn-Dahn.
3. *Fima - Ikhtalafar - Tihi-Al-Hind-wal-al-Rum-Fi-al-par-wa-al-bared*—Points in which the Indian and Greek physicians differed regarding heat and cold.
4. *Tafsir-asma'-al-Aqaqir*—The name of herbs and simples. Translated by Manka and was presented to Ishaq-b-Sulaiman, one of the nobles of the court of al-Rashid.
5. *Kitab-al-Ray*—The description of snakes and the medicine of their poisons.
6. *Kitab-Istankar*—Translated by Ibn-Dahn.
7. *Ilalz-al-Hubala*—The treatment of pregnant women.
8. *Kitab-Tawaqstal*—The description of a hundred diseases and their medicines.
9. *Kitab-al-Rawsa'*—On female diseases.
10. *Kitab-al-Sukr*—The book on wine.
11. *Kitab-al-Tawahham-wa-al-Amrad* (or *Amraz*) The book of mental diseases, written by Abuqabil-al-Hindi.
12. *Kitab-al-Lamum*—The book of poisons, written by Sanaq. It was first translated into Persian by Abu-Hatem with the assistance of Mankah and then again translated by Abbas-b. Sayyed by the order of the Caliph al-Mamun.
13. *Kitab-al-Batirah*—The book on the treatment of animals.
14. *Kitab-Fi-al-Najum*—The book of astronomy written by Sanaq-al-Hindi.
15. *Kitab-al-Mawalid*—The book on child diseases.

In our discussion, we come across over a dozen Indian names as those of authorities in medicine and of treatises on the subject, and these names are exceedingly difficult, sometimes impossible to identify with their original Indian (Sanskrit or Prakrit) forms. The Kufic form of the Arabic script which was mainly current before 1000 A.D. is the very imperfect system of writing particularly in the case of foreign names and words, and corruptions or mistakes

4. *Kitab-al-Fihrest*, p. 345.
5. *Kitab-al-Taubih-al-Ashraf*, p. 40. Egypt.
6. *Al-Fihrest*, p. 245.
7. *Tabaqat-al-Atibba*, Vol. II, p. 33.

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in writing down foreign names in Arabic would easily be creeping. Specialists in Arabic Palaegraphy who are also familiar with Sanskrit can alone restore these names back to their original Indian forms.

The works of Hippocrates, Galen, Plato and Aristotle had been the stock-in-trade in the Arabian medicine. Practically the Arabs laid the foundation of their medicine on the age-worn Greek conception. But the introduction of Indian medicine revolutionized the history of Arabian medicine. Today what we call the Muslim medicine is not the gift of Greek medicine as has been wrongly preached by the Western scholars. It is the fusion of the two great systems, the Greek and Indian, added and increased by the unflaging search of Al-Razee, Alee-b-She, Ibn-Sina, Ibn-Rusho and others.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

A NEW HISTORY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE, Vol. VI. The Vakataka-Gupta Age, (*circa* 200-550 A.D.) : *Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. S. Altekar. With Foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt. Published by The Bharatiya Itihasa Parishad, Lahore. 1946. Pp. 515. Price Rs. 8-8.*

It was at the fag-end of 1937 that the project of a New History of the Indian People to be completed in twenty volumes under the auspices of a Society called *The Bharatiya Itihasa Parishad* was taken up by two eminent sons of India, Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Dr. Rajendra Prasad. By the end of 1945 Vols. IV and VI bearing the titles *The Nanda and the Maurya Empires* and *The Age of the Vakatakas and the Guptas* respectively had become ready for the Press, while Vol. XII entitled *The Age of Akbar* was half completed. The present volume which is lucky enough to make its first *debut* gives valuable accounts of the various dynasties that ruled the land roughly between 200 and 550 A.D. At the same time it deals exhaustively with the cultural history of the period under the heads of *Administration* and *Coinage, Social and Economic Conditions, Religion and Philosophy, Education, Literature and the Sciences* as well as *Fine Arts*. Useful chapters have been added on the history of Ceylon and of Indian Colonial and Cultural Expansion as well as trading and cultural connections with the Western World. The work concludes with a Select Bibliography of standard works relating to each chapter along with very valuable lists of the more important inscriptions, fifteen well-selected Plates and a Map.

Of the twenty-three chapters making up the present volume eight apiece are contributed by the General Editors, while other chapters are from the pen of the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Dr. D. C. Sircar, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. S. Paranavitana, Dr. C. Sivaramamurti and Dr. V. S. Agarwala. The names of these scholars are a sufficient guarantee of the merit of their joint work which may safely be recommended to serious students of Indian history as an up-to-date and authoritative account of the period forming its subject-matter. The authors have shown commendable skill and industry in piecing together the disjointed fragments of evidence into a connected whole as far as possible. What is more, they have displayed sound judgment in tackling the numerous unsolved problems that beset the path of the historian of the period in question. Even while treading familiar ground they have presented original views which deserve the serious attention of those interested in the subject.

We offer below a few suggestions for the consideration of the authors concerned, when a new edition will be called for. In place of the title Vakataka-Gupta about which the General Editors themselves are not happy (*Editorial Preface, p. ix*), it will be better to use even as a convenient label the title Vakataka-Gupta-Pallava. On p. 27 we read that the Yaudheyas and other tribes began to strike coins as independent powers in the 3rd century A. D., all of them playing their part in the expulsion of the Kushans. But no reasons have been given for rejecting the views of Cunningham (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 75), Rapson (*Indian Coins*, pp. 14-15), and Vincent Smith (*Catalogue of Indian Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. i, p. 165) who agree in pushing back the dates of the oldest Yaudheya coins to *circa* 100 B.C. On pp. 96*f*. Western C.P. is a slip for Eastern Central India. On pp. 22-23 the Saka enemy of the Gupta emperor Rama-gupta referred to in the *Devi-Chandragupta* drama, is identified outright with Piro, son and successor of Kidara, who was the founder of the Kidara-Kushan dynasty of the Punjab. But in view of the sound arguments given on p. 64 it seems wiser to endorse the writer's view that for the present we must suspend our judgment upon the historical character of Ramagupta and his fight with the Sakas. On p. 334 reference is made to India's western trade route down the Oxus to the Caspian, but the case for the existence of this route has been wellnigh demolished by W. W. Tarn in his learned work called *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, App. xiv. On the last named page we are referred to the great discovery of the monsoons "made by Hippalus about 40 A.D.", which enabled Greek ships to sail right across the Indian Ocean from the Egyptian to the Indian ports. But as Tarn has shown (*op. cit.*, pp. 368-369), the discovery of the monsoons by the Greeks goes back probably to 100-80 B.C. while there were no less than four successive stages in the shortening of the direct route to India by the Greek voyagers. Hippalus, the traditional discoverer of the monsoons, according to the same authority, was probably a sailor's name or a personification of the monsoon. On p. 372 we are told that there is no evidence of Rama's being

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object of popular worship down to the end of the 6th century A.D. But Varahamihira (died 587 A.D.) in his *Brihat-samhita* (ch. lxxviii. 30) gives his measurement of the image of Rama, son of Dasaratha. On p. 37 mention is made of a Gupta sculpture at Mathura showing a devotee offering his own head to Siva. In the actual specimen which is a terra-cotta panel now deposited in the Mathura Museum there is no trace of the god (See V. S. Agarwala, *Handbook of Archaeology*, Muttra 1939, p. 51 and fig. 39). On p. 379 'Mesopotamia and Syria' said to have been seats of Hindu temples are a slip for Armenia. The statement (p. 390) that Buddhism during the present period was quite free from Tantric practices is belied by the fact that the oldest extant Chinese translations of dharanis (*'protective spells'*) may be traced back to the period 307-342 A.D. On p. 467 we are told that the paintings of Bagh may be assigned to the end of the 6th or the 7th century. This view is evidently based upon such authorities as Vincent Smith (*A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, p. 295) and M. B. Garde (*The Bagh Caves*, p. 22). But Mm. Professor V. V. Mirashi (IHQ., xxi, 79-85) has since given good grounds for the view that the caves in question with their paintings must be assigned to about the end of the 4th century A.D. at the latest.

We have noticed a number of printing mistakes such as Mayurasarman (p. 239), mahadhiraja (p. 249), Memoire...T'an (p. 479) and Literatur (p. 488). We do not know why the English translation of the Narada-Smriti should be quoted (pp. 485, 487) in the list of authorities and no reference made to the Sanskrit text published in the Bibliotheca Indica series. In the next edition it is desirable that the map should be improved by the omission of modern names and greater fullness in respect of ancient names (specially in the case of Simhala). New maps should also be added to illustrate Indian Colonial expansion and intercourse with the western world. The inclusion of genealogical tables would also remove a much-felt want.

We eagerly await the publication of Vol. IV of the *New History of the Indian People* which was ready for the Press simultaneously with the present volume.

U. N. GHOSHAL.

PLANNED DIET FOR INDIA : *By Gopal Chandra Pattanayak, M.B.B.S. (Pat.), D.T.M. (Cal.), D.G.O. (Mad.). Kitabistan, Allahabad. Pp. 90. Price Rs. 3-12.*

In this useful and well-got-up booklet, Dr. Pattanayak sets forth the elements of the science of Dietetics. He tells us how a balanced dietary can be planned, and ends by recommending various schemes whereby people of different income-levels can assure for themselves a well-balanced diet.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE.

NO BRIDGE TO HEAVEN : *By Alfred Wagg and Valerie Wagg. Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 7.*

The authors, with another famous book to their credit, namely, *A Million Died*, give here a vivid and engrossing picture of the life of young Americans, with all its comedy and tragedy, fun and humanity, at a Liberator base, somewhere in England. In the Prologue, Alfred Wagg calls himself "a sort of free-wheeling version of Marco Polo, Napoleon and Martha Raye", a widely travelled man, who has visited China, Burma, South Africa, North Africa, the Middle East, and many other places, and has the exciting experience of the navy and the submarine. This novel of joint authorship of husband and wife is stamped with a breadth of heart, a width of outlook, and a rich sense of humanity. Its gallery is crowded with thrilling characters. Those of Dave and Ike are painted with skill and Marianne is a beautiful portrait. The approach to characters, placed against the chequed background of airmen's life, is conspicuous by a psychological curiosity.

SUNIL KUMAR BASU.

RESEARCH IN EDUCATION : *By R. A. C. Oliver. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. Pages 60. Price five shillings net.*

The book is a strong plea for undertaking research in education. As the author rightly says, "Education is one of the major enterprises of our society as of any society." In fact, it is the most potent of the nation-building factors. And that it has been so recognised will be evident from the importance that is being attached to it in the post-war development schemes of all the leading nations of the world. In this neat little volume the writer puts his say in three chapters, *viz.*, (I) Introduction, (II) Problems and (III) Methods and earnestly urges the teachers to take note of the cases of individual difficulties and problems of the taught and to try to find out happy solutions thereof through systematic experimentation and watchful care. The English Education Act, 1944, has given power to the Minister of Education and the Local Education authorities to conduct and aid such research. The National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales has been doing pioneer work in this respect. Advanced nations have now recognised the need for research in the field of teaching so that educational guidance may be offered for diagnosing and then overcoming particular difficulties of individual pupils. This augurs well for the future. In India where educational reconstruction is engaging the attention of the thinking men, this book will be of particular interest as it endeavours to raise the pedagogic profession from the groping-in-the-dark and quack-like method to the status of a scientific one.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

PARTITION OF BENGAL : *By a Statistician. A Study of Political, Economic and Financial Implications of Partition. Published by H. Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., 19 Shyamacharan De Street, Calcutta. Pp. 32. Price ten annas.*

The partition of Bengal is a live issue. Of all the books, published in Bengali and English, this is the best book. The statistics given are full and accurate. Everyone interested in the partition of Bengal should possess a copy.

J. M. DATTA

SANSKRIT

CHANDRALEKHA : *Edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M.A., D.Litt. Bharatiya Vidya Series No. 6. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Royal 8vo. 1-66 + 1-96. Price Rs. 6.*

This is a critical edition of a little-known Prakrit drama of the *Sattaka* type, available specimens of which are comparatively rare. The author of the drama was Rudradasa who is supposed to have flourished in the second half of the 17th century in the court of Manaveda II, a Zamarin of Calicut and the hero of the drama under review. The manuscript material on which the edition is based is insufficient, it being only the transcript of a modern copy, in the Curator's Office Library, Trivandrum, of an unidentified older manuscript. The learned editor who has already made his mark through his critical and scholarly editions of a number of Prakrit texts had made the best use of this material and presented the text as found here correcting palpable scribal errors and supplying emendations for apparent misreadings which are recorded in the footnotes. He has not made any attempt to modify the text so as to conform it to the rules of

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grammar. A long and learned introduction of over sixty-six pages refers to the critical apparatus and while attempting a critical study of the work in its various aspects deals with the place of the *Sattaka* in the evolution of Indian drama and gives an account of four specimens available so far. It is clear that the earliest known specimen (*e.g.*, the *Karpuramanjari* of Rajasekhara) exercised immense influence on later poets who moulded their works on the ideal set by Rajesekhara. Obscurities surrounding the nature and form of this particular type of drama in its origin can only be cleared up if and only when earlier and more specimens come to light.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BANGLAR NARI JAGARAN: *By Probhat Chandra Ganguli. Published by the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pages 108. Price Re. 1-4.*

"Awakening of women in Bengal" is the theme of this book written by a journalist who is no less a national worker and a fighter for the cause of India's Freedom. Among those who worked and fought for the cause of women's emancipation, Raja Ram Mohan Roy is the first and the foremost, closely followed by Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen, Sj. Dwarka Nath Ganguli, Pandit Sibnath Sastri and many others. Among women pioneers, the author has mentioned Chandramukhi Bose and Kadambini Ganguli (*nee* Bose) who graduated from the Calcutta University in 1882. They were the first women graduates in the British Empire because till then the gates of the English Universities were not thrown open to the women of Great Britain.

The Bengal movement cannot be studied in isolation from those of other provinces of India, so the author has done right in referring to those occasionally. The movement took various shapes and forms. It began with the abolition of the burning of the Sati and has developed lately for the establishment of full rights for women in society along with men, claiming full opportunities for the fullest expression of womanhood.

His researches are quite exhaustive so far as the contributions of the Brahmo Samaj are concerned but omission of the names of the Muslim Pioneer, Mrs. Hakam, founder of Shakawat Memorial Girls' School, and of Saroj Nalini Institution and the Bratachari Movement (founded by Gurusaday Dutt) deserve to be rectified in the future edition of this publication.

The book will be an illuminating study for those who desire to know something about the beginning and difficulties of the movement at its earliest and subsequent stages.

A. B. DUTT.

GUJARATI

BHALAN, UDDHAVA ANE BHIM : *By Ramlal Chunilal Modi. Published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad. 1944. Paper cover. Pp. 68. Price fourteen annas.*

The three poets of Mediaeval Gujarat, whose lives and works have been set out in detail here, by that well-known research student, Ramlal Modi had attained to moderate fame in their times. The credit that greatly goes to them, is for presenting a picture of the religious learnings of the Hindus of Gujarat in those times (Samvat Era, 16th Century) and the form of language then. It is a good piece of research work.

MANUNAN MUKTAKO : *By Manu H. Dave, Kavyatirtha, Sidhapur. Printed at the Prabhat Printing Press, Unjha. 1944. Paper cover. Pp. 112. Price Re. 1-8.*

The poems are Gangotri modelled on Bhartrihari's Shatakas and each piece composed in the Shardula Vikridit Chhanda is addressed to a different object, emotion or some such subject. They are 104 in all and read well and pleasant.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE CASE OF SATYARTHA PRAKASH (Light of Truth) IN SIND : *By S. Chandra. A Fore-taste of Pakistan in Action. Published by the International Aryan League, Delhi. 1947. Pp. 170. Price Re. 1-8.*

INDIAN STATES IN FREE INDIA : *By Kevalram C. Oza, Retd. Deputy Political Agent. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., 3, Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2. Pp. 78. Price Rs. 2.*

INDIAN POLITY : *By R. V. Rao. Published by S. Chand & Co., Delhi and Lahore. Pp. 28. Price Re. 1.*

EDUCATION IN U.S.S.R.: *Publishers—Vora & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Illustrated. Pp. 50. Price Re. 1-4.*

TOWARDS MARXIAN DESTINATION : *By Kasturchand Lalwani. Published by Prafulla Ghose, Dhakuria, Calcutta. Pp. 35. Price Re. 1-4.*

UNITED STATES OF INDIA : *By V. K. Gorey. A Constructive Federal Solution. Published by Padmaja Publications, Baroda. Sole Distributors, Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 122. Price Rs. 3-8.*

MUNSHI—The man and his message : *Published by Shri Kanaialal Munshi Heerak Mahotsab Samiti, Bombay. Pp. 31. Price Re. 1.*

(1) ARCHITECTURE, (2) BANKING, (3) LAW, (4) ACCOUNTANCY : Rotary Guides to Careers. *Published by the Oxford University Press, Bombay and Calcutta. Pamphlets of a series issued under the auspices of the Vocational Service Committee of the Bombay Rotary Club and containing Practical Advice in the personal and educational qualifications, the opportunities and essential training required. Pp. 16 and Price eight annas each.*

EDUCATION FOR INDUSTRIALIZATION : *By Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. An Analysis of the Forty Years' Work of Jadavpur College of Engineering and Technology (1905-1945). Published by Chuckerverty Chatterjee & Co., Ltd. 15 College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 379. Price Rs. 15.*

THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT IN HYDERABAD : *Edited by Achyut Khodwe. Published by Chanda Prakashan, Sarafa Nanded, Nizam State. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 4-8.*

REVOLUTION—WHAT IS IT? : *By Netaji. Substance of an extempore speech delivered in Hindustani by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose at the Swaraj Young Men's Training Institute, Kambe. Published by Shanti Mitra, 22-B Nalin Sarkar Street, Calcutta. Pp. 12. Price six annas.*

WHY MUSSALMANS SHOULD OPPOSE PAKISTAN : *By Husain B. Tyabji. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. 1946. Pp. 30. Price eight annas.*

THE HOUR OF DECISION—The Task before the Cabinet Mission : *By Principal Gurmukh Nihal Singh. S Chand & Co., Delhi and Lahore. 1946. Pp. 48. Price Re. 1.*

TRANSLITERATION INTO THE ROMAN SCRIPT : *By K. G. Mashruwala. Hamara Hindusthan Publications, Raja Bahadur Wadi, Hamam Street, Fort, Bombay. Pp. 16. Price four annas.*

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN BRITAIN: *A Record of Progress, January 1941-November 1946. Passed by the British Censor. Pp. 224.*

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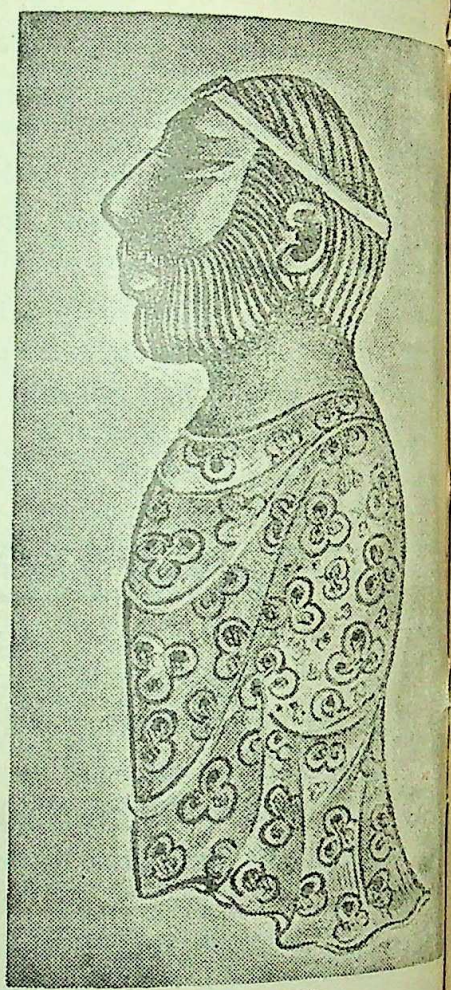

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The Effective Expression of Culture

Indian Education must prepare men and women fit for their task. It must make them Bharatiya, in spirit and outlook, true to the Motherland, striving ceaselessly for the integration of their own personality. K. M. Munshi writes in *The Social Welfare* :

Bharatiya Shiksha, while equipping the student with every kind of scientific and technical training, must teach the student not to sacrifice an ancient form or attitude to an unreasoning passion for change; not to retain a form or attitude which in the light of modern times can be replaced by another form or attitude which is a truer and more effective expression of the spirit of Bharatiya Vidya; and to capture the spirit afresh for each generation to present to the world.

This object lays emphasis on four different corollaries from the foregoing principles.

The first is that emphasis on formative education should not lead the teacher to ignore scientific and technical training. Education, if it is the creative art of self-sculpture, is also a means of social adjustment. Its products, therefore, must have the latest equipment and skill to deal with the problems of their age. They have to live in their times and serve their country, and the world, with the best weapons available.

Education as a creative art shapes the man to perfection, but even the Perfect has to deal with environments. In doing so they cannot be behind others in matters relating to material equipment.

The second corollary formulates the approach to Change, which Westernism considers the principal element in life. Creative Education has its characteristic outlook on Change. The Central Idea must pass through a series of sheaths to maintain its vitality. Even souls have to pass through different bodies. Mere change of externals, is however, no salvation. At the same time, a refusal to change the externals is strangulation.

In a balanced scheme of self-fulfilment Change has a place as much as Tradition. Tradition, the persistence of forms and the continuity of institutional life, is a necessity of life. On the other hand, Change imposes the need for reintegration of Culture which keeps it fresh and vigorous.

At the same time, sweeping or swift change which stifles the Central Idea or which shapes the continuity of Culture is death.

Creative Education thus formulates the relation between Change and Tradition; First, No ancient form or attitude should be sacrificed to passion for change; Second, No form or attitude should be retained if it could be replaced by another which is a truer and more effective expression of the Spirit of the Culture.

The old world must change but the new world must not cease to be the effective expression of our Culture.

This is the secret of re-integration. This is the secret of the alchemy which all masters who have built on the firm foundation, have taught. This is the secret of Dayanand and Ramakrishna, of Vivekananda, Aravinda and Gandhiji.

The fourth and final corollary is that Culture cannot be possessed or inherited. It can only be recaptured by each man for himself and his generation. Each young man, like Vivekananda, Aravinda, and Gandhiji, should study the past, absorb Indian Culture and try to live in the light of modern needs and equipments. In this way Indian Culture will not be a local tradition, not merely a national outlook but a world force wherewith to redeem humanity.

We cannot, even if we will, change the permanent values which flow from the Central Idea of our Culture. For India has to resist the decadent Westernistic influence which oppresses the world, and to lead humanity to the higher, deeper and wider life of the spirit. The resurgence of Asia has to be achieved. Humanity which is in the grip of force and fraud and a regimentation based on a denial of human dignity, has to be weaned away from Westernism.

This can only be done by India, free and great, which is a true embodiment of her Culture.

H. G. Wells

The Sociological Significance of His Novels

Few writers in our time have radiated such immense stimuli and been such continuous awakeners as H. G. Wells. E. K. Bramstedt writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The work of this giant—scientist and journalist, pamphleteer and sociologist, popular historian and contemporary social critic—has proved a landmark in the evolution of the modern mind. The extinction of so great a volcano, the passing away of this ferociously independent John Bull of English literature faces us, who are consciously or unconsciously in his debt, with the question: What will remain of his rich legacy? Which of the many products of this fertile, incessantly advancing mind will pass the test of time, will impress future generations as they have impressed us?

An awkward question. The attitude of posterity depends on so many unpredictable factors—the trend and quality of its own writers, changes in the social structure as well as in fashions and tastes, even the political prestige of the country to which the author of bygone days belonged. Let me quote two forecasts. One comes from an erudite literary historian who, whilst admitting that H. G. W. is "a man with a style" and also "entitled to a modest niche in history as a humourist," sees in him, above all, a social commentator, "a thinker of other people's thoughts." Dr. H. V. Routh in *English Literature and Ideas in the Twentieth Century* (1946), says:

"Unfortunately for his reputation, knowledge moves so rapidly and forgetfully that his influence may well be effaced, and others will revive his principles believing them to be their own. If so, he will barely survive as an entertainer, intermittently in demand in lending libraries."

At least one critic is even more sceptic—H. G. W.

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himself. In his penetrating, frank *Experiment in Autobiography* (1934), he writes:

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"I have to admit that the larger part of my fiction was written lightly and with a certain haste. Only one or two of my novels deal primarily with personality, and then rather in the spirit of what David Low calls the caricature-portrait than for the purpose of such exhaustive rendering as Henry James had in mind."

Wells doubts if these caricature-portraits of his "have that sort of vitality which endures into new social phases. In the course of a few decades they may become incomprehensible. The snobbery of Kipps, for example, or the bookish illiteracy of Mr. Polly may be altogether inexplicable."

It seems to me that Wells here took too pessimistic a view, even if ample allowances are made for the probable fading out of many of his novels and stories. Of the three periods in Well's development, the works of the last, mainly concerned with social criticism and political comment, are least likely to survive. *The New Machiavelli* or *The World of William Clissold* may provide valuable material for the cultural and social historian two hundred years hence, but they will hardly excite the public. Some of his earlier fantastic tales might last longer, so long as science utopia does not become scientific fact. *The Time Machine* (1895) will probably retain its dramatic tension and strange grip on the reader's imagination, just as today Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* for us still throws light on ordinary human existence by confronting it with the extraordinary and in some cases far more reasonable beings whom Gulliver chances to meet. But *The First Men in the Moon* (1901) is likely to become obsolete, should the now planned expedition to that planet in a specially constructed rocket succeed. Just as today nobody cares for Jules Verne's thrilling technical adventure stories of eighty years ago, in which the invention of the U-boat was boldly anticipated.

Despite the doubts of their creator, some of the non-scientific and non-political novels of Wells's second period (1900-1910) should maintain their charm, their vigour and their unaffected humour for a long time, even after their social setting has ceased to exist.

For are we not still able to appreciate the significance of Voltaire's *Candide* or the specific humour of Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, although much in them can be fully understood only against their contemporary back-ground? Amongst these works from the second period are two different types: (*a*) *Tono Bungay*, in which the social structure of contemporary England is sketched on a large canvas; and (*b*) books like *Kipps* and *The History of Mr. Polly*, containing caricature-portraits done with a deft touch and a closeness to life which never succumbs to mere prosaic description. It is true, H. G. W. did not possess that extreme detachment and self-effacement necessary for the creation of a social panorama or for the development of a family symbolising at the same time a class, to be found behind Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga* or young Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks*. "Emotion recollected in tranquillity" could hardly be the motto of a man who lived more in the present than in the past, and often more in the future than in the present. Unlike these two sons of patricians, H. G. Wells was the offspring of a small man, a suburban *petit-bourgeois*, successful in cricket and a failure as a shopkeeper.

Wells inherited a strong vitality, a robust vigour which loves a fight, overcomes heavy obstacles and does not mind lifting the lid of an unknown tomorrow.

Tono Bungay (1909), which Wells later dubbed "perhaps my most ambitious novel" contains remarkable flashes of insight into the transition from a decaying feudal society to a modern vulgar commercialism, enterprising and full of humbug, the super-agile captain of which eventually wreck his own creation. The two English social systems, the old rural and the new urban, have quite different codes and techniques and Wells has succeeded in making them articulate. Bladesover symbolises the rule of the gentry, a world in which everyone knows his or her station, in which social contacts and social responsibilities are fixed according to the traditional rules of the game. During the 'eighties Wells's mother had been a housekeeper to two aristocratic ladies in the country, a fact which allowed the boy more than a glimpse into the social fabric of this now bygone world, in which the servants displayed as much, if not more, snobbery and regard for social etiquette than the Olympians they watched so closely. There is justice in Wells's attitude towards the gradual changes in the distribution of power which marked the Edwardian period, but this justice is somewhat negative. Consider his comment on the new financiers who took over many large estates from the old aristocrats.

There was no effect of a beneficial replacement of passive unintelligent people by active intelligent ones. One felt that a smaller but more enterprising and intensely undignified variety of stupidity had replaced the large dullness of the old gentry, and that was all.

Indeed the newly ennobled financiers were only a by-product of that urban commercialism so superbly caricatured in this novel. Wells's later confession that the book is rather extensive than intensive, hits the mark, yet in no other novel are the pushing, swindling practices of a certain type of advertising so devastatingly exposed. "Tono Bungay," a worthless patent medicine, becomes the elixir of success, the key to Society for Edward Ponderevo and his nephew. The technique of its propaganda is to suggest ills in order to sell cheap cures. This chemical

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commercialism secures control of printing works and a chain of newspapers and magazines. The economic rise of Mr. Ponderevo, that lively, sly, unrefined cockney, is accompanied by the social rise of his wife. In a study of various London *milieus* we accompany them from the shabby impecuniosity of the Camden Town lodging *via* the suburban middle-class refinement of Beckenham and Chislehurst to the lavish magnificence of Crest Hill with its marble staircase and its golden bed for Mrs. Ponderevo, facsimile of the Fontainebleau of Louis XIV.

Whereas later, in *The World of William Clissold* (1926), the earnest ideas of the world-reformer and social critic are unfortunately developed at the expense of concrete descriptions of social reality, the caricature-portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Ponderevo, drawn over-life-size, touch the core of an unbalanced society. The subjects appear grotesque, but thoroughly human. In *Tono Bungay* the "little man" becomes a "big man" before he ends a failure, whilst in the other novels of the period the little man remains little, inarticulate, tragi-comic. *The Wheels of Chance* (1896), *Love and Mr. Lewisham* (1900), *Kipps* (1905) and *The History of Mr. Polly* (1910) put the little man, his fancies, his oddities and his struggles on the map of English literature. At the same time Wells has avoided depicting him with that desperate bleakness which overwhelms us in the earlier novels of Zola, or in the later ones of the German Hans Fallada. *Little Man—What Now?*—the title of one of Fallada's books—could be written also over those refreshing stories of Wells, but with him the question has a less tragic meaning, for he delights in existence. He regards life as a tremendous adventure, which again and again fascinates his modest heroes, muddle-headed and bewildered as they often are.

Apart from the sombre note of his final books, proclaiming "mind at the end of its tether," H. G. W. was, fundamentally, anything but a pessimist like Schopenhauer or Thomas Hardy. It was not man's moribund position in the Universe that worried him at the height of his creative powers, but the ills of the social system and their impact on the individual. "If the world does not please you, *you can change it*," he insisted.

You may change it to something sinister and angry, to something appalling, but it may be you will change it to something brighter, something more agreeable, and at the worst, something more interesting. There is only one sort of man who is absolutely to blame for his own misery, and that is the man who finds life dull and dreary.

Now the life-stations of Messrs. Hoopdriver, Lewisham, Kipps and Polly contained indeed a perturbing amount of dullness and dreariness: some were badly paid shop-assistants at the mercy of mean, uneducated, bullying employers; other lived in the stifling atmosphere of badly managed schools—Lewisham as a young schoolmaster, Kipps as a pupil at a snobbish little place of misinformation. And in the end none of them went very far. Social reality proved stronger than their hopes and wishful dreams of love and success. Though Art Kipps, odd and befogged, leaves the drudgery of the draper's shop by coming into a fortune, and mixes with finer circles, he is in the end swindled out of his money and leaves his socially superior bride to settle down with a book-shop and a girl of his own class. Mr. Lewisham too gives up his ambitious schemes, his championship of socialism, his friendship with an understanding woman student, and accepts a shallow but loyal wife and the status of a father. And, last but not least, Mr. Polly—whom H. G. W. regarded as the happiest child of his creation—lovable, erratic Mr. Polly, "one of the greatest clowns in English letters," ends up as helper to a fat woman who keeps an inn. But all these figures at least try to escape from the stifling dullness of humdrum routine, all have fits of adventure and a zest for the delights of life. All of them experiment and sometimes allow themselves to be carried away by a strong urge to escape the pressure of social mechanism they do not understand. All want lives of their own choosing. Mr. Polly, having accidentally set on fire his outfitter's shop in a provincial town in South England, does not commit the intended suicide but instead gives free vent to a *Wanderlust* which is his guide to the beauties of nature. He is grotesque and yet so concrete, so full of genuine life that one cannot help loving him. Kipps and Polly may be odd and clumsy in expressing their feelings, but they are never hysterical, always in control of their instincts and are capable of rising to an occasion in the same unostentatious manner that thousands of Englishmen did during the dark days of the last war.

These caricature-portraits are the felicitous outcome of a freshness and an intimate penetration which is compassionate without being sentimental, celar-sighted without being coldly dissecting, realistic without losing a poetical tocuh. As Wells says himself, these figures are all "thwarted and crippled by the defects of our contemporary civilisation."

The frustration and waste caused by the contemporary civilisation occupied Wells's mind and pen again and again.

It marks the artistic superiority of these novels, that in them this frustration is shown in the lives of ordinary people and not, as in later more generalised case-studies, in those of political intellectuals or industrial *entrepreneurs*. Wells clearly recognised that with simple as well as with complicated characters, frustration is to a large extent caused by the conflict between rational aims and intentions and irrational impulses, a conflict tearing modern man to pieces.

There is much more maladjustment than harmony in the erotic relations between his leading figures; incompatibility of character, accentuated by unfavourable social conditions, as with Polly and Miriam; lack of understanding and deeper attraction owing to different social origin, separating Art Kipps and his refined bride Helen.

Problem of Democracy in India

by

S. P. Varma, M. A.

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The book claims to be a scientific study of the current political problems and the conclusion suggested is rational.

Dr. Tarachand writes in the Foreword:

The chapters which have been devoted to the solution of the basic problem of reconciliation and the suggestions for political and cultural adjustments and integration contain valuable points. Mr. Varma's plea for launching a planned effort to remove misunderstandings between the communities deserves serious consideration.

Lights of Bhagawad Gita
by B. N. Khanna Rs. 2-4

Indian Polity by R. V. Rao Re. 1

Published by

S. CHAND & Co.,

Fountain, Delhi.

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Trafford, in *The Research Magnificent*, devoted to the arduous complexities of research, finds the worries of home life too much for him. Mr. Lewisham, once so proud of his scheme for regulating life, eventually "knew love for what it was, knew it for something more ancient and more imperative than reason...." Love and a successful career prove incompatible and their mixture leads to a crisis which only catastrophe or resignation can end.

Wells never sided with the Philistines; one of his last novels, *You Can't Be Too Careful* (1941) is indeed a spirited indictment of the stuffy mentality. Yet he early recognised the necessity of a balance between the red blaze of passion and rational planning, indispensable for our chaotic society. In *The New Machiavelli* (1911) —in which the temperate atmosphere of English political club life before the first world war is by far better reproduced than individuals are portrayed—Remington climbs from rather small beginnings high on the political ladder, but falls from it, like a second Parnell, through his passionate love for a woman. Others have drawn the psychological conflict between reason and lust with more subtlety; Wells clearly realises the sociological structure of a society in which a rational career and irrational love are bound to clash.

Whilst an artist might experiment in love,—and H. G. W. himself lacked the experimental spirit as little in this field as in many others—a politician or a statesman in Anglo-Saxon countries heads for disaster if he does not conform to the unwritten moral code based on the needs and prejudices of society. Remington explains:—

"We are *forced* to be laws unto ourselves and to live experimentally. It is inevitable that a considerable fraction of just that bolder, more initiatory section of the intellectual community, the section that can least be spared from the collective life in a period of trial and change demanding the utmost versatility, will drift into such emotional crises and such disaster as overtook us. Most perhaps will escape, but many will go down, many more than the world can spare."

The sociological significance of Wells's novels seems to me to lie in the experimental attitude behind them.

It is true, Wells made no experiment as regards the artistic structure of the novel; he did not attempt to change its essence, as James Joyce did. In his novels, however, he experimented incessantly as an original social observer and an impatient social reformer. Whatever the verdict of posterity on his works, for us it is this experimental attitude above all that counts for so much. To us he was, if not one of the profoundest, certainly one of the boldest and most fertile brains, a Daniel Defoe and a Jonathan Swift rolled into one. He was, as often as not, a *raconteur* with a purpose, and yet was an artist in closer touch with reality than most of his contemporary novelists. His description of the hero in *Mr. Britling Sees It Through* (1916) holds good of himself:—

"His was a naturally irritable mind, which gave him point and passion, and moreover, he had a certain obstinate originality and a generous disposition. So that he was always lively, sometimes spacious and never vile. He loved to write and talk. He talked about everything, he had ideas about everything; he could no more help having ideas about everything than a dog can resist smelling at your heels. He sniffed at the heels of social reality."

A Crowded Month

The New Review observes :

The last weeks were packed with multitudinous news items: change of Viceroy, Central and Provincial Budgets, Inter-Asian Relations Conference, meetings and resolutions of political parties, labour strikes, agrarian troubles, disturbances in the Punjab and the N.-W. Frontier Province, etc., all events bringing out the political and social effervescence indicating the approach of climax.

Lord Wavell has left us. Bengal feels grateful to him for the masterly way in which he handled famine-relief in 1943; India will remember him for all he did to solve the political problem; the common man will say he has had little luck in his life. He always proved a brave soldier. As a strategist, optimism was his weak point; he underrated Rommel when he agreed to allow half his armoured force to be transferred to Greece; he underrated the difficulties of the first Burma campaign; he underrated the complexities of India's political conditions. The odds against him were recurrently heavy; he faced them bravely. Anybody might have failed where he failed, but if he stands out as a historical figure, he owes it to his bravery rather than to his judgment.

Admiral Mountbatten was doubly welcomed by India, as a Viceroy, and as the last English Viceroy. His task is without glamour; it is no commando operation, not even a rear-guard action, it is a satisfactory disposal of the imperial surplus. Yet his task is not a bureaucratic reshuffle, it is the very humane task of building up a divided house into a peaceful home, and of remaining on the best of terms with everybody. His dexterity in handling commando troops and organising team-work stands him in good stead, and he has been alternately called dangerously charming and charmingly dangerous. Soldiers thought him charming; will politicians consider him dangerous? May the people find him helpful!

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India in Parliament

The same *Review* writes :

The meaning of H. M.'s Government's declaration on February 20 was made clear in the debate of the House of Commons. But it is well to note that the debate was meant for the instruction of Britain. The Conservatives are out to sap the cohesion of the Labour Party by showing the incompetence of the Labour Cabinet; even their speeches on foreign policy were meant for home politics. From the debate it is clearer than ever that Britain's resolve to relinquish the political control of India is final. Yet some of our politicos doubt it and talk of mobilizing the masses in case Britain should not leave; others fancy she fosters divisions in this country. If they do not believe in British good intentions, they should realise Britain's interests. Actually Britannia's hands have grown too feeble to hold the reins tight; it becomes her prestige to pass them on as decorously as possible and it suits her interests to leave the coach and pair undamaged, in the hope that one or other of her grand-nephews may be given an occasional ride. Chaos in India can only be harmful to Britain's trade, industry and global strategy. These incorrigible doubters should for the present examine their conscience rather than Britain's and see what they do or could do to remedy the present divisions in India.

Indian statesmen know the situation well, and they gave the Parliamentary debate no importance; they only registered with amused interest the certificate of capacity for self-government which Sir Stafford Cripps gave them, and Mr. Churchill's tardy tears over the fate awaiting the depressed classes. The Congress leaders are even getting nervous about the short time that is left before independence. They appreciate the good services which English Civil Servants could still render. They are anxious to have tranquillity in the country to effect a smooth transfer of power. They are keen on getting a constitution, any constitution, so as to have a legal frame-work to receive the suzerain power. After June 1948, the frame-work can be put into shape at leisure.

In their hurry, they are prepared to make all kinds of concessions. They boldly proclaimed an unqualified acceptance of the division into Groups and shrewdly offered the division of Provinces. They invited the Muslim League to pourparlers, and they hope to receive an answer before the Constituent Assembly resumes its work in April.

Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew

D. Chatterjee writes in *Science and Culture* :

The Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, are situated about nine miles south-west of the city of London on the bank of the Thames. They are the headquarters of intensive botanical research for all the countries now under the British Government. The early history of Kew Gardens dates back towards the latter half of the seventeenth century when a part of the present area belonged to one Lord Chapel. After his death in 1696, the property came in the hands of his grand-niece Lady Elizabeth Chapel, daughter of the second Earl of Essex. Her husband was a bit of an astronomer and he converted part of the Kew House into an observatory and erected a telescope there. In 1725, the Astronomer Royal, Dr. Bradley made two important discoveries here, *viz.*, (*i*) the aberration of light, and (*ii*) the nutation of the earth's axis. In 1730, Lady Elizabeth died and the property was leased to Frederick, Prince of Wales. Thus was inaugurated the long and intimate association of Kew with the Royal family.

Frederick took an interest in the improvement of the garden but died prematurely in 1751 and his widow Princess Augusta of Saxa-Gotha, mother of George III took charge of improving the garden. In 1759 with Earl of Bute as scientific director, William Aiton as head gardener and Sir William Chambers as architect Princess Augusta made a garden of some fifteen acres.

It is to this lady that credit is also due for making this a Botanic Garden (by growing plants of academic interest) as it is understood, apart from an ordinary flower garden. Her architect built a number of temples and buildings but some of them ran into decay and were later demolished. A few of his substantially built structures still remain such as the Pagoda (built 1762), Temple of Aeolus (1760 but rebuilt in 1845), Temple of Bellona (1760) and the Orangery (1761)—now one of the museums. Princess Augusta died in 1772 and her garden came in the hands of H. M. George III. He purchased the hitherto leasehold property from the Essex family and extended the area by joining it with another neighbouring property on the Richmond side which he owned. He secured the service of Sir Joseph Banks, the then President of the Royal Society and one of the most famous scientific men of his time. Sir Joseph was the first unpaid Director of the garden which post he held until his death in 1820. One of the most notable events of Sir Joseph's regime was the sending of plant collectors abroad. They were well-known men like Francis Mason (collected in South Africa) and Richard Oldham (collected in China and died there in Amoy). George III and Sir Joseph Banks both died in 1820 and after their death the garden deteriorated in efficiency and repute. A period of stagnation followed and during the early years of Queen Victoria's reign the idea of abolishing the botanic gaden was taken up seriously. Public opinion was strongly expressed against this idea and the garden (hitherto a property of the Royal family after its purchase by George III) was given to the Nation by the Queen in 1840.

This historical background and the early association of Kew Garden with the Royal family is admirably outlined by an ex-director in the following words :

"Outside the Metropolis (*i.e.*, London) there is probably no spot which has seen so much of our history as the piece of ground included within the bend of the Thames which lies between Kew and Richmond bridges. Successive dynasties made it their residence. Henry VII built the palace in Richmond in which his successor entertained the Emperor Charles V. Queen Mary lived there and in it Elizabeth

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অর্গলা, কীলক, কবচ, মূলচণ্ডী, সূক্তাদি এবং রহস্যত্রয়ের সরল বঙ্গানুবাদ ও ব্যাখ্যা, পূজাবিধি এবং সম্পাদকীয় নিবন্ধে 'চণ্ডী' বিষয়ক বহু জ্ঞাতব্য বিষয়াদিতে ও বর্ণানুক্রমিক শ্লোকসূচীতে সুসম্পূর্ণ।
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শ্রীশ্রীলক্ষ্মীপূজা ও কথা ৵১০ ত্রিসন্ধ্যা ।০
প্রাপ্তিস্থান—শ্রীগুরু লাইব্রেরী প্রভৃতি বইয়ের দোকান এবং প্রকাশকের নিকট—১২০।২ আপার সারকুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

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signed the death warrant of Mary Queen of Scots, and died herself. In Kew in Ormond Lodge, George II gave Sir Robert Walpole a rough reception when he was roused to hear of his accession to the throne and it was in the adjoining garden that Sir Walter Scott placed the interview of Jeanie Deans with Queen Caroline one of the most capable of Queens. At Kew itself was the residence of George III and his mother. Here he gave Lord Bute his dismissal, his children were brought up and two of his sons William IV and the Duke of Kent were married in the presence of the dying Queen Charlotte. The impress of history remains on Kew. In its main features it still remains as George III left it. The Royal influence and atmosphere persists. It is now the stately garden of a great personage, though that is now the British people and no longer the Sovereign. In truth it possesses the grand manner which can be inherited but not acquired."

In 1841, the garden started as a national property. Sir William Hooker, then Professor of Botany at Glasgow, was appointed the director. With him a second period of activity was started. He threw open the garden to the public and during the first year there were 9174 visitors. Some 45 acres of land was added in 1843 and by subsequent addition in 1845 and later, the present area of 288 acres was found. The palm house was constructed in 1848, a lake was excavated and made in 1861, the temperate house and the rock garden were made in 1862 and 1882 respectively. Recently in 1930, the rock garden was further enlarged. A second cactus house was built in 1932, and shortly afterwards a house for South African succulent plants was added. Both these houses were presented to the Gardens by well-wishers.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Text of President Truman's Speech on New Foreign Policy

Following is the text of President Truman's message to Congress on the Mediterranean situation, as recorded and transcribed by *The New York Times*:

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, members of the Congress of the United States:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress. The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

One aspect of the present situation, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision, concerns Greece and Turkey.

The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American Economic Mission now in Greece and reports from the American Ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek Government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek Government.

Greece is not a rich country. Lack of sufficient natural resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both ends meet. Since 1940, this industrious, peace-loving country has suffered invasion, four years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife.

Greece in Desperate Straits

When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all the railways, roads, port facilities, communications, and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had been burned. Eighty-five per cent of the children were tubercular. Livestock, poultry, and draft animals had almost disappeared. Inflation had wiped out practically all savings.

As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible.

Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances, the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security so essential for economic and political recovery.

The Greek Government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists and technicians to insure that the financial and other aid given to Greece shall be used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration.

Terrorists Threaten State

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the Government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A commission appointed by the United Nations Security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in Northern Greece and alleged border violations along the frontiers between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on the other.

Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek Army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority to the Government throughout Greek territory.

Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy. The United States must supply this assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate. There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn. No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek Government.

Britain Forced to Cease Aid

The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece.

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action, and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

It is important to note that the Greek Government has asked for our aid in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece, and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece, in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting, and will help to build an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish.

No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected. The Government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless, it represents 85 per cent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen in an election last year. Foreign observers, including 692 Americans, considered this election to be a fair expression of the views of the Greek people.

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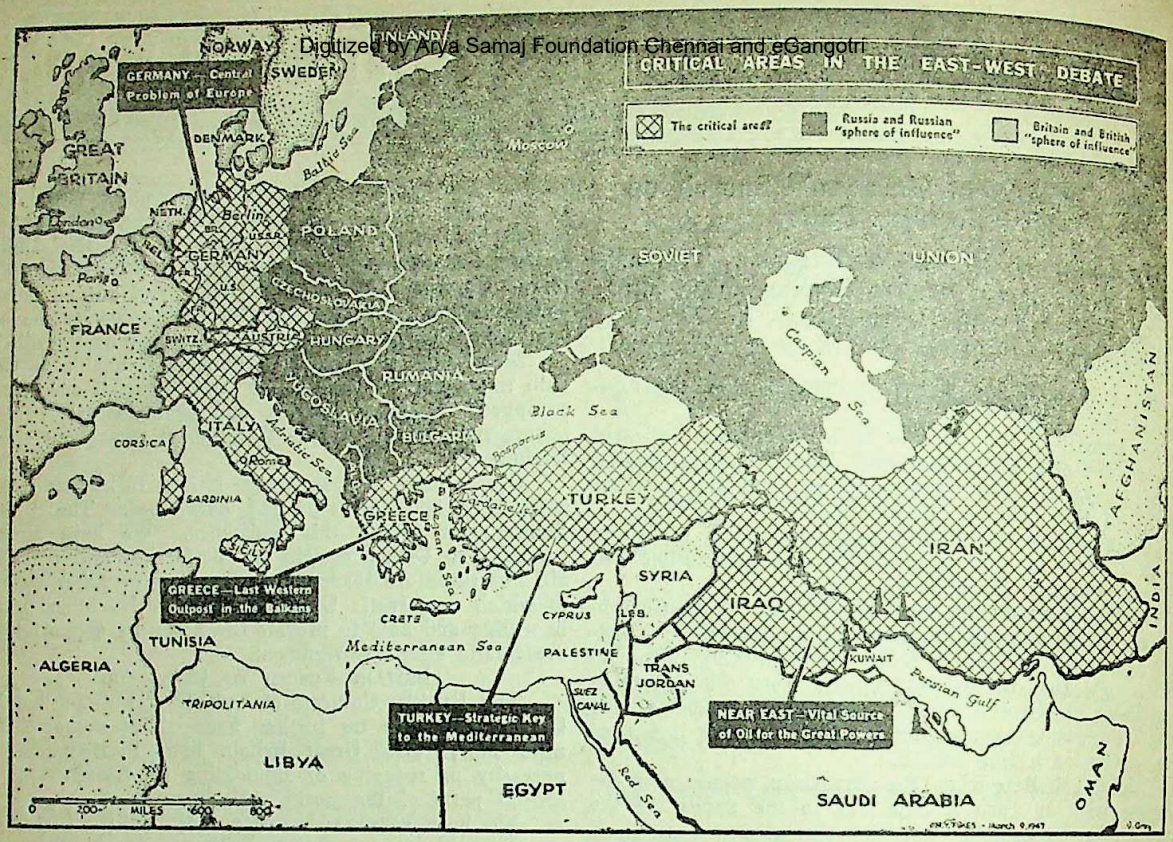

Bordering on the Russian-dominated area of Europe and the East is a great strategic region whose future is uncertain. It stretches from Germany down through Austria, Italy, Greece, across the Dardanelles to Turkey and the rich oil-fields of the East. The difficulties of the British Empire have now placed before the United States the question what it will do, particularly with its economic resources, to prevent that region from coming under Russian control.

The Greek Government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek Government has done or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and we advise tolerance now.

Greece's neighbour, Turkey, also deserves our attention. The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece. And during the war, the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid. Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support.

Since the war Turkey has sought additional financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity. That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East.

The British Government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties, it can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey. As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

Our Basic Foreign Policy

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose on them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta Agreement, in Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

Choice Facing Every Nation

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

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One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static, and the *status quo* is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the *status quo* in violation of the charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the charter of the United Nations.

More than Greece at Stake

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbour, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighbouring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

Urges Resolute Action

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far-reaching to the west as well as to the east. We must take immediate and resolute action.

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of $400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the $350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devasted by the war.

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

May Ask for More Funds

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for the purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the executive and legislative branches of the Government must work together.

This is a serious course upon which we embark. I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious.

The United States contributed $341,000,000,000 toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace.

The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than one-tenth of one per cent of this investment. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain.

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive. The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of this nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events. I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

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'Truman Doctrine' Called a Step Toward War

Commenting on the above in *The New York Times* William L. Shirer remarks that aid to Greece and Turkey is highly unlikely to induce Russians to quit Europe without conflict that would destroy civilization :

If, as every one in Washington now seems to agree, President Truman's proposal for aid to Greece and Turkey is essentially a military matter whose purpose, in Walter Lippmann's words, "is to exert American military power upon the Soviet power," then, obviously, further discussion about saving non-existent "democracies" in Turkey and Greece has become a waste of time and the "Truman Doctrine" has to be judged solely on its military merits.

Perhaps a reporter, being a civilian, has no business venturing into the military field. But since many of his brethren have, this one, with due apologies, would like to offer his two-cents' worth. My only excuse—and it's pretty flimsy—is that on many a dreary night in Berlin I had nothing better to do than to delve into such authorities as Ludendorf and Clausewitz on the general subject of the relationship between politics and war, that last winter in Germany I had the opportunity of studying the full texts of the operation plans of the Wehrmacht for each phase of the recent war, and that, like many another American reporter, I was fascinated and horrified by the realization that the most perfect plans of the military fraternity go awry as soon as they are put to the terrible test of battle and the unpredictable uncertainties of world politics.

No general staff ever planned more expertly, more meticulously, than the German. When you study its ingenious plans you can see how sure its members must have been that their military calculations could not help but succeed. And yet in the end their greatest calculation —to risk war itself—was so ghastly a mistake that their country was destroyed as a result of it.

Obviously our own high command has not got to that point yet—of risking war with Russia. But if the newspaper accounts about the correctness of our decision to exert American military power against Russia in Turkey and Greece have any basis whatsoever, then we have certainly taken a first step. And the American people ought to know why—and what the risk, so far as it can be calculated, is.

"Diplomacy and strategy, political commitments and military power, are inseparable," as Edward Mead Earle pointed out in his excellent book *Makers of Modern Strategy*. "The very existence of a nation depends upon its concept of the national interest and the means by which the national interest is promoted; therefore, it is imperative that its citizens understand the fundamentals of strategy."

The German experience, it seems to me, has a lesson for us. As expert as the German soldiers were at their trade, there was always one thing, it seemed to me, that they lacked in their calculations—they had no political sense. They failed to comprehend the dictum of their own greatest modern strategist, Clausewitz, that "war is politics continued by other means."

Specifically, the German generals could never see the world picture. In the fateful August days of 1939 they would not stop to make a fundamental calculation as to the chances of the two great neutral states, Russia and the United States, coming into the war against them. We know from the secret German archives that Hitler, in his various harangues to the high command, brushed aside the subject as of no importance. Even on the eve of the German declaration of war against us, Hitler assured every one that American troops could never land on the European continent.

In the early months of the war I asked the late Goering if America's potential airplane production did not enter into his calculations. He laughed the question off as a joke. It was plain he had never faced that prospect.

Now that we have decided to throw in American military power against the Soviet Union, our statesmen and high command, it seems to me, could profit from the German lesson by getting very straight in their own minds the consequences of politics by diplomacy being suddenly replaced with politics by war. Professor Earle emphasizes that Lenin, like Engels, had "read, annotated and pondered Clausewitz" and that, speaking of the latter's "famous dictum" that "war is politics continued by other means," Lenin once exclaimed, "The Marxists have always considered this axiom as the theoretical foundation for the meaning of every war."

Move to Contract Russia

We are now told by certain writers who presumably reflect the thinking of our military men that our new strategic plan is designed not only to check Soviet expansion but to contract it—in fact, to put us into a position where we can talk the Russians into withdrawing their military power from Europe. It is argued that by strengthening the armies of Greece and Turkey we can achieve this tremendous goal.

But certainly this is highly doubtful. In their present unreasonable mood, the Russians are not likely to be "talked" into withdrawing from Europe. If that is so, they can only be forced to do so by American military power. The question is: Have we the power at such a distant point from our shores, and so close to Russia's frontiers?

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The Turkish Army could probably hold out longer than did the Poles in 1939. But is it as good as the former German Army? The Greek Army, held at bay for two years by a few thousand bedraggled guerrillas, could hardly stand up, say, to a combined Yugoslav-Bulgarian force strengthened by Russian units which could be made quickly available.

The only army we have in Europe is a small contingent in Germany. It is a police force, not a combatant army of any strength. Indeed, seasoned European journalists express the fear that, if the Soviet Union desired to, it could probably occupy the entire Continent within a few weeks and thus deprive us of even the possibility of air bases. Also Europe, including Great Britain, is exhausted by war. Its peoples, especially on the Continent, would hardly spring to arms, even if they had them, to join in a war against Russia, however much they may detest the Soviet dictatorship and love us.

Military Pressure Absurd

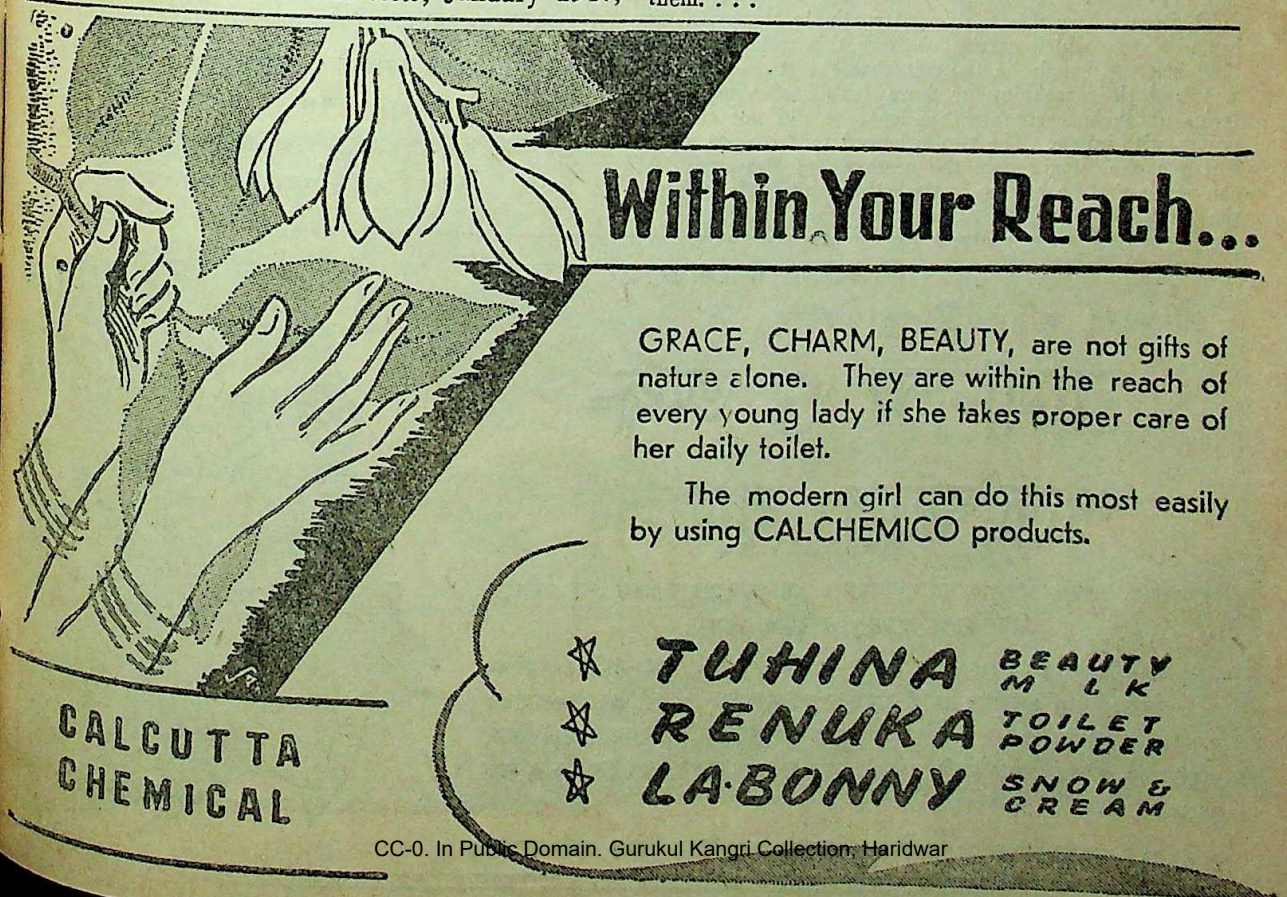
From a purely military point of view—since that appears to be the issue—it would seem as absurd for us to try to exert successful military pressure, however just our cause, against the Soviet Union on or near its borders at it would be for Russia to use its military power against us from below the Rio Grande. Even a puzzled civilian could predict the results in both cases with deadly certainty.

And if war comes between the world's two greatest powers, as it will certainly come if either side starts using its military power against the other, then, regardless of who "wins," our civilization, such as it is, will perish. On that, at least, there can be no disagreement.

Laurence Binyon

In an article under the caption "Some British I Admire" in *The Asiatic Review*, January 1947, Ranjee G. Shahani thus gives a brief critical estimate of Laurence Binyon :

I speak of Binyon in a dual capacity: as an Indian and as a student of literature. The first task is a fairly simple one. We Indians, whatever be our political convictions, had, and will always have, an affectionate admiration for Binyon. We considered him to be one of our real friends—one who tried to interpret our thought and feeling without any prejudices and postjudices. Even when he failed to understand some aspect of our creative effort—he was not impressed by our architecture!—we knew where the fault lay. He could not altogether escape the nomos of his race. Hellenism overpowered him, as it has overpowered so many other Western writers and artists. But I am not going to dwell on these small blind spots. All of us have them. Binyon, on the whole, had a deep insight into our spiritual make-up. He has written exquisitely about the frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh; indeed, he told me that there was nothing like them in the world. And I have noticed a lyrical note creep into his voice when he spoke of our Rajput paintings. Only A. E. talked more thrillingly on these and other Indian matters. Anyhow, Binyon loathed the bad European habit of patronizing the culture of this or that Asiatic country. Beauty, he thought, was divine, no matter where it manifested itself. He knew "the art of praise." Proof: see his essay on Manmohan Ghosh (a neglected Indian poet) and his book on Akbar. I cannot say that Binyon had any profound comprehension of our metaphysical doctrines: that was not his province. But he had an intuitive understanding of our adventure with life. He once said to me: "The cosmic energy that India holds is immeasurable. She will soon startle the world. It is for you young men to help her to recover the innocence of eye of the Vedic age. There is more poetry, mystery, and vision in the Vedas and the Upanishads than in any other books. Shakespeare, had he known them, would have adored them. . . ."



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I remember discussing Kipling with Binyon, it was in 1930. Binyon saw many qualities in Kipling, but did not consider him to be a great or significant writer. "Why?" I asked. "Because he lacks humanity. Also, he fails to see that a new world is struggling to be born. He is plunged in old-fashioned imperialism as in a warm tub. I don't think he understands our deeper impulsions. So be lenient with him for not comprehending the heart and mind of India. He has been very unfair to the Irish, too. See A. E.'s open letter to him."

This verdict I accept only in part. Kipling did not understand us Indians. True; but he did understand—better than any other modern writer—the English man of action. It is only fair to say this.

However, it was Binyon's ambition to interpret the East to the West and the West to the East. Here he was eminently successful. He explained the English spirit remarkably well to the Japanese, and, through Harvard University and other channels, he conveyed some of the inwardness of Asia to the Western world. He held, and I think rightly, that the harmonies of art would eventually reconcile the discords of diplomacy. Although a "good Englishman," he was not a narrow-minded patriot. He believed the universe to be our home. There was no East or West for him, but only good and bad men—here, there and everywhere.

Here I might permit myself the luxury of a brief digression. Binyon smiled at the heated discussions on form and matter. "They are childish," he said. "Form and matter are like soil and seed which must combine to produce a new unity—blossom or fruit. Only those artists worry about content and expression who lack the alchemy of nature."

This brings us to Binyon the critic. He was not swayed by fashions. The conscious obscurity of certain modern poets repelled him. On the other hand, he believed that all fine things have an element of darkness in them. In brief, he distinguished between profundity and deliberate manufacture of smoke. He thought that the highest poetry was a river of rhythmic energy, a moving to music, which carries us from this world to realms ineffable. Although he thought that the music of words was half their meaning or more (think of some of the lyrics of Shakespeare and Shelley), he did not confound poetry with music. The two belonged to disparate worlds. But I cannot linger over the aesthetic of Binyon. All I can say is that he had no facile enthusiasms. He possessed the capacity to value.

Of Binyon the dramatist I will say little because I never saw his plays on the stage. But *Attila, Boadicea*, and the *Young King* seem to me not only moving but eminently actable. Here, however, I speak with much diffidence. I can be more affirmative about Binyon's version of *Sakuntala*. This is excellent: it conveys the ecstasy of love with consummate art.

I am on difficult ground when talking of Binyon the poet. I have heard it said that he was traditional, literary, unadventurous. I do not like labels: they are always unfair and misleading. The thing to remember is that society, not the individual, is the originator of all change. The most daring genius is ultimately a camp-follower. However much he may desire it, he cannot stand on his own shoulders to gain a better view of the cosmos. He can see farther and deeper than his contemporaries, but he cannot create the materials of his craft. He can only re-shape them. All of us, whether we admit it or not, are more or less traditionalists. T. S. Eliot has never made a mistake on this point. (The tradition of English creative artists is to be without tradition!) In fact, there is no absolute novelty in any literature. The Vedic bards, Homer, Dante, Hafiz, Shakespeare, Goethe, Pushkin, Ibsen, Rimbaud, Tagore, Yeats, despite many differences, light their lamps from the same source. The same trinity—God, Nature and Man—puzzles and inspires them. I am hardly surprised that they shake hands across the gulf of centuries.

প্রথিতযশা লেখিকা শান্তা দেবী প্রণীত

১। অলখ-ঝোরা (উপন্যাস) ... মূল্য ৩৲
২। দুহিতা (উপন্যাস) ... ১৲
৩। সিঁথির সিঁদুর ১৷৹
৪। বধূবরণ ... ১৸৹

সুপ্রসিদ্ধ লেখিকা শ্রীসীতা দেবী প্রণীত

১। ক্ষণিকের অতিথি (উপন্যাস) ... ২৷৹
২। নিরেট গুরুর কাহিনী (ছোটদের গল্প) ৸৹

প্রাপ্তিস্থান—শ্রীশান্তা দেবীর নিকট
পি-২৬, রাজা বসন্ত রায় রোড, কলিকাতা ও
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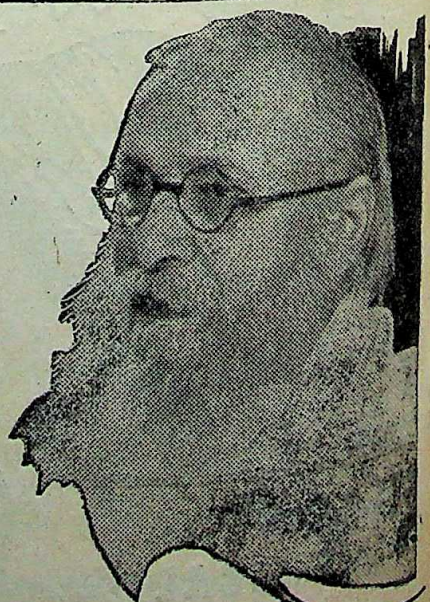

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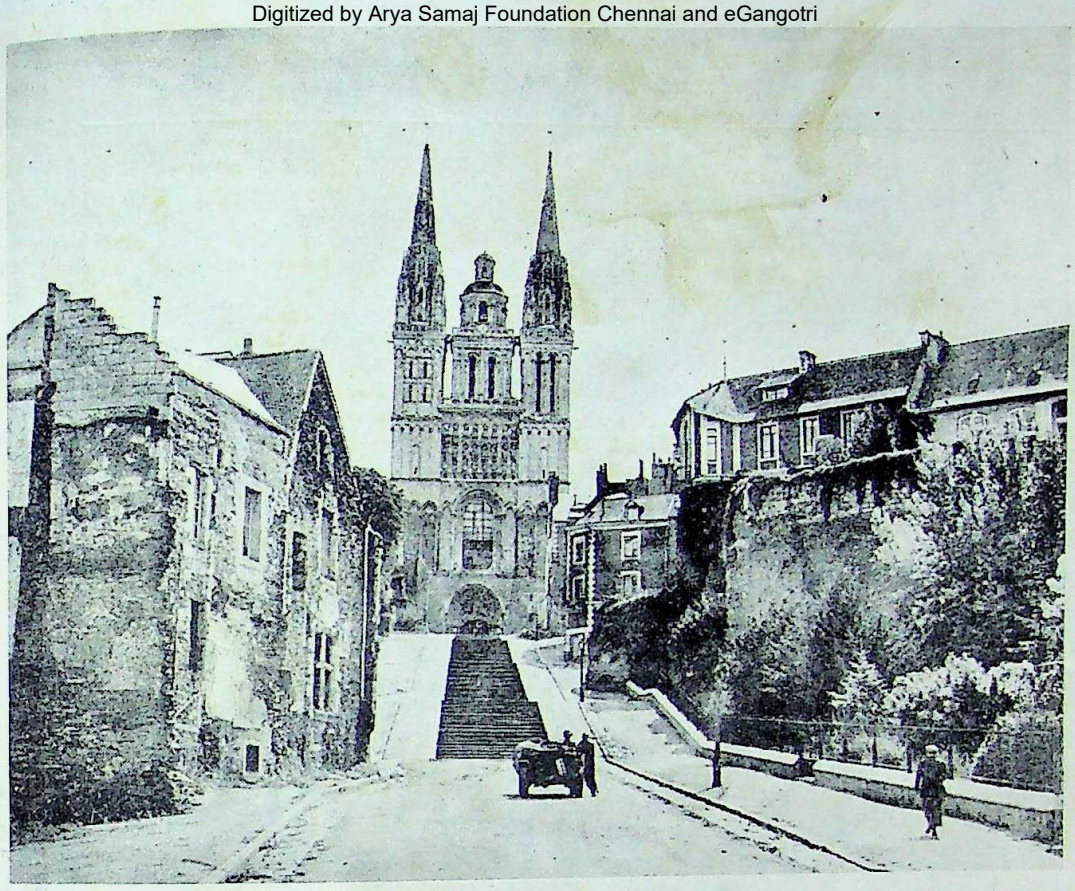
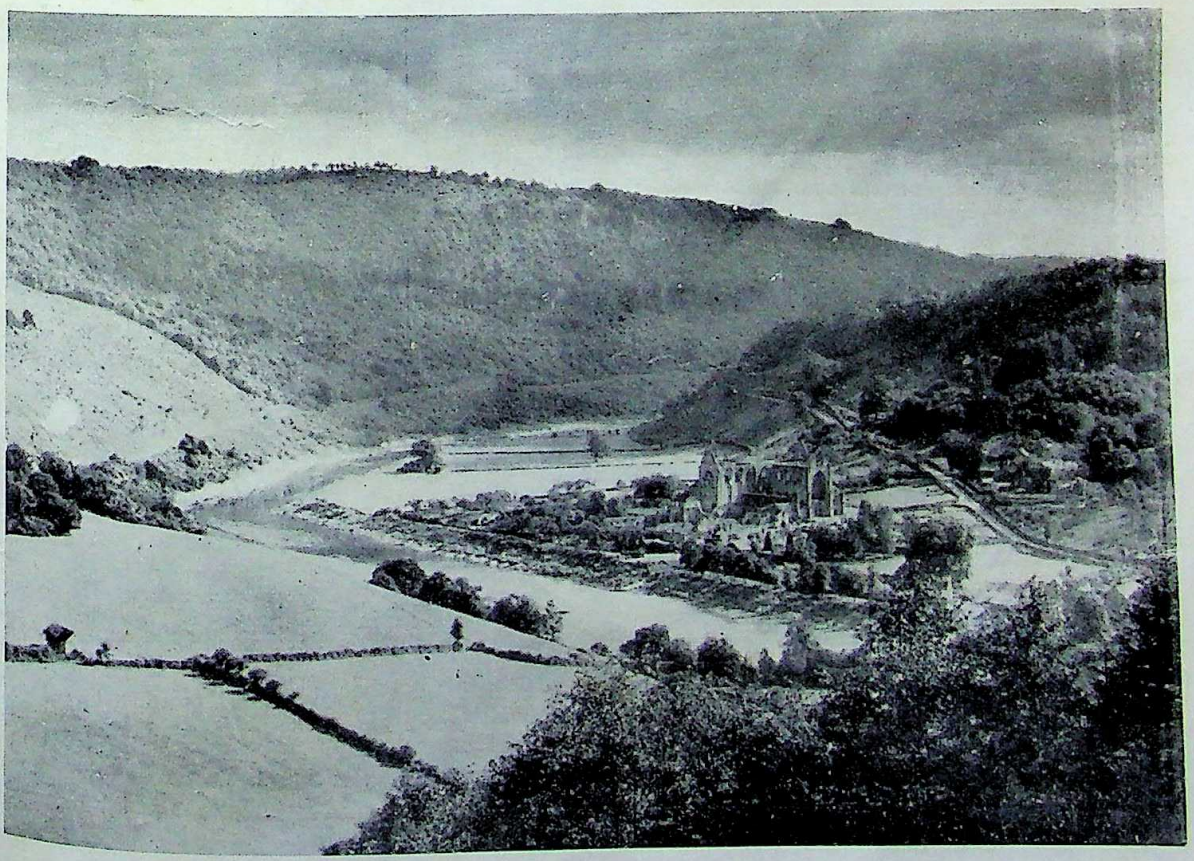


The ancient Cathedral of St. Maurice with its twin spires at Angers in France



The ruins of Tintern Abbey lying amongst the Welsh marches

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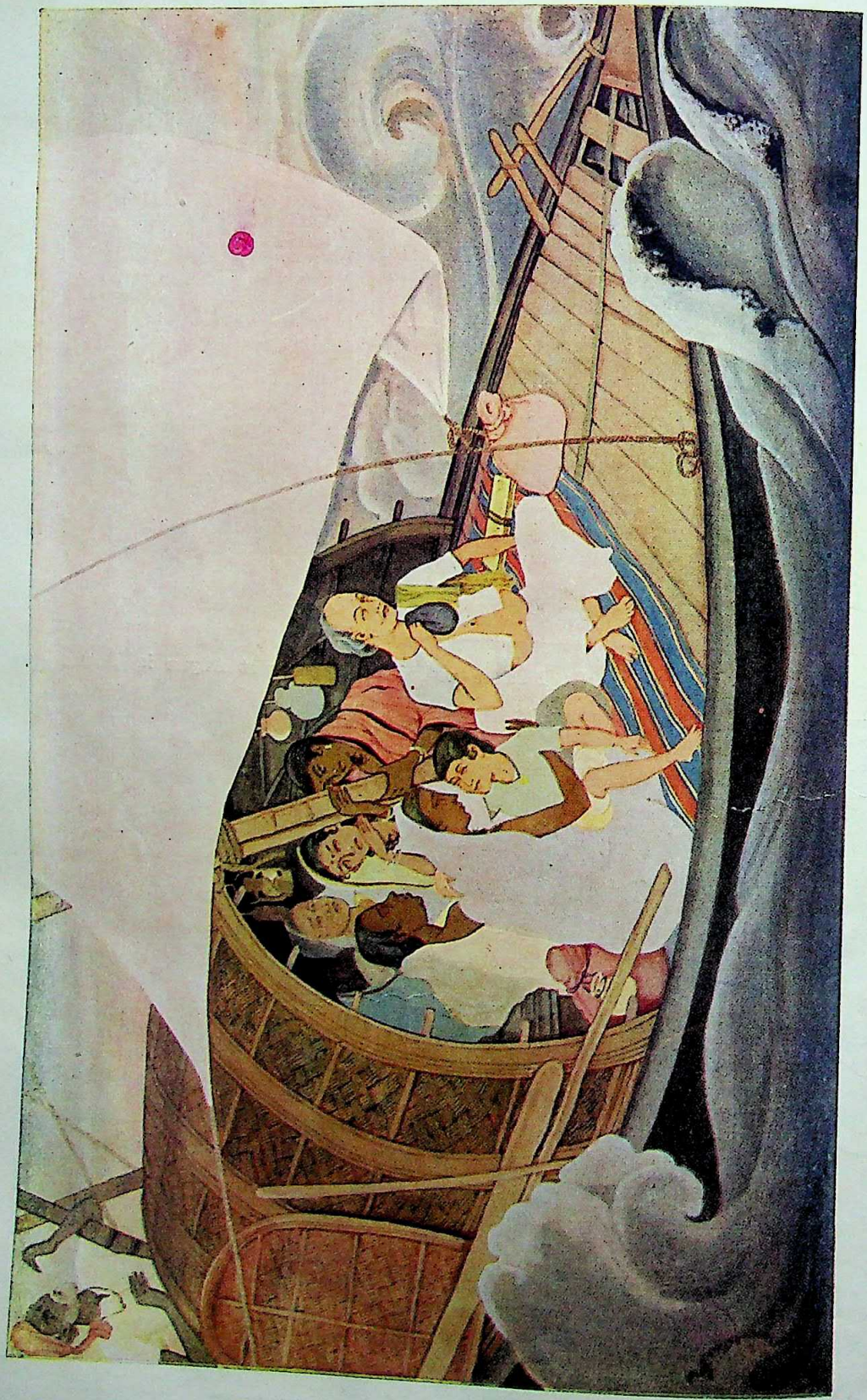

THE VICTIM OF THE GODS
By Niharranjan Sen Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Victory and Defeat

With the A.-I. C. C. acceptance of the British Cabinet offer of 3rd June the partition of India becomes a reality. The form in which this partition takes place, will please nobody as is clear from the speeches of the leaders of the contending parties, and will curtail the strength of all parties concerned. We can only hope that the injury will not be lasting and that with the completion of the partition sanity will return to the intransigent ones. Our dreams of the future have been rudely disturbed and we would indeed be living in a fool's paradise if we think that this act of splitting up will quench the fires of hostility. Fresh problems have arisen already, because of the mediaeval ambitions of some of the Native States, and because of the question of the Frontier becoming more and more complicated.

It cannot but be admitted that while Mr Jinnah's grandiose plans for Pakistan have been drastically truncated, the Congress has also suffered a severe set-back. This reverse has been the result of years of wishful thinking, a prolonged refusal to face facts and a dwarfing and lowering of Congress ideals through the play of provincial biases and inter-provincial prejudices. Bengal and Punjab were neglected by the High Command of the Congress, who left both provinces to the mercies of reactionary forces. In the case of Bengal, the Provincial Congress was left in the hands of a band of thoroughly incompetent persons, who set their own personal interests, for power and for gain, above that of the country. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee was made a playground for petty intriguers, major aspirants for power and the rag-tag and bobtail of party-politics. In Punjab, the case was similar, if not actually worse, and as a result the forces of reaction could transform these two provinces into major fortresses and bases for campaigns with impunity, without any opposition worth the name from the Congress. Indeed, even today unless drastic measures are adopted to purge and revitalize the Congress in these two provinces, the set-back the Congress has suffered, will further develop into a major defeat.

But, however dismal the picture of the present, sure as out of evil cometh good, so will victory come to our cause despite all handicaps if we remain stout in heart and alert and active in body and mind. Our principal enemy, the forces of British Imperialism, are quitting India at last, and that alone is a major and momentous gain. They will not be able any more to aid, abet and nurture the forces of reaction and no more shall the mailed-fist try to throttle and persecute the fighters for the freedom of India. Their last gift to their racketeer henchmen has been this partition of India, by which a group that have never fought for freedom, nor have made any sacrifices worth mentioning—indeed who have fought against freedom and shared in the booty of the oppressor and exploiter—have been presented with a large slice of power and territory. This gift has seriously complicated matters for us, let there be no doubt on that point, but with the vast assets and immense resources in men and material that would be now made available to us, no difficulty should be reckoned as being insurmountable.

A strong and rigid centre and a unified plan for the most efficient and full development of the Union's resources is called for urgently and immediately. Weak links in the chain need the attention of the High Command, which itself must be re-constituted to meet the emergency. Complacence which has been the curse of the Congress must be discarded forthwith. And finally, efficiency and the will to serve must be made the sole criteria for the selection of men for key-posts. "Jail-degrees," "sacrifice and devotion to Congress creed," and all shibboleths of the present-day Congress Committees must be forthwith relegated to the waste-heap. We have seen in Bengal what they mean, and we have no hesitation in declaring, with all the force at our command, that unless the Congress High Command sheds the above-mentioned twin blinkers while looking for the proper men to undertake the Herculean tasks ahead it will meet with a terrific debacle.

The Problem of Bengal

Although both the Punjab and Bengal are facing a crisis today due to the partition schemes, we feel more concerned to speak for Bengal. Vital problems have risen and more will arise soon, and these will

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concern the survival of Bengal and the Bengalees who aspire for freedom within the Indian Union. Men of courage, efficiency and integrity are needed for all key-positions in and out of the Provincial Cabinet. If the same procedure be followed as has been the case in the matter of nominating candidates for the Legislatures and the Constituent Assembly then indeed we shall have to cry havoc !

The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee is torn with factions and is today being led by a caucus. The so-called Congress leaders of Bengal have miserably failed the province at every major crisis. They have capitalized the staunchness of the people to their own personal advantage and have repayed faith with incompetence, cowardice and party disruption. Today while the whole country is quivering with pain under the partition knife-cut and is faced with chaos and ruin, these party-politicians are busy in the despicable game of post-hunting. If these racketeers are placed again in power then the Congress would have betrayed Bengal in truth.

The Boundary Commission for Bengal is expected shortly to begin its work. Preparations for drafting memoranda for submission to the Commission are being made by both contesting sides. The Bengal Moslem League, with its usual grabbing propensity has started making the usual preposterous claims. In addition to the districts earmarked as Muslim majority in the National Division Plan, the League's desire is to secure the two Hindu majority districts, of 24-Parganas and Khulna, as also Calcutta. In support of its baseless arguments, the League has arbitrarily divided the population of Bengal into three groups, Caste Hindus, Scheduled Castes and Muslims, and has claimed in each case that the Scheduled Castes are with them ! And this in spite of the brutal devastation of the Scheduled Caste areas in Noakhali and Tippera caused by the League "Direct Action." Therefore, according to the League's argument, the areas where the Caste Hindus are in a minority as against the combined strength of Scheduled Castes and Muslims, should go into Pakistan. This argument is being advanced in spite of the fact that 26 out of 30 of the Scheduled Caste members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly are Congress members. In the latest bye-election, in a Scheduled Caste vacancy in Jalpaiguri, fought over the issue of Bengal partition, the Scheduled Caste Congress candidate was returned by a thumping majority.

The next demand of the League is based on the arguments advanced for the establishment of a natural boundary and for the shortening of the frontier to facilitate defence. In this, the League demands the Ganges as the natural boundary. Where fanaticism has forced partition the boundary cannot lie along any line which has any religious significance. If a natural boundary is a desirable factor, then the Padma river line could be likewise advocated by us on similar arguments. To prevent further bitterness, we would suggest that the Madhumati might be accepted as the natural dividing boundary.

The terms of reference for the Boundary Commission cannot be anticipated but it is known that 'other' factors, in addition to distribution of population will be considered. The theory of contiguity should doubtless be accorded the first importance. On that ground, if the village is taken as the unit, a contiguous tract from Darjeeling to the Bay of Bengal can be easily plotted out on the map of Bengal. The southern tip of Maldah and the northern portion of Murshidabad seem likely to become objects of hot dispute, but it would be well to remember that if a small Muslim pocket breaks the contiguity of very large Hindu majority tracts, the pocket should be included to ensure contiguity. Division of territory should also be made with a view to an equitable distribution of the total arable land on a 45 : 55 proportion.

British Government's June 3 Statement on India

The following is the full text of the announcement :

1. On February 20, 1947, H.M.G. announced their intention of transferring power in British India to Indian hands by June 1948. H. M. G. had hoped that it would be possible for the major parties to co-operate in the working out of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946, and evolve for India a Constitution acceptable to all concerned. This hope has not been fulfilled.

2. The majority of the representatives of the provinces of Madras, Bombay, the U.P., Bihar, C.P., and Berar, Assam, Orissa and the N.-W.F.P. and the representatives of Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg have already made progress in the task of evolving a new Constitution. On the other hand, the Muslim League Party, including in it a majority of the representatives of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind as also the representative of British Baluchistan, has decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly.

3. It has always been the desire of H.M.G. that power should be transferred in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people themselves. This task would have been greatly facilitated if there had been agreement among the Indian political parties. In the absence of such an agreement, the task of devising a method by which the wishes of the Indian people can be ascertained has devolved on H.M.G. After full consultation with political leaders in India, H.M.G. have decided to adopt for this purpose the Plan set out below. H.M.G. wish to make it clear that they have no intention of attempting to frame any ultimate Constitution for India ; this is a matter for the Indians themselves. Nor is there anything in this Plan to preclude negotiations between communities for a united India.

4. It is not the intention of H.M.G. to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly. Now that provision is made for certain provinces specified below. H.M.G. trust that, as a consequence of this announcement, the Muslim League representatives of those provinces a majority of whose representatives are already participating in it will now take their due share in its labours. At the same time, it is clear that any Constitution framed by this Assembly cannot apply to those parts of the country which are unwilling to accept it. H.M.G. are satisfied that the procedure outlined below embodies the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of such areas on the issue whether their Constitution is to be framed in the existing Constituent Assembly, or in a new and separate Constituent Assembly consisting of the representatives of those areas which decide not to come in the existing Constituent Assembly. When this has been done, it will be possible to deter-

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mine the authority or authorities to whom power should be transferred.

5. The provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding the European members) will therefore each be asked to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the province. For the purpose of determining the population of districts, the 1941 census figures will be taken as authoritative. The Muslim majority districts in these two provinces are set out in the appendix to this announcement.

6. The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the province should be partitioned. If a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly.

7. Before the question as to partition is decided, it is desirable that the representatives of each part should know in advance which Constituent Assembly the province as a whole would join in the event of the two parts subsequently deciding to remain united. Therefore, if any member of either Legislative Assembly so demands, there shall be held a meeting of all members of the Legislative Assembly (other than Europeans) at which a decision will be taken on the issue as to which Constituent Assembly, the province as a whole would join if it were decided by the two parts to remain united.

8. In the event of partition being decided upon, each part of the Legislative Assembly will, on behalf of the areas they represent, decide which of the alternatives in para 4 above to adopt.

9. For the immediate purpose of deciding on the issue of partition, the members of the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab will sit in two parts according to Muslim majority districts (as laid down in the appendix) and non-Muslim majority districts. This is only a preliminary step of a purely temporary nature as it is evident that for the purposes of a final partition of these provinces a detailed investigation of boundary questions will be needed; and as soon as a decision involving partition has been taken for either province, a Boundary Commission will be set up by the Governor-General, the membership and terms of reference of which will be settled in consultation with those concerned. It will be instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. It will also be instructed to take into account other factors. Similar instructions will be given to the Bengal Boundary Commission. Until the report of a Boundary Commission has been put into effect, the provisional boundaries indicated in the appendix will be used.

10. The Legislative Assembly of Sind (excluding the European members) will at a special meeting also take its own decision on the alternatives in para 4 above.

11. The position of the N.-W. F. P. is exceptional. Two of the three representatives of this province are already participating in the existing Constituent Assembly. But it is clear, in view of its geographical situation, and other considerations, that if the whole or any part of the Punjab decides not to join the existing Constituent Assembly, it would be necessary to give the N.-W. F. P. an opportunity to reconsider its position. Accordingly, in such an event, a referendum will be made to the electors of the present Legislative Assembly in the N.-W. F. P. to choose which of the alternatives mentioned in para 4 above they wish to adopt. The referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Provincial Government.

12. British Baluchistan has elected a member but he had not taken his seat in the existing Constituent Assembly. In view of its geographical situation, this province will also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and to choose which of the alternatives in para 4 above to adopt. H. E. the Governor-General is examining how this can most appropriately be done.

13. Though Assam is predominantly a non-Muslim province, the district of Sylhet which is contiguous to Bengal is predominantly Muslim. There has been a demand that, in the event of the partition of Bengal, Sylhet should be amalgamated with the Muslim part of Bengal. Accordingly, if it is decided that Bengal should be partitioned, a referendum will be held in Sylhet district under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Assam Provincial Government to decide whether the district of Sylhet should continue to form part of the Assam province or should be amalgamated with the new province of Eastern Bengal, if that Province agrees. If the referendum results in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, a Boundary Commission with terms of reference similar to those for the Punjab and Bengal will be set up to demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts, which will then be transferred to Eastern Bengal. The rest of the Assam province will in any case continue to participate in the proceedings of the existing Constituent Assembly.

14. If it is decided that Bengal and the Punjab should be partitioned, it will be necessary to hold fresh elections to choose their representatives on the scale of one for every million of population according to the principle contained in the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946. Similar elections will also have to be held for Sylhet in the event of its being decided that this district should form part of East Bengal. The number of representatives to which each area would be entitled is as follows:

Province	*General*	*Muslims*	*Sikhs*	*Total*
Sylhet District	1	2	Nil	3
West Bengal	15	4	Nil	19
East Bengal	12	29	Nil	41
West Punjab	3	12	2	17
East Punjab	6	4	2	12

15. In accordance with the mandates given to them, the representatives of the various areas will either join the existing Constituent Assembly or form the new Constituent Assembly.

16. Negotiations will have to be initiated as soon as possible on administrative consequences of any partition that may have been decided upon:

(*a*) Between the representatives of the respective successor authorities about all subjects now dealt with by the Central Government including Defence, Finance and Communications.

(*b*) Between different successor authorities and

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H.M.G. for treaties in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power.

(c) In the case of provinces that may be partitioned as to administration of all provincial subjects, such as the division of assets and liabilities, the police and other services, the High Courts, provincial institutions, etc.

17. Agreements with the tribes of the N.-W.F.P. of India will have to be negotiated by the appropriate successor authority.

18. H.M.G. wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above relate only to British India and that their policy towards Indian States contained in the Cabinet Mission Memorandum of May 12. 1946, remains unchanged.

19. In order that the successor authorities may have time to prepare themselves to take over power, it is important that all the above processes should be completed as quickly as possible. To avoid delay, the different provinces or parts of provinces will proceed independently as far as practicable within the conditions of this Plan, the existing Constituent Assembly and the new Constituent Assembly (if formed) will proceed to frame Constitutions for their respective territories ; they will, of course, be free to frame their own rules.

20. The major political parties have repeatedly emphasized their desire that there should be the earliest possible transfer of power in India. With this desire H.M.G. are in full sympathy, and they are willing to anticipate the date, June 1948 for the handing over of power by the setting up of an independent Indian Government or Governments at an even earlier date. Accordingly, as the most expeditious, and indeed the only practicable way of meeting this desire, H.M.G. propose to introduce legislation during the current session for the transfer of power this year on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the decisions taken as a result of this announcement. This will be without prejudice to the right of the Indian Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether or not the part of India in respect of which they have authority will remain within the British Commonwealth.

21. H. E. the Governor-General will from time to time make such further announcements as may be necessary in regard to procedure or any other matters for carrying out the above arrangements.

Muslim majority districts of the Punjab and Bengal according to 1941 census :

1. PUNJAB

Lahore Division :Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhpura, Sialkot.

Rawalpindi Division : Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi, Shahpur.

Multan Division : Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan, Muzaffargarh.

2. BENGAL

Chittagong Division : Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera.

Dacca Division : Bakarganj, Dacca, Faridpur, Mymensingh.

Presidency Division : Jessore, Murshidabad, Nadia.

Rajshahi Division : Bogra, Dinajpur, Malda, Pabna, Rajshahi, Rangpur.

Lord Mountbatten's Broadcast

Following is the full text of Lord Mountbatten's broadcast preceding the announcement of H. M. G.'s June 3 Statement :

A statement will be read to you tonight giving the final decision of His Majesty's Government as to the method by which power will be transferred from British to Indian hands. But before this happens, I want to give a personal message to the people of India as well as a short account of the discussions which I have held with the leaders of the political parties and which have led up to the advice I tendered to His Majesty's Government during my recent visit to London.

Since my arrival in India at the end of March I have spent almost every day in consultation with as many of the leaders and representatives of as many communities and interests as possible. I wish to say how grateful I am for all the information and helpful advice they have given me.

Nothing I have seen or heard in the past few weeks has shaken my firm opinion that with a reasonable measure of goodwill between the communities a unified India would be by far the best solution of the problem.

For more than a hundred years 400 millions of you have lived together and this country has been administered as a single entity. This has resulted in unified communications, defence, postal services and currency ; an absence of tariffs and customs barriers ; and the basis for an integrated political economy. My great hope was that communal differences would not destroy all this.

My first course, in all my discussions, was therefore to urge the political leaders to accept unreservedly the Cabinet Mission Plan of 16th May, 1946. In my opinion that plan, to which the representatives of the majority of the provinces have in fact adhered, provides the best arrangement that can be devised to meet the interests of all the communities of India. To my great regret it has been impossible to obtain agreement either on the Cabinet Mission Plan or on any other plan that would preserve the unity of India. But there can be no question of coercing any large areas in which one community has a majority, to live against their will under a Government in which another community has a majority. And the only alternative to ocercion is partition.

But when the Muslim League demanded the partition of India, Congress used the same arguments for demanding in that event the partition of certain provinces. To my mind this argument is unassailable. In fact, neither side proved willing to leave a substantial area in which their community have a majority under the Government of the other. I am, of course, just as much opposed to the partition of provinces as I am to the partition of India herself and for the same basic reasons.

For just as I feel there is an Indian consciousness which should transcend communal differences so I feel there is a Punjabi and Bengali consciousness which has evoked a loyalty to their Province.

And so I felt it was essential that the people of India themselves should decide this question of partition.

The procedure for enabling them to decide for themselves whether they want the British to hand

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over power to one or two Governments is set out in the statement which will be read to you. But there are one or two points on which I should like to add a note of explanation.

It was necessary in order to ascertain the will of the people of the Punjab, Bengal and part of Assam to lay down boundaries between the Muslim-majority areas and the remaining areas, but I want to make it clear that the ultimate boundaries will be settled by a Boundary Commission and will almost certainly not be identical with those which have been provisionally adopted.

We have given careful consideration to the position of the Sikhs. This valiant community forms about an eighth of the population of the Punjab but they are so distributed that any partition of this province will inevitably divide them. All of us who have the good of the Sikh community at heart are very sorry to think that the partition of the Punjab, which they themselves desire, cannot avoid splitting them to a greater or lesser extent. The exact degree of the split will be left to the Boundary Commission on which they will, of course, be represented.

The whole plan may not be perfect : but like all plans, its success will depend on the spirit of goodwill with which it is carried out. I have always felt that once it was decided in what way to transfer power, the transfer should take place at the earliest possible moment, but the dilemma was that if we waited until a constitutional set-up for all India was agreed, we should have to wait a long time, particularly if partition were decided on. Whereas if we handed over power before the Constituent Assemblies had finished their work we should leave the country without a Constitution.

The solution to this dilemma, which I put forward, is that His Majesty's Government should transfer power now to one or two Governments of British India, each having dominion status, as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made. This I hope will be within the next few months.

I am glad to announce that His Majesty's Government have accepted this proposal and are already having legislation prepared for introduction in Parliament this session.

As a result of these decisions the special function of the India Office will no longer have to be carried out, and some other machinery will be set up to conduct future relations between His Majesty's Government and India.

I wish to emphasise that this legislation will not impose any restriction on the power of India as a whole, or of the two States if there is partition, to decide in the future their relationship to each other and to other member States of the British Commonwealth.

Thus the way is now open to an arrangement by which power can be transferred many months earlier than the most optimistic of us thought possible, and at the same time leave it to the people of British India to decide for themselves on their future, which is the declared policy of His Majesty's Government.

I have made no mention of the Indian States, since the new decisions of His Majesty's Government are concerned with the transfer of power in British India.

If the transfer of power is to be effected in a peaceful and orderly manner, every single one of us must bend all his efforts to the task. This is no time for bickering, much less for the continuation in any shape or form of the disorders and lawlessness of the past few months. Do not forget what a narrow margin of food we are all working on. We cannot afford any toleration of violence. All of us are agreed on that.

Whichever way the decision of the Indian people may go, I feel sure any British officials or officers who may be asked to remain for a while will do everything in their power to help implement that decision. His Majesty as well as his Government have asked me to convey to all of you in India their sincere good wishes for your future and the assurance of their continued goodwill.

I have faith in the future of India and am proud to be with you all at this momentous time. May your decisions be wisely guided and may they be carried out in the peaceful and friendly spirit of the Gandhi-Jinnah appeal.

Pandit Nehru's Broadcast

After the Statement was read Pandit Nehru, Mr. Jinnah and Sardar Baldev Singh in succession made short speeches over the radio. Pandit Nehru said : "Friends and Comrades !

"Nearly nine months ago, soon after my assumption of office, I spoke to you from this place. I told you then that we were on the march and the goal had still to be reached. There were many difficulties and obstacles on the way and our journey's end might not be near, for that end was not the assumption of office in the Government of India but the achievement of the full independence of India and the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth in which all will be equal sharers in opportunity and in all things that give meaning and value to life.

"Nine months have passed, months of sore trial and difficulty, of anxiety and sometimes even of heart-break, yet, looking back at this period with its suffering and sorrow for our people, there is much on the credit side also, for India has advanced nationally and internationally and is respected today in the councils of the world.

"In the domestic sphere something substantial has been achieved though the burden on the comomon man still continues to be terribly heavy and millions lack food and cloth and other necessaries of life. Many vast schemes of development are nearly ready and yet it is true that most of our dreams about the brave things we were going to accomplish have still to be realised.

"You know well the difficulties which the country had to face, economic, political and communal. These months have been full of tragedy for the millions and the burden on those who had the governance of the country in their hands has been great indeed.

"My mind is heavy with the thought of the sufferings of our people in the areas of disturbance—the thousands who are dead and those, especially our womenfolk who have suffered agony worse than death. To their families and to innumerable people who have been uprooted from their homes and rendered destitute I offer my deep sympathy and assurance that we shall do all in our power to bring relief. We must see to it that such tragedies do not happen again.

"At no time have we lost faith in the great destiny of India which takes shape even though with travail and suffering. My great regret has been that during this period, owing to excess of work, I have been unable to visit the numerous towns and villages of India, as I used to do, to meet my people and to learn about their troubles at first hand.

"Today, I am speaking to you on another historic occasion when a vital change affecting the future of India

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is proposed. You have just heard an announcement on behalf of the British Government.

"This announcement lays down a procedure for self-determination in certain areas of India. It envisages on the one hand the possibility of these areas seceding from India, on the other it promises a big advance towards complete independence. Such a big change must have the full concurrence of the people before effect can be given to it, for it must always be remembered that the future of India can only be decided by the people of India and not by any outside authority, however friendly. These proposals will be placed soon before representative assemblies of the people for consideration. But, meanwhile, the sands of time run out and decisions cannot await the normal course of events.

"So, while we must necessarily abide by what the people finally decide, we have to come to certain decisions ourselves and to recommend them to the people for acceptance.

"We have, therefore, decided to accept these proposals and to recommend to our larger committees that they do likewise."

It is with no joy in my heart that I commend these proposals to you, though I have no doubt in my mind that it is the right course. For generations we have dreamt and struggled for a free, independent and united India. The proposal to allow certain parts to secede if they so will is painful for any of us to contemplate. Nevertheless I am convinced that our present decision is the right one even from the larger viewpoint. The united India that we have laboured for, was not one of compulsion and of coercion but a free and willing association of a free people. It may be that in this way we shall reach that united India sooner than otherwise and then we shall have a stronger and more secure foundation.

"We little men are serving a great cause, but because the cause is great something of that greatness falls upon us also.

"Mighty forces are at work in the world to-day and in India and I have no doubt that we are ushering in a period of greatness for India. The India of geography, of history and tradition, the India of mind and heart, cannot change. On this historic occasion each one of us must pray that he might be granted the right in the services of his motherland and humanity at large.

"We stand on a watershed dividing the past from the future. Let us bury that past in so far as it is bad and forget all bitterness and recriminations; let there be moderation in speech and in writing; let there be strength and perseverence in adherence to the cause and the ideals we have at heart. Let us face the future not with easy optimism or any complacency or weakness but with confidence and firm faith in India.

"There has been violence, shameful, degrading and revolting violence in various parts of the country. These must end. We are determined to end it. We must make it clear that political ends are not to be achieved by methods of violence, now or in future.

"On this eve of great changes in India we have to make a fresh start with clear vision and firm mind, with steadfastness and tolerance and with a stout heart. We shall not wish ill of anyone but think of every Indian as our brother and comrade. The good of four hundred millions of Indians must be our supreme objective. We shall seek to build anew our relations with England on a friendly and co-operative basis forgetting the past which has leaned so heavily on us.

"I should like to express on this occasion my deep appreciation on the labours of the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, since his arrival here at a critical juncture in our history.

"Inevitably on every occasion of crisis and difficulties we think of our great leader Mahatma Gandhi who have led us unfalteringly for over a generation through darkness and sorrow to the threshold of our freedom. To him we once again pay our homage. His blessings and wise counsels will happily be with us in the momentous years to come as always. With a firm faith in our future I appeal to you to co-operate in the great task ahead and to march together to the heaven of freedom for all in India.

"Jai Hind."

Pundit Nehru also broadcast the text of his speech in Hindustani.

Mr. Jinnah's Broadcast

I am glad that I am afforded an opportunity to speak to you directly through this radio from Delhi. It is the first time, I believe, that a non-official has been afforded an opportunity to address people through the medium of this powerful instrument direct to the people on political matters. It augurs well and I hope that in the future I shall have greater facilities to enable me to voice my views and opinions which will reach directly to you, life-warm rather than in the cold print of the newspapers.

The Statement of His Majesty's Government embodying the Plan for the transfer of power to the peoples of India has already been broadcast and will be released to the Press to be published in India and abroad tomorrow morning. It gives the outlines of the Plan for us to give it our most earnest consideration.

We must remember that we have to take momentous decisions and handle grave issues facing us in the solution of the complex political problem of this great sub-continent inhabited by 400 million people. The world has no parallel for the most onerous and difficult task which we have to perform.

Grave responsibility lies particularly on the shoulders of Indian leaders. Therefore, we must galvanize and concentrate all our energy to see that the transfer of power is effected in a peaceful and orderly manner. I most earnestly appeal to every community and particularly to Muslim India to maintain peace and order. We must examine the plan, its letter and spirit and come to our conclusions and take our decisions. I pray to God that at this critical moment He may guide us and enable us to discharge our responsibilities in a wise and statesmanlike manner having regard to the sum-toto or the plan as a whole.

It is clear that the plan does not meet in some important respects our point of view and we cannot say or feel that we are satisfied or that we agree with some of the matters dealt with by the plan. It is for us now to consider whether the plan as presented to us by His Majesty's Government should be accepted by us as a compromise or a settlement. On this point I do not wish to prejudge the decision of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, which has been summoned to meet on Monday the 9th June and the final decision can only be taken by the Council according to our constitution, precedent and practice. But so far as I have been able to gather, on the whole the reaction in the Muslim League circles in Delhi has been hopeful. Of course, the plan has got to be very carefully examined in its *pros* and *cons* before the final decision can be taken.

I must say that I feel that the Viceroy has battled against various forces very bravely and the impression that he has left on my mind is that he was actuated by a high sense of fairness and impartiality and it is up to us now to make his task less difficult and help him as far as it lies in our power in order that he may fulfil his mission of transfer of power to the people of India, in a peaceful and orderly manner.

Now that the plan that has been broadcast already it makes it clear in Para 11 that a referendum will be made to the electorates of the present Legislative Assembly in the North-West Frontier Province who will choose which of the two alternatives in Para 4 they wish to adopt; and

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the referendum will be held under the aegies of the Governor-General in consultation with the provincial Government. Hence, it is clear that the verdict and the mandate of the people of the Frontier Province will be obtained as to whether they want to joint Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. In these circumstances, I request the provincial Muslim League of the Frontier Province to withdraw the movement of peaceful civil disobedience which they had perforce to resort to; and I call upon all the leaders of the Muslim League and Mussalmans generally to organize our people to face this referendum with hope and courage and I feel confident that the people of the Frontier will give their verdict by a solid vote to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

I cannot but express my appreciation of the sufferings and sacrifices made by all classes of Mussalmans and particularly the great part the women of the Frontier played in the fight for our civil liberties. Without apportioning blame and this is hardly the moment to do so, I deeply sympathise with all those who have suffered and those who died or whose properties were subjected to destruction and I fervently hope that the Frontier will go through this referendum in a peaceful manner and it should be the anxiety of every one to obtain a fair, free and true verdict of the people of the Frontier. Once more I most earnestly appeal to all to maintain peace and order. Pakistan Zindabad.

Sardar Baldev Singh's Broadcast

Sardar Baldev Singh, the Sikh representative and Defence Member in the Interim Government, said :

"You have just heard the broadcasts of His Excellency the Viceroy and the two of our distinguished countrymen Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Jinnah. You now also know the plan which H. M. G. has formulated to end the political deadlock that has baffled us these many months and years. It is a great day to-day, the occasion is historic. We have closed a dreary chapter. A new leaf is now turned. We seem to see gleaming on it the fulfilment of what till yesterday was but a dream. To-day we enter the heritage that is ours—the heritage of freedom which we have claimed as our birth-right. It will be idle for me to pretend that the day is bright and joyous as indeed we might well have hoped. It will be untrue if I say we are altogether happy. Seldom perhaps has a fulfilment like this been tarnished with so much of fear and sorrow. Even though the struggle was long and heavy our common quest for freedom need never have divided and torn us asunder one from another. This has actually taken place.

"The shadow of our differences has thrown its gloom over us. We witness to-day—even on the day of our freedom scenes of mutual conflict and all the horrors that conflict brings—in so amny parts of India. Neighbour has arisen against neighbour, thousands of innocent lives have been lost. Men, women and children roam from one place to another, homeless, without shelter. Untold losses, financial, cultural and spiritual, have been inflicted in wide areas. We look as if we are a house divided against itself. The day indeed finds us an unhappy people. It is not necessary for me to-day to probe into the reasons. We each have our faults and let us own them."

Commenting on the plan the Defence Member said: "The plan that has now been announced steers a course obviously above the conflicting claims. It is not a compromise. I prefer to call it a settlement. It does not please everybody not the Sikh community anyway. But it is certainly something worthwhile. Let us take it at that. Taken in that spirit the plan should halt the dismal gloom that stalks over our motherland. In that spirit we should find in it the many tasks that await us in every sphere of our national life-tasks that need doing not only repair of our damage that we have inflicted on ourselves but raise our status before the nations of the world.

"We have tasks big and small of reconstruction in our hands. Our people have many needs and let us settle down to meet these needs and relieve the distress that haunts us. In a word, whatever our differences let us grow above our petty outlook and work together to put our country on the way to greatness that certainly belongs to us. We have had enough of quarrel and trouble; let us now turn from an ugly past and build a great and glorious future.

"I believe with all my heart that the divisions that tend to keep us apart now will not last long. I believe also that even though we should choose to remain apart at present, we have so much in common economically, geographically and even spiritually that the very blue-print of our plan, so soon as we view it with care, will bind us together. We have to forget the unhappy days. Let us concentrate on common interests."

Sardar Baldev Singh said that during the last few weeks large contingent of armed troops had been deployed in various parts of the country to aid the civil administration. These troops consisted of trusted men. They will give succour to those in need and act also as stern keepers of peace in troubled areas. He wanted his countrymen to look upon these soldiers as their unfailing friends.

Addressing the sailors, soldiers and airmen the Defence Member said: "You are obviously not uninfluenced by the great events that are taking place. They include many political and administrative changes which will concern you. But you will undoubtedly not allow yourselves to be needlessly perturbed. Let me say with all the authority I can command that your interests in no circumstances will be allowed to suffer. You have earned a name for yourselves throughout the world by your well-earned and high tradition. India cannot forget the debt she owes to you. Some of you to-day are having to perform unpleasant duties of internal security work. But remember that our motherland is passing through a period of transition and I have no doubt that your patriotism and high sense of loyalty will help you to steer clear of the present difficulties. Do not forget that India's honour is your honour. Serve India now with good conscience and to the best of your ability in her hour of trial and remain confident that we stand by you to-day as we have done in the past."

Mountbatten's Press Conference

On the morning following the declaration of June 3, Lord Mountbatten held a Press Conference in which he asserted that Britain meant to quit and said, "I mean it sincerely when I say power will be transferred as completely this year as it ever would have been by June 1948. I am sincere, I am not bluffing." The Viceroy answered questions for nearly two hours and a quarter. The proceeding of the Conference was conducted by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Lord Ismay and Sir Eric Mieville were also present.

"The Indian States cannot enter separately as Dominions," replied the Viceroy to a question on the future of Indian States. Further elaborating the point, Lord Mountbatten explained that with the lapse of paramountcy the States would be free agents to enter either Constituent Assembly or make such arrangement as might be necessary. If any of the Indian States came to him for having a separate treaty—economic or military—with H.M.G.; he would transmit such a request to H.M.G. but the question had not so far arisen.

Replying to further question in regard to States Lord Mountbatten said : There can be no negotiation between H.M.G. and the States. We hand back paramountcy and in the process we offer our services in

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helping them to make the necessary contact with the Government of India and with the respective Constituent Assemblies to come together and make their agreement. But we (meaning H.M.G.) are not actually going to enter into any fresh negotiations; we are coming out of all our commitments. In the process of quitting power in India, we must try and approach it in as legally correct a manner as possible."

The Indian States, the Viceroy said, must be perfectly aware where their interests lay. He, as the Crown representative during the remaining two months or so he exercised paramountcy, would do everything in his power to help them to negotiate with other parties.

Lord Mountbatten said that when he met the representatives of the Princes he had offered his services and that of the Political Department to speed up all negotiations that could be taken on hand. The States were at liberty to send their duty qualified representatives to the existing Constituent Assembly or if they so desired to the other Constituent Assembly envisaged. They were absolutely free to choose but he supposed that geography would play a large part in their decisions.

Asked what H. M. G:'s attitude would be in case of a conflict between the people of a State and an autocratic ruler before June 1948, the Viceroy parried the question by stating that the date of transfer was going to be fairly early, this year, somewhere round about August. "We may be put on boats and pushed out for all that I know," he said.

Lord Mountbatten pointed out that so far as he was aware the Indian States were now progressing and during the last year the States had progressed more rapidly than at any time in the past.

On H.M.G.'s plan, the Viceroy said: "I worked hand in glove with the leaders at every stage and step of the development of the plan. The plan came as no shock or surprise to them, for, although I did not actually produce a written plan, I continued to make notes of what they said and had asked them if this or the other was the right way until the plan was constructed. The plan obviously cannot meet with complete approval of everybody, because, if it did, my services would have been quite unnecessary. Ages ago a solution would have been found between the leaders themselves. The only service I have given, has been to try as fairly and as impartially as possible to reconcile the various opposite points of view and to find to what extent people would change their views to meet the views of others. It would have been a miracle if every party had thought this plan was perfect. It would have distressed me if they had said so because it would have been an insincere statement not in keeping with the high integrity that the leaders have shown in the past."

Lord Mountbatten, explaining the background to the plan, said that before he came out to India he had had some preliminary discussion in London and it was settled that he would spend the first six months in becoming acquainted with the problem and then send his recommendations to H.M.G. to enable them in due course to prepare the necessary legislation early in 1948 in Parliament. When he arrived out here, however, he discovered almost at once that the one point on which every community was agreed, on which all the British officials agreed and with which he soon agreed himself was that a decision at the earliest possible moment on how to transfer power was a prime necessity if they were to arrest the deteriorating communal strife and tension and bring back an era of peace and friendliness without which no progress could possibly be made. So he set to work, seeing as many people as possible, first of all getting background material and asking for their views. His views he had publicly expressed last night on the question of a unified India. He tried his best to get the Cabinet Mission scheme accepted, a scheme which at one time or other had been accepted by every community and interested party in India. He, however, realised it could be worked only if there was sincerity and goodwill on the part of everyone.

But the moment riots and bloodshed started and there was a feeling of tension and strife, the prospects of making the Cabinet Mission's plan work were obviously very remote. The Cabinet Mission's plan was not an enforceable plan. It depended on mutual goodwill and co-operation. So when it became clear that it could not be made to work with the complete free will of at east one of the major communities he started looking round for alternatives. All the Muslim League leaders with whom he spoke, make it absolutely clear that they desired partition. Once that fact was inescapably established in his mind, his next point was to see whether the Congress would agree to abandon the principle of unity to which they had owed allegiance so long. He found that the Congress stuck by the principle of non-coercion and said that any province or area which did not wish to come into the existing Constituent Assembly could go into a separate Assembly. But, they very naturally insisted that no large non-Muslim areas should be brought in to the new Constituent Assembly. When he spoke to Mr. Jinnah and other Muslim League leaders on the point, they were distressed as much as Congress leaders were distressed by partition.

Mr. Jinnah then asked whether the same principle would be extended beyond the Punjab and Bengal. The Viceroy accepted that, of course, and so the idea of partition of Assam grew up for Sylhet and possibly certain surrounding areas in which there was a definite Muslim majority.

The next problem was, the Viceroy said, how to ascertain the will of the people. Clearly adult franchise plebiscite would be the democratic ideal. He need not say how utterly impracticable this would be at this moment. Speed was the one thing which everybody desired. Elections were held only last year and the present Legislative Assemblies appeared to him to be the right bodies to come to a quick decision and so they devised a scheme which was announced last night.

Apart from the two main parties, the Congress and the League, there was another community, not numerous but of great importance, namely, the Sikh community, which had, of course, to be consulted.

He found that mainly at the request of the Sikh community the Congress had put forward a resolution on the partition of the Punjab. He sent for a map with the population of the Sikhs marked and he was astounded to find that the plan which they had produced would divide the community almost to equal halves.

So he spent a great deal of time to find out a solution which would keep the Sikh community together.

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He had not been able to see any solution but whatever step was taken was based on the Congress resolution on the subject which, he pointed out, was passed at the insistence of the Sikhs.

The Viceroy hoped that the leaders of the respective communities would appoint a committee to draw up the terms of reference of the Boundary Commission which should have representatives of the interested parties on it. So far as it was humanly possible there would be no interference, let alone dictation, from any British official. "This is your country and it is up to you to decide what to do," he said.

The most gratifying part of the whole plan of procedure was the absolute determination of every responsible leader that whatever solution was finally adopted it was going to be adopted peacefully without further bloodshed and they were going to throw the whole weight into the scale to prevent any further riots, commotion and bloodshed.

Every single member of his Cabinet, individually and collectively, had expressed to him the strongest possible wish that the armed forces of India should be used to ensure that there was no further bloodshed.

After consulting the Home Member Sardar Vallabhbhai aside, the Viceroy revealed that the Interim Government had recently unanimously decided "that we shall not tolerate any more violence or strife."

"There are many times more troops in the troubled areas than before. The Centre is already there intervening in the most effective way possible by adopting a unanimous decision in the Interim Government not to tolerate any more violence."

Up till now, the Viceroy said, the distribution of the armed forces had been on the normal basis throughout India. Now Government knew where disturbances were going to break out, or were most likely to break out and so Government were taking the risk of denuding the other parts of India of the armed forces and concentrate them in those particular areas.

The Viceroy said he had been promised by the British Prime Minister the services of two constitutional experts from England. Besides a number of constitutional experts were available in this country for assistance during the transition.

Lord Mountbatten said all the leaders were anxious to assume their full responsibility at the earliest possible moment and he was eager to help them do so, because once the decision had been taken there was no reason to wait. Waiting would only mean that he should be responsible ultimately for law and order and the general conduct of Government. In point of fact, however much you might use the Interim Government, it would never be the same thing unless they were legally in control of the responsibility.

How to produce that very quickly was a legal conundrum of the first order. "You cannot transfer power to one or two separate Governments unless these Governments had formulated their constitutions. One of the Governments is not even in being. No one is certain whether it is coming into being."

His search to find an answer had led him to the Government of India Act 1935 which was regarded as a masterpiece.

This Act under which India had been governed since 1935 was the Act under which it would be governed until power was transferred when the two respective Governments could make up their minds on the type of constitution they wanted.

The Viceroy referred to his negotiations in London when he asked Prime Minister Attlee how long it would take to get the necessary legislation through Parliament. The immediate answer was it would take six or seven months to frame the necessary Act and introduce legislation and get it accepted. The Viceroy then asked the Premier whether he would kindly introduce legislation through the current session of Parliament—within the next two months. The following day the Lord Chancellor had ready a rough outline of the proposed legislation. The only thing that would delay the framing of the Act was the uncertainty of what the provinces were going to decide and until the people of India had outlined their own future, the final terms of the Act could not be drawn up. But once this was known, the legislation would be rushed through in record time.

Answering questions, Lord Mountbatten said the position of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League with regard to the plan was that under the League constitution no final decision was taken until the League Council had had an opportunity of discussing it. He was not going to say anything to-day which would prejudice free discussion in that Council.

Asked what he would do if the League Council rejected the plan, Lord Mountbatten said if ever the occasion arose "Come and see me and I will tell you what I would do."

"I am the person responsible for going ahead with this plan. If I go ahead it is because I feel it is the right thing to do. I have taken, if you like, a risk in doing so. But I have spent the last five years in what we call taking calculated risks."

Question: In your broadcast yesterday you had said the ultimate boundaries of the partitioned provinces would be "Almost certainly not identical" with those which have been provisionally adopted. Why?

Answer: For the simple reason that in the district of Gurdaspur in the Punjab, the population ratio is 50.4 per cent Muslims and 49.6 per cent non-Muslims. The difference is ·8 per cent. You will see at once it is unlikely the Boundary Commission will place the whole of the district in Muslim majority areas. Similarly, in a district in Bengal, the reverse is the case. It has a very small fraction of non-Muslim majority. I shall be astounded if the Boundary Commission places the whole of that district in the non-Muslim area. The point is we have taken the districts for one purpose only—it was the only simple way by which you can derive the number of members for each of the legislatures. I do not want inhabitants of those districts to assume it as a foregone conclusion that they would be going into an area in which their community is not in a majority.

The Governors of the Punjab and Bengal had already received instructions to put into effect Clause 9 in H. M. G.'s Statement providing for national division. No time would be lost in getting on to this as quickly as possible. The administrative arrangements were really matters for the Legislative Assemblies of these two provinces to fix up in conjunction with their Governors. His personal view was they could not do better than have coalitions in both the provinces.

The Viceroy said in respect of the N.-W. F. Province, that the procedure of referendum was adopted because the minorities there had been given more weightage than in any other province. Out of 50 seats in the Provincial Assembly, something like 12 or 13 went to the minorities who were actually less than five or six per cent of the population.

When his attention was drawn to the demand for an independent Pathan State, the Viceroy said that the question was raised as a matter of principle as to whether any province should be allowed to vote for independence or whether they would be obliged to vote for one or other of the two Constituent Assemblies. But it was turned down by the leaders of both the parties on the very admirable plea that they did not wish to encourage Balkanisation.

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Question : Has not the Congress Party supported the demand of the Frontier people for a sovereign State ?

Answer : Where should we be if we agree to each request by one party ? What is the basis of agreement ?

Question : Are the Frontier people free to select the issue on which they will vote in the referendum ?

Answer : If they can get the High Commands of the two parties to agree to it, and if they want to vote for independence, I will agree. If on the other hand only one wishes it, then we stick to what we agreed on originally.

The Viceroy said he was proposing to select British officers from the Indian Army who spoke the language of the Frontier and who had never had anything to do with politics to go to the Frontier during the referendum. He was trying to get the most impartial men he could find to ensure that the referendum was completely impartial.

He had been asked, the Viceroy went on, what provision His Majesty's Government would make for the protection of minorities. The H.M.G's. plan had not referred to this point. The British Government's decision to quit was not insincere. Since this was so, they had no legal means to enforce any protection for the minorities, but he had talked to the leaders of the country and was absolutely certain that so long as they were in power, "they personally mean to look after the interests of the minorities as a matter of conscience, honour and fairplay." While he was still here, his services would also be available for this purpose. He had the greatest faith in the future of India and he believed that the minorities were going to have "a decent chance and fairplay."

Answering a question on the defence of the future dominions, the Viceroy said basically each State when it got independence was wholly and solely responsible for its own defence. Mechanically, the process of partitioning the forces if it had to be done without collapse of morale and disintegration, must be done in an orderly, well-disciplined and careful manner. When partition was complete, the two States were absolutely free to decide whether they wanted to get together for the defence of India or whether they wanted to make their own separate arrangements.

The Viceroy concluded on the following note: "I really am sincere in my desire to help India. I really believe that the leaders of both parties are equally sincere to do what they can to help me. In fact, I think that we are going to see a revulsion of feelings; and, whereas before there was mistrust, bitterness and strife, I think we are going to see the leaders come together in a friendly spirit of co-operation."

Mr. Churchill's Statement

Mr. Winston Churchill, Leader of Opposition in the House of Commons, was given a copy of H.M.G.'s Statement for information. He was, however, not consulted. After the Statement was published, Mr. Churchill said :

"It is, of course, impossible for the House to weigh and measure the full meaning of the most important statement which has just been made to us by the Prime Minister. I am bound to say that it seemed very difficult to understand but White Paper will have to be studied with attention and will probably carry the largest measure of truth to those who are best instructed.

"No doubt, we shall have a debate at a suitable moment on this question, but at the moment I am not asking for any particular date to be fixed. I am bound to say, however, that at this moment it appears that the two conditions foreseen at the time of the Cripps Mission, namely, firstly, agreement between the Indian parties and secondly, a period of dominion status in which India or any part of it may freely decide whether to remain within association of the Cripps Mission, which was set up under my administration, would seem to have been fulfilled by this proposal.

Mr. Churchill continued: "If it should prove to be the case that these two conditions have been maintained in fact and in form, I say all parties in this House are equally pledged by the offers and declarations which we have made.

"In these points, we can only be well assured by the course of events in the next few weeks and months. It is true that agreement of the various parties in India has only been achieved on the basis of partition.

"I gather that is the foundation. Nevertheless, should all these parties after a reasonable period of deliberation and responsibility decide to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations, the scheme of unity of India will be preserved and the many nations and States of India will find their unity within the mysterious circle of the British Crown just in the same way as the self-governing dominions have done for so many years after all other links with the mother country, save those of sentiment, have been dissolved.

"It may, therefore, be through a form of partition that the unity of India may nonetheless be preserved in respect of matters vital to the whole of the vast populations.

"Friendly, we must ask ourselves at this early moment whether after matters had proceeded thus far—and my opinions about that are well-known—whether any better way can be found of saving India from a bloodbath that may seem so near.

"I cannot doubt that at first sight and subject to unknown factors working out in a favourable manner, it would seem a settlement on those terms may offer to India some prospect of escape from one of the most hideous calamities that have ever ravaged the vast expanse of Asia.

Premier Attlee's Statement

Simultaneously with the publication in India of H.M.G.'s June 3 plan, Premier Attlee announced the same in the House of Commons. Mr. Attlee, who was received with cheers in a well-filled House began :

"The plan contained in the announcement I am about to make, including an offer of Dominion Status to one or two successor authorities, has been favourably received by all the three parties represented at the conference held by the Viceroy with the Indian leaders during the past few days."

This statement was greeted with loud cheers which were renewed when Mr. Attlee expressed the Government's gratitude and appreciation for the "great services" which the Viceroy had rendered.

Mr. Attlee continued : "The British Government wish to make it clear that they have no intention of attempting to frame the ultimate Constitution for India. This is a matter for Indians themselves. Nor is there anything in this plan to preclude negotiations between the communities for a united India."

The Prime Minister said it was not the intention of the British Government to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly. It was clear that any Constitution framed by this Assembly could not apply to those parts of the country unwilling to accept it. The British Government was satisfied that the procedure outlined below embodied the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of such areas on the issue whether their Constitution was to be framed in the existing Constituent Assembly or in a new and separate Constituent Assembly consisting of representatives of those areas which decided

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not to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly.

When that had been done it would be possible to determine the authority or authorities to whom power should be transferred.

Mr. Attlee said that the Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding European members) would therefore each be asked to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the province.

The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately would be empowered to vote whether or not the province would be partitioned. If a simple majority of either part decided in favour of partition, division would take place and arrangements would be made accordingly.

As soon as a decision involving partition had been taken for either province a Boundary Commission would be set up by the Governor-General, the membership and terms of reference of which would be settled in consultation with those concerned. The Legislative Assembly of Sind (excluding European members) would at a special meeting decide whether their Constitution was to be framed under the existing Constituent Assembly or under the new Assembly.

Referring to the North-West Frontier Province, Mr. Attlee said it was clear in view of its geographical situation and other considerations that if the whole or any part of the Punjab decided not to join the existing Constituent Assembly it would be necessary to give the North-West Frontier an opportunity to reconsider its position.

Accordingly, in such an event, a referendum would be made to the electors of the present Legislative Assembly in the North-West Frontier Province to choose whether their constitution would be under the now existing or under the new Constituent Assembly.

In view of its geographical situation, British Baluchistan would also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and choose which of the alternatives with regard to the Constituent Assembly it would adopt.

If it was decided that Bengal should be partitioned, a referendum would be held in the predominantly Moslem district of Sylhet to decide whether it should continue to form part of Assam province or be amalgamated with the new province of Eastern Bengal if that province agreed. If the referendum resulted in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, a Boundary Commission would be appointed.

The rest of Assam province would in any case continue to participate in the proceedings of the existing Constituent Assembly.

If it was decided that Bengal and the Punjab should be partitioned, it would be necessary to hold fresh elections. Similar elections would be necessary for Sylhet, if it was decided that this district should form part of East Bengal.

Negotiations would have to be initiated as soon as possible on administrative consequences of any partition that might have to be decided upon.

Mr. Attlee concluded : "The major political parties have repeatedly emphasised their desire that there should be the earliest possible transfer of power in India."

With this desire His Majesty's Government are in full sympathy and they are willing to anticipate the date of June 1948 for the handing over of power by the setting up of an independent Indian Government or Governments at an even earlier date.

Accordingly, as the most expeditious and indeed the only practicable way of meeting this desire, His Majesty's Government propose to introduce legislation during the current session for transfer of power according to the decisions taken as a result of this announcement. This will be without prejudice to the right of the Indian Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether or not the part of India in respect of which they have authority will remain within the British Commonwealth.

The A.-I. C. C. and the League Council

The following is the full text of the resolution recommended to the All-India Congress Committee by the Congress Working Committee :

> The A.-I.C.C. has given careful consideration to the course of events since its last meeting in January, and, in particular, to the statements made on behalf of the British Government on Feburary 20, and June 3, 1947. The Committee approves and endorses the resolutions passed by the Working Committee during this period.
>
> The Committee welcomes the decision of the British Government to transfer power completely to the Indian people by next August.
>
> The Congress accepted the British Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, 1946, as well as the subsequent interpretation thereof dated December 6, 1946, and has been acting in accordance with it in the Constituent Assembly which was constituted in terms of the Cabinet Mission's Plan. That Assembly has been functioning for over six months, and has not only declared its objectives to be the establishment of an independent, sovereign republic of India and a just social and economic order but has also made considerable progress in framing the constitution for the free Indian Union on the basis of fundamental rights guaranteeing freedom and equality of opportunity to all Indians.
>
> In view, however, of the refusal of the Muslim League to accept the Plan of May 16 and to participate in the Constituent Assembly and further in view of the policy of the Congress that 'it cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will' the A.-I.C.C. accepts the proposals embodied in the announcement of June 3, 1947, which have laid down a procedure for ascertaining the will of the people concerned.
>
> The Congress has consistently upheld that the unity of India must be maintained. Ever since its inception, more than 60 years ago, the National Congress has laboured for the realization of a free and united India, and millions of our people have suffered in this great cause. Not only the labours and sacrifices of the past two generations but the long course of India's history and tradition bear witness to this essential unity. Geography and the mountains and the seas fashioned India as she is, and no human agency can change that shape or come in the way of her final destiny. Economic circumstances and the insistent demands of international affairs make the unity of India still more necessary. The picture of India we have learnt to cherish will remain in our minds and hearts. The A.-I.C.C. earnestly trusts that when present passions have subsided India's problems will be viewed in their proper perspective, and the false doctrine of two nations in India will be discredited and discarded by all.

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The proposals of June 3, 1947, are likely to lead to the secession of some parts of the country from India. However much this may be regretted, the A.-I.C.C. accepts this possibility in the circumstances now prevailing.

Though freedom is at hand, the times are difficult, and the situation in India demands vigilance and a united front of all those who care for the independence of India. At this time of crisis and change, when unpatriotic and anti-social forces are trying to injure the cause of India and her people, the A.-I.C.C. appeals to and demands of every Congressman and the people generally, to forget their petty differences and disputes and to stand by vigilant, disciplined and prepared to serve the cause of India's freedom and defend it with all their strength from all who may seek to do it injury.

The resolution was moved by Pandit Govind Ballav Pant and seconded by Maulana Azad. Mahatma Gandhi addressed the A.-I.C.C. and commended its acceptance. Speaking for forty minutes, he said that the A.-I.C.C. had the right to accept or reject the Working Committee's decision, but on this particular occasion he asked the Committee not to amend the resolution. Gandhiji explained that the Congress was opposed to Pakistan and he was one of those who steadfastly opposed the division of India. Yet he had come before the A.-I.C.C. to urge the acceptance of the resolution. Sometimes, certain decisions, however unpalatable they might be had to be taken. Gandhiji's main argument was that the Working Committee as the representative of the A.-I.C.C. had accepted the Plan and it was the duty of the A.-I.C.C. to stand by them.

Babu Purushottamdas Tandon was the principal opponent to the resolution. In an impassioned speech he said that the A.-I.C.C. must reject the Working Committee's decision and that it was not sufficient for acceptance to say that an adverse vote would hurt the prestige of the Working Committee. He said :

> The Working Committee is made by you who have been chosen by the people. The Working Committee may make a mistake but you must give your decision. I appeal to you to perform your duty. Compared to the people and to the country the Working Committee is a small thing. Acceptance of the resolution will be abject surrender to the British and to the Muslim League. The Working Committee has failed you, but you have the strength of millions behind you and you must reject this resolution.

The decision of the Working Committee was an admission of weakness. The reasons which even on their own admission had persuaded the Working Committee to propose the resolution were that they were faced with difficulties, difficulties of administration due to the obstructive tactics of the League, to the large-scale disturbances that had taken place in the country, and to the fact that no agreement could be reached with the League. But other countries had had to encounter similar obstacles on the road to freedom, particularly in the United States. We would have to face many greater difficulties than had come up hitherto. The Working Committee had accepted the plan in weakness and out of a sense of desperation. At the same time they expressed the hope that they would later unite. That was dishonest. Those who had fought many a battle for India's freedom were not frightened and they must be prepared and resist. Those that were weak deserved no sympathy. They had resisted the British before and they could do so again.

In support of the resolution it has been said that Congress could not go back on its policy of non-coercion. If that was so what would they say to the States who expressed their intention to remain independent. There would be numerous pockets of Moslems in India who would say they wanted to go to Pakistan. What would they say to them.

Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, Socialist Leader, speaking on the resolution advised the A.-I.C.C. to remain neutral.

The resolution was passed by 157 votes to 29. 32 members did not vote.

The A.-I.C.C. session was held in public and the speeches were reported in full. All the intending speakers were given opportunities to express their views. The session of the Muslim League Council was, however, entirely different. It was held in camera. Press was not allowed, speeches and details of voting were not reported. It has later been revealed that nearly 60 members were not allowed to speak by applying a closure motion. Even the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, one of the most important League functionaries, was among those who were not given an opportunity to speak. Full text of the League resolution is given below :

> The Council of the All-India Muslim League after full deliberation and consideration of the statement of His Majesty's Government, dated the 3rd of June, 1947, laying down the plan of transfer of power to the peoples of India, notes with satisfaction that the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946, will not be proceeded with and has been abandoned. The only course open is the partition of India as now proposed in H.M.G.'s Statement of the 3rd June.
>
> The Council of the All-India Muslim League is of the opinion that the only solution of India's problem is to divide India into two—Pakistan and Hindustan. On that basis, the Council has given its most earnest attention and consideration to H.M.G.'s Statement. The Council is of opinion that although it cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab or give its consent to such partition, it has to consider H.M.G.'s Plan for the transfer of power as a whole.
>
> The Council, therefore, hereby resolves to give full authority to the President of the All-India Muslim League, Qaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah, to accept the fundamental principles of the plan as a compromise and to leave it to him, with full authority, to work out all the details of the Plan in an equitable and just manner with regard to carrying out the complete division of India on the basis and fundamental principles embodied in H.M.G.'s Plan including defence, finance, communications, etc.
>
> The Council further empowers the President, Qaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah, to take all steps and decisions which may be necessary in connection with and relating to the Plan.

Strong Federal Centre

The future constitution for India would provide for a strong federal centre, with residuary powers vested in it, but this would not affect the position of the Indian States who had already joined the Constituent Assembly and those who are expected to join it in the near future. In so far as the States are

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concerned, it is understood, their relations with the Centre would be on the basis of the Cabinet Mission's Plan, namely, that they would surrender only three subjects, defence, foreign affairs and communications. This decision has been taken at a joint meeting of the union and provincial constitution committees of the Constituent Assembly.

It is understood that the Provincial Constitution Committee, on which provincial Premiers are represented and which is to present to the Constituent Assembly a draft provincial constitution, was of the opinion that there should be a reversal of the Cabinet Mission's Plan in so far as provincial constitutions are concerned. The suggestion was that there should be a powerful Centre which should delegate certain subjects for provincial administration. The Union Committee, however, was right in not accepting this suggestion. British India began as a Unitary Government which at every stage was found unworkable and gradually a federal type emerged out of administrative experience extended over about a century. The question of a Unitary Centre with delegated powers to the provinces was finally discussed at a joint session of both the Committees. It is understood that both the Committees have finally decided to have a strong Federal Government. This decision seems to be the wisest. It has been proposed to have three lists, federal, concurrent and provincial. On the concurrent list provision would be made for the Centre to override the provinces under certain circumstances. We are inclined to believe that it would have been better to have only two lists, federal and provincial, with residuary powers in the Centre. This would have reduced future possibilities of legal conflict over interpretation of the concurrent subjects.

Union Judiciary

The Union Constitution Committee of the Constituent Assembly has finalised the fundamentals of the Union Judiciary. It is understood to have agreed to the recommendations of the *ad hoc* Committee appointed by the President of the Constituent Assembly to report to the constitution and functions of the Supreme Court.

The issues dealt with by the *ad hoc* Committee and approved of by the Union Constitution Committee are understood to fall under six heads, namely, jurisdiction and powers of the Supreme Court, advisory jurisdiction of the Court, ancillary powers of the Court, constitution and strength of the Court, qualifications and mode of appointment of judges and their tenure of office and conditions of service.

General appellate jurisdiction similar to that now exercised by the Privy Council will be taken over by the Supreme Court.

Other functions of the Court will include exclusive jurisdiction in disputes between the Union and or between one unit and another jurisdiction with respect to matters arising out of treaties made by the Union jurisdiction in respect of such other matters within the competence of the Union as the Union Legislature may prescribe and jurisdiction for the purpose of enforcing the fundamental rights guaranteed by the constitution.

The general view accepted was that a Supreme Court with jurisdiction to decide upon the constitutional validity of laws was a necessary implication of any Federal scheme. A Supreme Court for certain purposes being thus a necessity, it was considered that the Court might well be given additional powers, including those already mentioned.

Treaty-making power belonged to the Union as part of the subject of "foreign affairs," it was decided as appropriate to invest the Supreme Court with jurisdiction to decide finally, though not necessarily in the first instance, all matters arising out of treaties, including extradition between the Union and a foreign State.

On the question of the general appellate jurisdiction similar to that now exercised by the Privy Council it was pointed out that under the new constitution the jurisdiction of the Privy Council as the ultimate authority would disappear and it was obviously desirable that a similar jurisdiction should now be conferred on the Supreme Court.

So far as the British Indian units were concerned that jurisdiction should be co-extensive with the present jurisdiction of the Privy Council. As regards the Indian State units there were at least two classes of cases where, in the interests of uniformity it was clearly desirable that the final decision should rest with the Supreme Court, namely, cases involving the interpretation of a law of the Union and cases involving the interpretation of a law of a unit and other than the State concerned.

On the question of advisory jurisdiction of the Court, it was recognised that there had been considerable difference of opinion amongst jurists and political thinkers as to the expedience of placing on the Supreme Court an obligation to advise the head of the State on diffcult questions of law. In spite of arguments to the contrary, it was considered expedient to confer advisory jurisdiction upon the Federal Court under the present Act. The Committee felt that it would be, on the whole, better to continue the jurisdiction even under the new constitution.

It is understood that the Committee decided that the Supreme Court should have at least two Division Benches, each Division consisting of five judges in addition to the Chief Justice.

The qualifications laid down for the judges of the Supreme Court will be similar to those in the Act of 1935 as regards the judges of the Federal Court.

Future of the Indian States

The following press note had been issued by the Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly on June 7 :

> Some important decisions relating to the entry of Indian States into the Constituent Assembly were taken at a recent meeting of the joint Sub-committee of the two Negotiating Committees.
>
> In the case of groups of States, it has been found that those States which are anxious to send representatives to the Assembly have not been able to do so, as some other States in the group have not yet decided finally on their attitude and it has, therefore, not been possible to get the collective machinery to function. The Sub-committee has decided that after the 20th June, States which are desirous of joining the Assembly will proceed to select their representatives without waiting any further for the other States and that they would be free to choose the full quota of representatives allowed to the group.
>
> As the next session of the Assembly is likely to be held early in July, States are being requested

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to send in the list of their representatives to the Assembly Secretariat by the 30th of June as far as possible.

The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly will now correspond directly with States in regard to the selection of States representatives and the Secretary of the Constituent Assembly is addressing the States concerned on the subject immediately.

A few days later Hyderabad and Travancore expressed their intention to declare themselves as independent sovereign States. Hyderabad is being closely watched in India. Its liberal Prime Minister Sir Mirza Ismail has resigned. He was in favour of the State's coming to an agreement with the Congress. The Nawab of Chhattari, a Muslim League stalwart, has replaced him. Sir Walter Monckton is the constitutional adviser of the State and his recent busy activities and movements to and from Delhi have not escaped public notice. It has been declared that no Indian State can come in independently as a British Dominion but Lord Listowel parried the question when he was asked whether any of them could be recognised as an independent State. Russian apprehension of the establishment of a British military base in Hyderabad is also not without foundation. The silence of the British Government over the Nizam's *firman* declaring the independence of Hyderabad may certainly lend support to the above views. British Government's declarations on States are still meaningfully vague.

Meanwhile, signs of awakening among the States people are unmistakable. The Standing Committee of the All-India States People's Conference have passed the following resolutions :

The declaration of the British Government dated June 3, 1947, states that the position in regard to the States remains the same as it was under the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 12, 1946. The States People's Conference have previously declared their policy and interpretation of this scheme. It has been pointed out that the implications of the Cabinet Mission's scheme were that the people of the States must have an essential voice in determining their future. Because of this representation was given to the States as to the rest of India on the population basis of one per million.

The Standing Committee has never accepted the recent interpretation of the theory of Paramountcy. In any event if Paramountcy lapses it cannot mean that the Princes should function as autocratic and despotic Rulers with full power to dispose of their States as they will. The Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, 1946, made it clear that the States would form parts of the Indian Union and it was not open to any State to go out of the Union. On the lapse of Paramountcy it does not and cannot follow that any State is free to go out of the Union. Any such conception would meet with fantastic results and India would be reduced to a State of anarchy.

It is well-known none of the States was completely independent at the time of the advent of the British power. In some way or other they recognised and submitted to suzeranity of the Moghul Empire, the Mahratta supremacy, the Sikh kingdom or later the British power. A number of States were created by the British, many of them having no sense whatever of an independent existence in the past.

To recognise the right of these States to independence now is to go against history and tradition, law and practice as well as practical implications of the situation to-day.

In any event it must be recognised that on the lapse of Paramountcy sovereignty resides in the people of the States and Princes can only be constitutional rulers embodying the people's sovereignty. Any ruler declaring his State independent will thereby express his hostility not only to the Indian Union but to his own people. Such an act will have to be resisted.

The Committee trusts, therefore, that all remaining States will join the Constituent Assembly of India in terms of the agreement arrived at between the Negotiating Committees. In the event of any State refusing to do so, the Standing Committee requests the Constituent Assembly to allow the people of such a State to elect their own representatives to the Assembly so that the State may be properly represented and the people's views might prevail.

The Committee is informed that as a consequence of British withdrawal from India the Political Departments and its agencies in the States are being wound up. While welcoming the ending of a system in the Department which has done great harm to India and the States, the Committee disapproves of the steps being taken which are likely to lead to administrative chaos all over India. The Political Department and the residencies and agencies were not only the agents for carrying out the functions of Paramountcy but also represented the Central authority of the Government of India in numerous matters of common concern. It is necessary and inevitable that some central agency should exist for carrying out these common functions. So long as some new arrangement is not made for this purpose the existing structure and channels of communication should be maintained with suitable modifications and without exercising Paramountcy functions. This will be to the advantage of both the Government of India and the States.

The Standing Committee, therefore, demands that the Political Department and its agencies be handed over to the Government of India for this purpose, or in the alternative a new Central Department should be created immediately which can take charge of the staff, property and buildings, equipment and records of the Political Department, Residencies and Agencies in the States.

It is the considered opinion of the Standing Committee of the A.I.S.P.C. that, on the termination of Paramountcy, sovereignty should as a matter of course rest in the people of the States. In view of this the attempt of the Rulers of States in certain agencies, at the instance of local residents, to form Council of Rulers of States to annex themselves certain administrative functions of Paramountcy is indefensible and constitutes a serious encroachment on the sovereign rights of the people. So long as the States are not sufficiently democratised to enable the people of the States to exercise their sovereignty, the administrative functions of Paramountcy should continue to be exercised by the Interim Government of India which commands the confidence of the people of the States as well.

The Committee further calls upon the States that during the intervening period popular Interim Governments should be established in the States or groups of States and that steps should be taken for setting up a suitable machinery in each State or group of States for framing the constitution on the basis of full responsible government through a Constituent Assembly composed of the duly elected people's representatives.

This Committee has considered the procedure approved by the joint Sub-Committee of the two Negotiating Committees for the election of the popular representatives from the residuary group of States. Looking to the number and dispersed character of these States and to the also the total absence of representative institutions in them, it is the considered opinion of this Committee that the joint Sub-Committee

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itself should select the two popular representatives from a panel of names submitted by popular organisations in the areas concerned, thus adhering to the original proposals of the Joint Sub-Committee in this behalf.

The A.-I. C. C. passed the following resolution on the future of Indian States :

The A.-I. C. C. welcomes the association of many Indian States in the work of the Constituent Assembly. The Committee hopes that the remaining States will also co-operate in this building up of the constitutional structure of Free India in which the State units will be equal and autonomous sharers with the other units of the Federation.

The position of the States in the constitutional changes that are taking place was defined in the Memorandum presented by the Cabinet Mission on the 12th May, 1946, and the Statement of the 16th May, 1946. The recent Statement of the 3rd June, 1947, has not added to these in any way. The position according to these Papers was that the Indian Union would consist of the provinces and the States, that paramountcy would lapse on the transfer of power, and that in the event of any State not entering into a federal relationship with the Union, it will enter into other political arrangements with it. In the Memorandum, it was further stated that the British Government had been informed by the Indian States that they desired in their own interests and in the interests of India as a whole, both to make their contribution to the framing of the structure and to take their due place in it when it is completed. A hope was also expressed that the various State Governments which had not already done so would take active steps to place themselves in close and constant touch with public opinion in their States by means of representative institutions. It was suggested that existing arrangements as between the States and the Government of India should continue in regard to matters of common concern until new agreements were completed.

While recognising that some progress has been made in some States towards representative institutions, the A.-I. C. C. regrets that during this past critical year, since the Memorandum of the Cabinet Mission, this progress has been very limited both in its extent and quality. In view of the basic changes that are going to take place in India within the next two months, resulting from the complete transfer of power to Indian hands, it is of vital importance that progress leading to responsible government should take place rapidly in the States. The A.-I. C. C. trusts that all the States will initiate these changes so as to keep in line with the fast changing situation in India and at the same time produce contentment and self-reliance in their people.

The arrangements made under paramountcy in the past dealt, *inter alia*, with the security of India as a whole. In the interest of that security, various arrangements were agreed to limiting the power of the States' authorities and at the same time granting them protection. The question of the security of India as well as other matters are as important today as at any time previously and cannot be ignored in deciding the future of the States.

The A.-I. C. C. cannot admit the right of any State in India to declare its independence and to live in isolation from the rest of India. That would be a denial of the course of Indian history and of the objectives of the Indian people today.

The A.-I. C. C. trusts that the rulers of the States will appreciate fully the situation as it exists today and will in full co-operation with their people enter as democratic units in the Indian Union, thereby serving the cause of their own people as well as of India as a whole.

The Committee does not agree with the theory of paramountcy as enunciated and interpreted by the British Government ; but even if that is accepted the consequences that follow from the lapse of that paramountcy are limited in extent. The privileges and obligations as well as the subsisting rights as between the States and the Government of India cannot be adversely affected by the lapse of paramountcy. These rights and obligations have to be considered separately and renewed or changed by mutual agreement. The relationship between the Government of India and the States would not be exhausted by the lapse of paramountcy. The lapse does not lead to the independence of the States. Both from the point of view of the spirit underlying the Memorandum of 12th May and the Statement of 16th May, 1946, as well as the acknowledged rights of the people all over the world today it is clear that the people of the States must have a dominating voice in any decisions regarding them. Sovereignty, it is admitted, resides with the people, and if paramountcy lapses resulting in the ending of the relationship of the States to the Crown the inherent rights of the people are not affected thereby for the worse.

Pandit Nehru represented the views of the whole country when he said, "If I had anything to do with the Government that was likely to come into existence two months hence and which will have the authority and power to make this declaration, I should like to say and other countries to know that we will not recognise any independence of any State in India. Further, that any recognition of any such independence by any foreign power, whichever it may be and wherever it may be, will be considered as an unfriendly act." Britain would do well to note in time that the Indian people will not permit anything to happen in India in any State which affects fundamentally the security of India, either in relation to defence arrangements or in relation to contacts with foreign powers. This should not only be realised by Britain and the Indian States but it is desirable that other countries and powers should also realise and appreciate the situation.

Listowel on Future of States

Lord Listowel, Secretary of State for India, announcing the new plan in the House of Lords, made some effort to clarify the future of princely States to which the new plan expressly does not apply. After the transfer of power, he said, the princely States would be free to choose their own future and that British paramountcy would end. Courses left open to them would be autonomy affiliation with either Pakistan or Hindustan. He would not say whether the princely States were eligible for Dominion Status but he declared that Britain did not contemplate entering into special relations with any of them. In India, Lord Mountbatten said categorically that the States could not enter separately as Dominions.

Listowel said that, while speaking altogether without authorisation from any Indian quarter, he believed that no Hindu community would look favourably on a Moslem corridor passing through its midst. Most Britons regarded the creation of a corridor impossible.

The Government plan contemplates the withdrawal of British troops from India immediately after the transfer of authority to the Indian people unless India requests some special military aid, Listowel said.

India has virtually no Navy but a coastline of extra-

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ordinary length, he observed. It may well be, he said, that India for a time would appreciate protection of unguarded shores by the British Navy and that under certain circumstances it might desire aid in the protection of some land borders.

In reply to a question as to whether other dominions might object to the inclusion, even for a short time, of one or two new Dominions in the Commonwealth, Listowel said that all parts of the Empire had been informed on the progress of the negotiations and that there was "general agreement" that the best possible settlement was being offered.

The Commonwealth, he said, has some of the characteristics of a club and that new members may not be admitted without the approval of the established membership. India, however, had played a role in the Commonwealth for a long time and is no stranger to the Empire, he said.

He added that among the Dominions there may not be complete unity as to every detail but that the general structure of the Indian settlement has Empire approval.

He said also that there has been a large measure of approval of the plan among Indian leaders but he would hazard no prediction as to what the Indian electorate would decide.

Lord Listowel was asked what would happen if India or a part of it rejected the British settlement. There is, he replied, no alternative plan.

The Secretary of State for India, Lord Listowel, told journalists that the India plan was "the only alternative to force as a means of settling the differences of the Indian people."

With the thermometer at the India Office beyond the 90 Fahrenheit mark, Lord Listowel said: "It is a compromise and is therefore not entirely satisfactory to either party.

"As India enters the last stage of her journey to Self-government, she carries with her the heartfelt good wishes of the British people and the firm hope that she may be spared from the suffering of communal strife."

Lord Listowel said there was a possibility that Hindustan and Pakistan might agree on the choice of the individual to act as the Governor-General. If they did not, then two Governors-General might be appointed.

"The advantages of partition will be realised more clearly after partition has taken place," he continued.

"History affords many precedents of separate countries with common frontiers living in perfect harmony." He cited as a perfect example the case of the United States and Canada.

The contribution which the British Comomnwealth could make to world peace and security would be strengthened by the membership of Hindustan and Pakistan even though it may be for a limited period.

"And this is more than ever necessary at this time when a new spirit of freedom and progress stirs among the people of the Far East," Lord Listowel added.

Answering questions he said that representatives of the United Nations could be invited to sit on the Indian Boundary Commission if the interested parties desired to invite them.

On the North-Western Front

The British Government's decision to have a referendum in the North-West Frontier Province has been considered unwarranted and unjust by most of the people in the country. Only a year ago, Congress had won a decisive majority in the Legislature by fighting on the issue of Pakistan and there is no justification for ordering a referendum to the same voters on the same issue so soon after the last elections. It is a clear surrender to the Muslim League's hooliganism in that province. The minorities have terribly suffered there, the British authorities failed to protect their life, property and honour of womenfolk. The partisan role of the British officials in that province, beginning from the Governor down to the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ismail Khan is now an open secret although their exact relation with the present British Government is unknown. It has appeared strange to the people in this country that in spite of repeated exposures made by the Frontier Ministry of Governor Caroe's conduct, he was not removed. On top of it, the new India Secretary, Lord Listowel, came out with an astounding and false statement 'that the League's Civil Disobedience movement there was peaceful.' The minorities in the Frontier Province have a right to vote in the coming referendum which means life for them if the province votes for Indian Union and death for them if it chooses to join Pakistan. In such a vital matter for them, the League has warned the Frontier minorities to keep out of the polls. We wonder if Lord Mountbatten has taken note of this fact. The Pathans have made great sacrifices for the achievement of Indian freedom. When they stand on the threshold of their great achievement and are eager to share the fruits of freedom with their Indian comrades, the British Government have conspired to push them into Pakistan only to placate the arch betrayer of the Indian nation, Mahammad Ali Jinnah. Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan, the Frontier Leader, is a simple Pathan, but in intelligence and foresight he is second to none. In the course of a reply to a letter received by him from a highly placed and responsible official, the Khan wrote that he believed that the British were very anxious to build a permanent military base in the Frontier Province against apprehended Russian aggression and for this purpose they were very keen to include that province in Pakistan. In his reply, the Khan emphatically says, "Vote for Pakistan is vote for British domination and supremacy of frontier."

The Khan has made valuable revelations when in his letter, he referred to the background of the communal troubles in his province. He says :

> The agents of British imperialism persuaded the Pathans to start a communal crusade against the Hindus injecting communal venom in their minds by baseless propaganda against the Hindus. Communal riots in Hazara, Dera Ismail Khan and other places culminating in loot and arson and were net results of the preaching of gospel of hatred by Muslim Leaguers who were really agents of the British imperialism. Hindus and Sikhs were shot during processions. In short, movements started under the name of the League was clearly the outcome of communal fanaticism although the British Governor very tactfully characterized it as political movement and succeeded in impressing his viewpoint to the Viceroy. All this is being done only to dislodge the popular Ministry and transfer power to such people as the British can trust for every purpose to serve their ends."

Alluding to his interview with the Viceroy Badshah Khan revealed that he had clearly told the Viceroy that the Pathans had given clear verdict on the issue of Pakistan. General elections year back unequivocally demonstrated that the Pathans would not tolerate domination of any other nation and that elections in Frontier at this stage were of no avail

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although he would have no objection if they were held in all provinces. Exposing the British intentions Badshah Khan remarked :

> If Frontier is not included in Pakistan Dominion British objective cannot be gained and this is the sum and substance of Pakistan theory and demand. The background of the whole communal bickering resulting in the heavy toll of life and property all over the country is that the British wish to prepare the ground for clinging to Pakistan Dominion.

Referring to Russian bogey the Frontier Gandhi said :

> As long as the Frontier Province is not included in the Pakistan Dominion, the British would always feel danger of Russian aggression. It is why that they are very keen to build a permanent base in Frontier. With this object in view a conspiracy has been hatched to ruin the Pathans and make the Frontier a battle-ground of next war against Russia. The Pathans should realise that coming war would be quite different from the previous ones as that would result in complete annihiliation of nations and countries.

A joint meeting of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee, the Congress Parliamentary Party and Red Shirt Commanders was convened at Peshawar on June 12 to decide upon the course that nationalist Pathans should adopt to fight the coming referendum, arrangements for which are being rapidly made. The meeting after long deliberations, adopted a resolution which vested Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan with all powers to take whatever action he thought best. After the meeting, the Khan told the pressmen that he was leaving for Delhi to attend the Congress meetings and at the same time he would try to contact other political parties if such opportunity arose. He explained that the aim before him was an honourable settlement and that he had made two attempts to contact leaders of the Muslim League apparently without response. The referendum will be held in the first week of July.

Strangulation of Sind Minorities

Charges of a systematic elimination of minorities in Sind from all walks of life and their political, economic, educational, and cultural strangulation, have been made in a statement by Dr. Choitram Gidwani, President of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee. In the course of the statement he says :

> "I am amazed to read the address of Pir Illahi Bux, delivered by him at a gathering of Sindhis at Bangalore. He has the audacity to say that the Muslim League Ministry has not been following a policy prejudicial to the commercial and cultural activities of Hindus. The fact is that the League Government has done everything to suppress the rights and privileges of the non-Muslim minority community, in accordance with a well-planned and chalked-out programme, implemented with a high degree of thoroughness.
>
> The resolution on communal ratio in services, accepted by the Government, has a wide and far-reaching implication. It is not only in services, but in trade, transport and education—in fact in every walk of life—that this vicious principle is being rigorously applied.
>
> The following facts prove, in clear and unmistakable terms, the Sind Government is determined to suppress all vital rights of the minority community by acting on this resolution with a vengeance. They are :
>
> 1. Almost all key posts in most of the departments are held by Muslims.
> 2. Till such time as the Muslims attain the statutory 70 per cent in services, eight out of ten posts have been reserved for them.
> 3. Where a suitable Muslim is not available, a non-Sindhi Muslim is to be preferred to a Sindhi Hindu.
> 4. In the Education Department, all but minor and subordinate posts are held by Muslims. The Director of Public Instruction is already a Muslim. So are the Educational Inspector and the Inspectress of Girl Schools, and now the posts of the Principal of the newly started College of Teachers and the three newly created Regional Inspectors of Education have been filled by Muslims. Similarly, the three top places in the University have also been filled by Muslims.
>
> The Sind University Act, for which Pir Illahi Bux must own major responsibility, is a retrograde and reactionary measure, making communal representation a dominant feature of the University. Pir Illahi Bux has declared that in Sind Urdu shall be the medium of instructions. He has all along refused to allow any grants to Hindi schools. He has again declined to make any provision for the teaching of Hindustani in Devnagri script.
>
> It was recently reported in the Press how he used his official position to make Hindus contribute funds for the Muslim League Conference. Again, in the suppression of municipalities, Pir Illahi Bux's record is unequalled.
>
> This is just a skeleton outline of the part Pir Illahi Bux has been playing as a Minister in the League Government of Sind. For a Minister, who rides rough-shod over the rights and privileges of the minority community to make a statement to the effect that he and his Government have been fair and impartial is, to say the least, a distortion of facts and deliberate mis-representation that shall not deceive many persons.

Assurances to minorities have proved altogether false in every area where the Muslims are in a majority and the administration is in the hands of the League. The only way to bring them to their senses is to reciprocate such administrative measures rigidly and to cut down drastically all weightages enjoyed by the Muslims in areas where they are in a minority.

Indians in East Africa

The nature of the aggressive racial discrimination pursued by the Whites in Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, has been revealed by Mr. S. G. Amin, President of the East African National Congress. Indian settlers there occupy a very important position. They have played a conspicuous part in the country's development. The population there consists of four racial groups, *viz.*, the Africans, the Indians, the Arabs, and the Europeans. The Arabs are mainly concentrated in Zanzibar and the coastal belts of Tanganyika and Kenya. The Africans, Indians and Europeans are scattered all over the four territories. Mr. Amin gives a graphic account of how the entire administration in East Africa is controlled by Europeans and how on the eve of Indian independence a bid for European Raj there is being made. He writes :

> The Europeans control the administration and are privileged. Although they are less than 50,000 in the

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whole area, they hold all the key positions in the Government and the Railway administrations.

In the Executive and Legislative councils, in the Judiciary, in the municipal and local bodies, the official side is represented by European members. On the non-official side too, the Europeans occupy a predominant position far beyond what their number would justify. For example in Kenya, out of the 12 members of the Executive Council of the Governor 11 are Europeans and the only non-European is an Indian.

In the Legislative Council of 40 members only nine are non-Europeans. In the Judiciary all judges and magistrates are Europeans. In no municipal corporation or Board, non-Europeans command even equal representation though they form an overwhelming majority in all towns.

The policy of racial discrimination of South Africa has been imported and is being tried out in East Africa. The persistent resistance of the Indian community has been the only factor which has prevented the successful implementation of these racial policies. In retaliation the white administrators have tried to curtail industrial and commercial activities of the Indian community and restrict their immigration and encourage more Europeans to settle in the country. The necessity of appeasing India on minor points has forced Britain to go easy on her policy of establishing a white dominion in East Africa.

Now that India is becoming independent an element of urgency has entered into the struggle. The European side wants to create circumstances which will frighten Indians into leaving East Africa and to prevent more from coming in.

On the other hand, every effort is being made to increase the European population as speedily as possible. If India becomes sovereign before the Europeans succeed in passing the total of Indians, the Europeans hope to obtain self-government for the Europeans, like the dominion of South Africa, where Europeans will have all the powers and privileges and Indians, Arabs and Africans will have as much say in the affairs of the country as their non-European brethren in South Africa possess.

Since the beginning of this century efforts have been made to restrict immigration. Between 1920 and 1924 the Europeans agitated to end Indian immigration and demanded self-government for themselves, like in South Africa. It is the Indian opposition and the help from India which frustrated these efforts.

Since 1944 with the help of the local administrations immigration control was imposed to affect the Indians only. The immigration control bills in 1945, in the opinion of the Indian delegation sent there, adversely affected Indian immigration though they were non-racial in appearance.

The old immigration control bills, objected to by the Indians in East Africa and the Government of India, have been withdrawn and worse bills are being introduced.

The European settlers have sought to expand their influence by land restrictions. The European settlement is mainly concentrated in the highlands of Kenya and Tanganyika. Kenya highlands which form the best part of the agricultural land in Kenya have been reserved for European settlement. Africans, Arabs and Indians are all excluded from acquiring lands in these areas. This policy is also penetrating into the administration of Tanganyika highlands. Special funds have been spent, far beyond the capacity of Kenya colony, for the development of these areas to construct uneconomical railways and in making them an attractive proposition for the Europeans. Tanganyika and Uganda have been financially in a sounder position. Surplus of Kanpri Collection, Haridwar surpluses of Uganda and Tanganyika have been looked upon as a possible source for meeting the deficit budgets of Kenya, for many years to come. Moreover, Europeans of Kenya wish to dominate Tanganyika and Uganda.

These in short are the implications of the movement for closer union of Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya which has been opposed by non-Europeans in the three territories.

These are the various problems on which the struggle has been fought, namely, (1) the undemocratic political domination of the European community in the executive, legislative, judicial and the municipal administrations, (2) the illegal racial reservation of the agricultural lands in the highlands for Europeans, (3) the various methods whereby Indian immigration has been curtailed and European immigration encouraged and financed; and (4) efforts at a closer union of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika.

In all these battles, the Indian community in East Africa has taken a leading part and have gained time for the African peoples to be ready and take part in the struggle.

But approaching independence of India has created a new situation. The European officials and civilians are speeding up their anti-Indian campaign. Highlands reservation for the Europeans is being made permanent by the Labour Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Creech-Jones. The new immigration control bills betray the old design of preventing Indian immigration. The constitution of the proposed Central Legislative Assembly for Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika is being altered to establish European domination at the Centre, as it exists in the local legislative councils.

The Africans are gradually becoming conscious of the encroachment of the Whites on their rights and liberties, but they are handicapped for want of education and leaders. The responsibility to lead the struggle has come over Indian shoulders. The Indians are much better equipped to prevent White domination in East Africa and to establish self-government in which all races will have an equal opportunity and in which the Africans will, in their own right, have a predominant position. Circumstances are also favourable for the performance of this sacred task. The relations between the Africans, Indians and the Arabs are very cordial. They have all expressed their willingness to work together. Mr. Amin says that with the formation of the Interim Government in India, Africans had declared that they looked up to India and Indians to lend a helping hand in their struggle for freedom and progress, political and economic.

An Unwise Step

Muslim refugees in Bihar have been granted freedom to pick up any site of their choice. This freedom can be availed of not only by Muslims of riot-affected areas but also by those from areas where no disturbances took place but the people left the villages out of fear. Such refugees of either category who are unwilling to return to their former homes and want to settle elsewhere will receive a sum not exceeding Rs. 1000 in cash or in materials or both, as they would have received if they had returned to their former homes. As further assistance Government will also try to give whatever help is possible in negotiating the disposal of their homestead lands. The only condition that has been laid down is that the refugees must make their own arrangement for lands for building their houses. This scheme has been announced by the Rehabilitation Minister of Bihar. The freedom ex-

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tended to the Muslim refugees to pick up any site of their choice is a clear concession of the Muslim League demand for the creation of Muslim pockets in the province. A clever location of these pockets, constructed at Government expense, may prove in not too distant future sources of endless trouble in Bihar which may end even in a division of the province. The history of the past four decades has demonstrated that weightages and concessions granted to unfair and unjust claims with a view to placating a section of the people who never contribute to the national struggle but spring up when the struggle comes to fruition cannot but end in unpleasant results. Bribery in any shape or form is detrimental to ultimate national interest.

Replacement of I. C. S. by A.-I. T. S.

"The task of creating the machinery for the provision of technical education may well be conducted on a basis of co-ordination between the provinces and the States. For this is a task too vast for a single province or State to undertake in a satisfactory and comprehensive manner. An All-India service of technical education would minimise cost by avoiding waste and overlapping. The necessity is also too abiding and permanent to be influenced by every passing wind of politics." Thus observed Mr. N. R. Sarker, Chairman of the All-India Council of Technical Education, addressing the second meeting of the Council in Bangalore and suggesting to the Government of India that in spite of the difficult times through which they were passing they should take all possible steps necessary for building up facilities of higher technical education.

Today with the advent of National Government in power, the programme of nationalisation has already been set afoot. The success of this programme depends mainly on the availability of technicians, but the inconvenient reality is that there is a great dearth of technical personnel of the type required. The plans of hydro-electric development, road-building projects, irrigation, agricultural improvements and various other plans lying ready in the archives of the Governments, both Central and Provincial, would require a large body of technicians. According to our approximate estimate, these schemes of post-war development alone would need twenty thousand technicians, not to speak of the growing needs of the private enterprise. As to the question of utilizing foreign skill, the possibility of any large scale import of the foreign technical experts cannot but be discounted.

Soviet Russia offers an illuminating example of what a nation can achieve in the sphere of economic development by stimulating scientific research and technical education. Before the war the managing and higher technical staff of Soviet economy formed about one-seventh of the total population which enabled her to increase her war-potential to unprecedented proportions. This upholds the case for the creation of these facilities in under-developed countries like India as being self-evident. Indian scientists had made brilliant original contributions in numerous branches and achieved worldwide fame and renown. The results of their research had also been of considerable aid to industries. "Nevertheless, it remains true," says Mr. Sarker, "that these researches have not been fully and properly co-related to the needs of industries, due mainly to the deficient facilities of technical education in our country."

Official awareness of this crying need led to the appointment of an *ad hoc* Committee to advise on provision of higher educational facilities in India. In its interim Report, the Committee stressed the necessity of establishing a minimum standard of efficiency for higher technical education as well as of ensuring adequate supply of trained personnel and was of the view that technical education should be under the direction of an All-India Council for technical education both for promotion of efficiency and for effective maintenance of the standard. Accordingly, the Report recommended the establishment of not less than four higher technical institutions in different parts of India, east, west, north and south. The eastern Institute was to be set up in Calcutta, while the establishment of the western Institute in or near Bombay was to be taken up in hand concurrently or failing that as soon after as possible. Some members considered that the Delhi Polytechnic, for development of which it was proposed to spend rupees eight lakhs, might be converted into the northern higher technical institution. As to the southern one, Madras Government is reported to have suggested that the southern Institute be in Madras and fifth regional institution for Central India is to be located in Central Provinces.

Meanwhile, the All-India Council of Technical Education was set up by the Government of India with three prior objectives, *viz* :

(1) To survey the whole field of technical education in India ;

(2) to consider the desirability of establishing high grade technical institutions, and

(3) to promote inter-provincial co-ordination of all-India schemes of technical education.

Endorsing the recommendations of the *ad hoc* Committee, the Council set up six All-India Boards of technical studies. These boards consisting of experts drawn from all over India were engaged in drawing up syllabuses of studies and evolving sound methods of teaching and examinations.

But, although the recommendation of the Council to establish at least one or two technical institutes immediately has been accepted by the Government, there are not sufficient indications to show that Government are moving as speedily as the urgency of that task demands. In view of the urgency of the need for turning out technical personnel of high standard for economic and industrial development of the country, the Government might make suitable grants from the Centre to the existing institutions.

World Agricultural Economy

While under the auspices of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers more than 200 delegates and observers from 33 different nations conferred in Scheveningen for an international agreement on stabilisation of grain prices, the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations conducted in Trivandrum general discussion in the Rice Study Group for improving the food economy of Asia by examining the prospects of increasing the per-acre yield.

Emphasising the utility of the first conference, Mr. Mausholt, the Dutch Minister for Agriculture, ob-

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served : "Far too often farmers of various countries are nothing but competitors. This, however, does not alter the fact of their common interests with Agricultural populations all over the world." The whole history of the inter-war world agriculture bears evidence to the propriety of this observation. Suggesting a way out, Leader of the Indian Delegation, Prof. Ranga, President of the All-India Kisan Congress, put before the conference an eleven-point programme as follows :

(1) Democratic partnership and co-operation with all other toilers ;

(2) Expansionist economy and maximum production of food and fibres for providing adequate food and clothing for the masses ;

(3) Crop, fire, cattle and health insurance schemes;

(4) Stabilisation of agricultural prices and wages ;

(5) Raising the cultural and technical standards of the peasantry and introduction of improved machinery;

(6) Socialisation of all key and basic industries and commercial services essential for the protection of the peasantry ;

(7) Multilateral and worldwide commodity exchange agreement ;

(8) International co-operation between peasants and farmers of different countries for movement of farm population, without distinction of colour or creed to colonise undeveloped areas ;

(9) Utilisation of the World Monetary Bank for development of irrigation, drainage and land reclamation in different countries ;

(10) Development of all processing of agricultural products through peasant co-operative enterprises; and

(11) Reconstruction of village social life to make it distinctive but up-to-date.

Evidently, the programme aims at a levelling of agrarian conditions throughout the world and seeks to take the wind out of the sail of mutual competition.

The motive behind the Trivandrum Conference of the Rice Study Group has been, as pointed out by Mr. D. R. Sethi, the fact that while rice is the premier food cereal, at least in Asia, it had not received that amount of attention from the scientific workers of the countries. The meeting generally agreed to the draft terms which were supplied to them. According to these, the purpose of the meeting was to study the rice situation, especially the problems confronting rice producing and consuming countries of Asia and to prepare a report embodying specific suggestions for such action as may be needed to be taken nationally and internationally by objectives outlined in the relevant resolution of the Copenhagen Conference, namely, "to develop and organize production, distribution and utilization of basic goods to provide diets and health standard for the people of all countries and to stabilize agricultural prices at levels fair to the producers and consumers alike."

The T. A. O. Preparatory Commission on World Food proposals had considered the broad aspects of this resolution and had set forth a number of definite principles and recommendations. The Director General requested that these be examined by the Study Group from the point of view of their applicability to the rice economy of Asia. He also requested the Rice Study Group to bring together :

(*a*) statistics of production, trade and prices ;

(*b*) data relating to marketing methods and plans for increased production, price stabilization and establishment of famine reserves ; and

(*c*) scientific, etc., information regarding practices and storage.

Accordingly, the meeting of the Rice Study Group decided to set up the following committees :

(1) To deal with expansion of production, Chairman, Mr. W. H. Cunnings (Leader of U. S. A. Delegation) ; Secretary, Mr. J. Jones (United States official in the department of Agriculture, whose services have been loaned to the T. A. O.).

(2) To deal with the marketing prices and consumption : Chairman, Mr. Vanderflueg (Leader of Netherlands Delegation) ; Secretary, Mr. H. C. Clowes (Secretary, International Emergency Food Council).

(3) To deal with international trade : Chairman, Mr. P. N. Chaunnong (Leader of Siamese Delegation); Secretary, Mr. B. Majumdar (Economist of Food and Agricultural Organization).

That a co-ordinated attempt on above lines was a crying need will be clear from a survey of the deficiency in the stock position in the principal rice-producing countries of Asia. Siam's usual exports of rice normally ranged between 1,200,000 to 1,500,000 tons a year. But it has considerably diminished during the war due to several reasons. Virtual occupation of Siam by the Japanese armies disrupted almost everything in the country and farming was rendered quite abnormal. Average yield started decreasing. The irrigation system received a set-back on account of war. More or less similar has been the plight of Burma which has had to undergo a heavy budget deficit. So far as India is concerned, out of a total area of 60 million hectares under rice in the whole world in 1940-41, India has over 29 million hectares ; but out of a total world production of 858 million quintals she is producing only 333 million quintals. In other words, she must increase her production per acre by about 50 per cent in order to reach the world level. She will have to double it in order to come alongside of China and treble it to equal Japan, who, with one-nineth of the acreage, produced one-third of India's total quantity of rice.

Noteworthy amongst the observations made by way of emphasising the importance of the conference have been those of the Australian observer Mr. William F. Prehu, Siamese delegate, Mr. Chran Nararjee Chaunnong and Dr. T. H. Chung of the United Nations Economic Organisation. Mr. Prehu pointed out that the task of the conference was to remove one of the world's most serious nutritional lags. Mr. Chaunnong stressed the need of international congregations, such as the F. A. O. which had nothing but goodwill towards mankind. Dr. T. H. Chung stressed that there was very little of rice economy in South and East Asia and it was necessary that allocation and distribution should without any discrimination be assured. He was sure that information furnished by the delegates and experts to the Study Group will serve as practical reference for prospective meetings of the United Nations Economic Commission of Asia when it meets in the middle of June next in Shanghai.

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RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

INDIA'S raising the question of discrimination against Indians in South Africa, before the U. N. O., posed before the world not so much the problem of the nationals of a country but in reality the fundamental question of racial discrimination which is one of the basic factors in Imperialist exploitation. The point is of particular interest at a time when the entire shape of empires and colonies is in the melting pot and *bona fides* of the so-called British Commonwealth is on trial.

Just as the political emphasis shifted to Asia in World War I, the emphasis since World War II has shifted to Africa, which very definitely is going to be the dice in the imperialist games of tomorrow. Slowly but surely as the West as a ruling power is being pushed out of Asia, it is seeking to entrench itself in Africa. It is fast becoming the White Man's economic and military base. This is most evident in the case of Britain, where 'liquidation' of the empire is threatening to take the shape of concentration in a single Continent like Africa.

To most people especially in the West, British Africa is a dominion enjoying as free a status as Canada or Australia. Few have any clear conception as to the actual reality of the problem there and how misleading this picture of Africa is.

Three quarters of the population and four-fifths of the area of Britain's Colonial empire are as a matter of fact concentrated in Africa covering an area of two million sq. miles. Indeed, the end of World War I saw the best parts of Tropical Africa come into British hands and it would be no exaggeration to say that the future of Africa is at the moment controlled by them.

The British area is divided into 14 dependencies for the administration of which all the human ingenuities the seasoned Britishers are capable of having devised a variety of forms : Crown Colonies, Protectorates, Mandates, High Commissioner's territories. But they all conform to a broad pattern : the Central authority vested in a Governor appointed by the Colonial Office in London, assisted by an executive council consisting of permanent officials also appointed by the Colonial Office, and advised by a Legislative Council with a majority of official members.

The non-official sprinkling is done either by nomination or election according to the particular procedure in each country. The Legislature has no power ; the Governor has the right of veto. The colonies are governed by a bureaucracy subject to no popular control.

As for the nature of the occupation of land, wherever there is a White settler colony, the Africans are generally kept out, although the latter number 32,500,000 as against the 3,500,000 white rulers. This is not surprising for the European era in Africa commenced with the auction of Negro slaves. As Dr. Theal, the historian of South Africa, points out :

> "The system of Negro slavery caused the colonists to regard the coloured man as property, the hewer of wood and the drawer of water. Thus where the Boers established a republic in Transvaal, its constitution unashamedly stated : 'There shall be no equality between the White and the Black either in Church or State'."

The saga of the White Man's rule in Africa is one of ignominy and inhumanness. The children of the soil have been made aliens in their own land; denied common civic rights, debarred from public places, cinemas, gardens, museums, libraries, etc. Segregated in trams and trains ; confined to "reservations" like birds in poultry pens, banned from trade in urban areas, allowed to visit certain areas only by permits as though they were habitual criminals. Some fifty thousand workers are arrested annually only for violation of such laws. Innumerable regulations have been enacted to keep them on the White Man's farms in semi-slavery. The mouths of those who attempted to protest, are gagged.

Of the African's three assets, land, cattle and labour, land is the most vital. Yet for all the size of the country, land has become the scarcest and most precious commodity. For while the people are fundamentally agricultural and a long time will have to pass before they can get settled into substitute occupations, more and more of the land has been alienated to the Europeans.

Then came the special "reserved areas" for the Africans. At the start the chiefs themselves in the face of an alarming encroachment, favoured this plan hoping to secure some land for themselves. But in truth the idea was for exactly opposite reasons ; that the Africans should be removed from all the lands favoured by the Europeans and they should be left free for untrammelled possession. In the process, the European requirements were grossly exaggerated and millions of acres of extra lands were evacuated and taken possession of.

On one side is this land being kept uncultivated and empty, awaiting an absent European demand. It has come to be known as the "Silent Land." On the other, overcrowdedness. The Commission of Financial and Economic position of N. Rhodesia or the Pim Report as it is called, said :

> "In the district of Abercorn 5½ million acres of land are reserved for European settlement of which 100,000 have actually been alienated and of these barely 500 acres are actually under cultivation."

While in the Fort Jamesan district with an area of 500,000 acres and a population of 54,000 natives, conditions are described as follows :

> "It is inhabited by two cattle-breeding tribes, but one-third of the area is useless for cattle being infested with flies ; for the same reason, as also scarcity of water, a quarter of the reserve is uninhabited . . . for some 41 square miles the density of population is 119 per square mile.
>
> "Cultivation without the necessary long periods of fallow is destroying the surface vegetation and bush erosion exists to a considerable extent. An

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adjacent area of 33 square miles is in a similar condition and has a density of 156 per square mile and in one area 240."

In some areas the pressure led to wholesale destruction of forests. Major Orde-Brourie when reporting on Labour conditions in Northern Rhodesia did not mince matters :

> "The inevitable result of exhaustion and erosion of the soil must be obvious; the agricultural capital of the reserves is being rapidly expended. Not only is the land being thus overtaxed ; the rising generation in the tribes is also suffering from the shortage. The young man anxious to marry and own a hut and field approaches the headman with a request for an allocation of the tribal land, only to find that he has little or no hope of obtaining even a small garden."

With so much of the land denied them, the Africans have been unable to maintain either their cattle, which was one of their chief occupations, or their subsistence agriculture at an economic level. As the density increased, the land available for grazing shrank. The Report of the Ecological survey says that in some of the reserves cattle-stocking is so dense as to have reduced the fertile thorn-country to poor grass-land showing signs of soil deterioration and sheet erosion, and the need for water has compelled the herds to congregate around the sparse springs of river beds, over-grazing surrounding lands and trampling down their fertility to desert level. The problem has been further worsened by the spread of the *tsetse* fly. Large areas of potentially fertile land now in the grip of this pest, have had to be left untouched and the Africans with their cattle left to jostle each other in the limited fly-free belts. One of the facts that have contributed to the spread of this pest are the uninhabited "Silent Lands" !

Government attempts to combat it have been criminally inadequate. The Veterinary Department confesses in its Report of 1939 :

> "No material improvement can be reported in the general standard of animal husbandry . . . No progress is to be expected unless and until the Veterinary Department has sufficient staff and funds to devote to an intensive campaign for development in Native Reserve . . ."

The enormity of the disaster can be gauged if we bear in mind that cattle is one of the African's main assets. The Director of Agriculture stated on the floor of the Legislature in Northern Rhodesia in 1939 :

> "There was no serious agricultural work in this territory. From 1927, an organisation was built up, which rightly or wrongly concerned solely with European agriculture ; again this was swept away in two waves of retrenchment in 1933."

Under these conditions it is obvious, the Department has not tackled the problem of African agriculture, while its few resources have been devoted to helping European agriculture.

Density has also meant that the period of fallow is shortened, with rapid deforestation as the result. The Africans are compelled to struggle along with their traditional methods, both injuring the soil as also earning less and less in return, yet getting the blame for adhering to the old ways although under the present conditions they are but a travesty of the old.

One of the outstanding ventures by Africans as an accessory to the ordinary native subsistence was the Cocoa industry on the Gold Coast. It was a small farm industry and made little extra demand on the resources of the cultivator. But no effort was made to give them skilled knowledge or improve the crude methods of cultivation. It was inevitable under the circumstances and lack of financial organisation, that the industry should deteriorate and the Cocoa-peasantry pass into the grip of moneylenders.

An enquiry in 1933-34 revealed that nearly 75 per cent of the crop and 30 per cent of the farms were pledged and that often a lender expected to secure a gross profit of 100 per cent on his loan after an interval of even a few months. The Cocoa Commission Report states :

> "If a farmer has already pledged his farm and has no other security, he may obtain a loan by entrusting a young daughter or niece to the moneylender to act as a servant until the debt is paid . . ."

Almost the entire crop is purchased by 15 European firms, one alone taking about half.

Let us now turn to industries and labour. In modern economy credit and modern implements are supreme. In the colonies the Europeans alone have possessed these and acquired the most promising of the country's riches and have, therefore, dominated its entire economy. In the British African colonies, of the 200 million pounds invested by Europeans, as much as 163 millions is by investors residing in England and 30 millions by Europeans settled in the Colonies. The greater part of this was in mines which has meant European mining interests digging up the mineral wealth and sending it abroad, the distribution of profits abroad and paying a large share of the taxes on them into the British Treasury. Naturally this has brought little benefit to the people of the Colonies. The profits earned by the European settlers have been mainly spent to acquire amenities and public services for themselves.

The African producer has remained without capital or modern industrial equipment and with virtually no opportunity for accumulating capital of his own ; and capital has been the lubricating oil that moves the modern machine of economy. With agriculture and cattle-breeding failing, it is not surprising that Africans should desert their villages in thousands to eke out their existence in mines or other European-owned industries. In some of the provinces, 60 to 70 per cent of the adults are normally absent from their villages, resulting in the disruption of the social framework and break-up of family life. The Provincial Commissioners' Annual reports graphically state this :

> "The prolonged absence of able-bodied males and village elders has a detrimental effect . . . large numbers of women suffer constant hardship or are compelled to seek work on the plantations in order to clothe themselves . . . Gradual depopulation is taking place, huts are in disrepair and there is a decrease in the acreage of lands under cultivation."

The Pim Report describing the lack of any means for the production of wealth, records :

> "Such a state of affairs naturally renders ready money scarce ; the tax can only be found with difficulty. In consequence an exodus to secure wages in cash is inevitable . . . the spectacle is presented of an underfed, weakly population with its best elements drained away by the distant lure of high wages."

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In cash, however, these "high wages" worked out to the grand sum of £6 a year ! Pressing on this broken humanity was the tax from 7s. 6d. to 15s. annually from every male member.

"It is obvious," says the Pim Report, "that over large areas the local resources of the country are entirely inadequate to provide the tax-payer with the means to pay the amount."

For the Report elaborates its investigations which had shown an average income of 1-8-3 pounds per capita.

Mining has been the chief industry—gold, diamonds, and manganese. The State having made no claims to the country's mineral wealth, there are neither rights nor regulations to control grant of concessions. Mining has been left untrammelled in the hands of private capitalists who have been able to successfully hoodwink the ignorant chiefs and win concessions on fantastically easy terms. Government has further aided the companies by imposing very little in the way of taxes. The entire income tax is paid by them in England. Their earnings have been spectacular.

The Ashanti Gold Fields Corporation which is responsible for half the country's gold production, paid from 1929 up to the outbreak of the war, 100 per cent in dividends and 50 per cent to hundred per cent bonus in fully paid shares or cash bonus. Several other gold and diamond mining companies have been paying the same.

As against this, the rents demanded from these companies bear very low and fixed irrespective of the profits the maximum rarely exceeding 300 to 400 pounds ; while the net profits on the eve of the war were in the neighbourhood of 5 millions and more. At the same time the wages of a worker worked out to 26-10-0 pounds a year on 1s. 5d. a day. The maximum in taxes amounted to about 400,000 pounds. It is estimated that on an average the annual mineral exports come to 6 million (they rose to 12 in 1937-38) monies taken out of the country figure around 3 millions while about a couple of millions are left in the country !

It is inevitable under the circumstances that the country's prosperity should come to depend on the prosperity of the two industries, Mining and Cocoa Plantations, which between them compose 70 per cent of the country's exports. Next comes copper whose exports reached the value of ten million pounds a year, half of this sum being taken directly out of the country to pay shareholders, directors, etc; about a million pounds paid annually in salaries to a few white men, while the African workers who number ten times as many, receive between them a quarter of that sum—earning from 6d. to 1s. a day. And those very men who have to pay 15s. a year in tax. The wage figures of the South African Union reveal an interesting tale. In 1939, 55,008 White workers received an aggregate of 21,104,467 pounds while the non-Europeans received 14,129,172 pounds—which means that eight times as many African workers received only two-third of the total wage sum of the European workers.

Only since World War II has legislation been introduced to recognise trade unionism. Yet even now there are discriminatory clauses in the legislation operating against African workers. For instance, in South Africa, legislations, such as Workmen's Compensation Act, Industrial Conciliation Act, Unemployment Benefit Act, do not cover the African workers.

The net result of this system is that there is no adequate provision for public services. The absence of Statistics shrouds facts. According to the Native Affairs Annual Report,

> "Mortality is about 22 per cent under one year and 56 per cent between one and three years. These figures do not include children who die at birth."

The spread of diseases is recognised. The medical Report for 1938-39 says :

> "The experiment of other African territories indicates that one must expect a steady and probably rapid tuberculisation of the native population."

The Pim Report says :

> ". . . there is a considerable amount of relapsing fever. Leprosy is widespread, above all syphillis is a scourge and the proportion of infection very high."

On the floor of the Legislature, Captain Smith said in 1939 :

> "I am told there is practically no infant native in this country who has not got malarial infection and over half of them enlarged spleens."

The Pim Report further states :

> ". . . The Public Health Service is very inadequate and practically no maternity or child welfare work has been done There is an actual water shortage in many native areas. The existing position ought not to be allowed to continue."

One of the most potent factors in the obvious ill-health of the Africans, is malnutrition. The Committee of Nutrition in the Colonial Empire pronounces its verdict as follows :

> "Food deficiency is a predisposing factor in many local disease conditions. Tuberculosis. pneumonia. and bronchites are very prevalent and together account for 30 per cent of the death. Over 70 per cent of persons in the coastal towns give evidence of tubercular infection . . . there seems to be a close relationship between nutrition and the incidence of leprosy in certain areas."

African education is on a par with African health. Until 1945 there was not even a government department for the Africans' education. A separate department was created only in 1930. Even now the few schools are confined to urban areas.

These conditions have been strengthened rather than weakened by the war. Huge war profits have added more power to the domination of European vested interests.

The African problem is a world problem, a problem which divides the world between the White and the Coloured, the dominating and the exploited, a basic human problem that can only be overcome with a radical change in our social and economic values and a rational attitude towards them.

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FREE HINDUSTAN, DEFENCE AND PROGRESS

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By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt. C.I.E., D.Litt.

We stand in a crisis when the future destiny of Bengal —and not of Bengal alone, is being decided. Let us make known to the world outside what the problem of our province really is and how we feel on it. The question is not that a Hindu State should be created in West Bengal because there is a dominating Muslim area in East Bengal. The question is of deeper significance than a scramble for patronage and power between two sects; it vitally affects the future of our race, and unborn generations in Bengal, both Hindus and Muslims, will suffer from a false decision now. Reduced to its simplest form the choice before us is this,—should Bengal form a civilised *progressive* province of a modern *secular* Central State or should it be a limb of a medieval dogmatic theocracy in which the entire civil life of the people is subordinated to the exclusive religious code (Islamic canon Law or *Shara*) of the dominant sect. Only four days ago (27th May) Mr. Ghaznafar Ali Khan (the League leader) said at Patna that "the constitution of the Pakistani State was already embodied in the religious code of Islam." So, there is no doubt left in any rational mind as to how Pakistan will govern its members. The Quranic law will strictly regulate the policy and measures of this Government, and the modern political wisdom of Europe and America will have no place, or a very casual influence, in it. Which of these two sides should Bengal choose?

Union with Rest of India

Let not the outer world carelessly imagine that we are crying for a Hindu area in West Bengal to offset a Muslim Bengal. No, the difference between the two is not religious but ideological,—the difference between light and darkness, the difference between medievalism and modernism in politics, the polar difference between a secularised polity and a rigid theocracy imported from the Arabia of thirteen hundred years ago. We are anxious to be united with the rest of India under a liberal modern Central Government in which sectarian differences will have no influence on politics and the modern progressive spirit—as prevailing in Europe and America, will govern the action of the State. In such a State all men will have equal status, with no 'communal quota,' no weightage, no reservation, no special privileges; the public service will be thrown open to talent without consideration of caste or creed or family connection. Efficiency of administration cannot be secured and the present rampant corruption in the Government departments cannot be put down unless the best men are selected for posts by open competition, under a Selection Board which ignores all sectarian or racial differences and insists on the best men in character and brains. Only on such a basis can a true democracy be built, and we are all crying for democratic government in India.

Every province that joins such a progressive federal centre, will make that centre stronger and better able to defend itself and its component parts and to give them the best service for the revenue they pay. Therefore, our Central Government must be given over-riding power and control over a large variety of departments. A weak centre, with its hands tied down to two or three general subjects, will be impotent for good; it cannot possibly defend such a continent as India; it cannot raise the necessary revenue and maintain order and the transport services in the various provinces without which no State can function in the modern world. Therefore, let the world understand that we want (1) first, union with the Central Government of India, (2) secondly, to make our provincial as well as the Central Government secular, progressive and modern in spirit, and (3) thirdly, to establish absolute democratic equality among our citizens, in the choice of legislators and public servants.

Islamic Theocracy Versus the Modern Spirit

If any sect objects to such a programme, it will be the first to suffer for its folly. Let us take a glaring example. A century ago, when English education was introduced into this country, the Hindus took gladly to it, while the selfish leaders of the Muslim community told their blind followers that if they studied European literature and science, Islam would be in danger. The result is that the Muslims have been thrown by these leaders a century behind the Hindus, intellectually, economically and in political education as distinct from the herd-instinct. Look at the status of the Muslim University of Aligarh in the learned opinion of Europe and contrast it with the reputation enjoyed by the Madras University. The Fellowship of the Royal Society of Great Britain is the highest honour in the scientific world, and there have been nearly a dozen Hindus and Parsis elected to this honour. What communal quota have the Indian Muslims got here? Not one. The only two Asiatics to win the Nobel Prize have been Hindus; no "parity at the centre" for the Muslims here. Is this a state of things of which any sober Muhammadan can feel proud? Should he not wish to remedy it, by joining in the full stream of modern knowledge and modern progress, ignoring the theocratic ideal of primitive Islam, which Mr. Ghaznafar Ali still adores.

Look forward, look at the great moving world and not at your dim religious past, nor to your small narrow provincial corner, by cutting yourself off from the progressive parts of India and the outer world. The whole teaching of modern history has been synthesis or integration of parts, not fragmentation or isolation of limbs. The United States of America started with a loose Federation of semi-independent States, but the whole history of that country during the last 170 years has been a movement towards the greater union of the parts, towards strengthening the hands of the Central Government and extending its functions and control over the various provinces of that Union. The result is that North America is today not a second Balkan cockpit, but the strongest unified Power in the world, a Power, whom even the great Colossus of Russia is afraid to challenge. Should India be now called upon to act contrary to this unmistakable teaching of history? Should the disintegration of our country on the downfall of the Mughal Empire be repeated after the withdrawal of English suzerainty? What patriot can desire it? What sensible man can welcome such a prospect?

Therefore, we cling to the Centre. If any province of India is actuated as to refuse to join our centre, we claim the right to cut ourselves off from it, for our

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own good and also for the ultimate good of these dissenting members. Because, as I have made clear, we wish to link ourselves to the modern progressive secular Government at the Centre and show how such a connection will advance the education, economic welfare and social amelioration of the entire people of the West Bengal State, far more than the Quranic polity of Pakistan, or the freedom of an independent isolated all-Bengal republic can conceivably do. I have the fullest confidence that given peace in the land and wisdom among our leaders, for twenty years, the proposed West Bengal State linked to the Central Government of Hindustan, will by its example attract Muslim East Bengal at the end of that period to give up its isolation and co-opt to join the Centre like us. This hope is fortified by history.

Join the Centre or Perish

But, for the success of this experiment, the first essential need is that the union-minded districts of Bengal should be given an opportunity of showing how they can work. A new Bengal province—don't miscall it Hindu Bengal—should be immediately organised and set to work with a fresh administrative machinery and personnel, because no improvement can possibly come from tinkering with the present fatuous League Ministry, which even the *Statesman* has sneered at as "a tadpole with a head and a tail only, but no body." Give the Hindus, Christians, Buddhists, and Liberal Muslims (not blinded by fanaticism or self-interest) a chance of working for their country's good in co-operation, for which they are eager, and which is impossible in a League-dominated Ministry, and still more in a 50 : 50 Ministry because an administration to be effective or even to work, must be homogeneous in spirit, its two halves must not pull contrary ways, as the two parts of the Viceroy's Interim Council have been doing since the 5 League members joined it. We do not ask for such utter futility; we shall not accept such a deceptive compromise however much self-advertising "washed out" leaders may recommend the bait.

One word about the nationalist Muslims. I bow my head in respect to them because I know what physical suffering, calumny, social persecution and actual violence they have cheerfully borne, from their loyalty to a free and united modern State for India. They have lived in India for generations, fed on its fruits, breathed its air and shared its material progress, but refuse to be such *nimak-harams* as to call themselves aliens in this land. These liberal Muslims are few in number, because they have no propaganda agency, no inclination even, for inflaming the mob passion in the villages and the *bustees* of Calcutta and Dacca; they have always appealed to reason and waited for time to justify them. I claim that our proposed new section of Bengal will give them the needed opportunity of showing how constructive they are, and what an example of unselfish patriotic co-operation they can set in the actual day-to-day work for their Motherland. May I point out to doubters and cynics that Ranjit Singh's best friend and ablest adviser was a Muslim. Worth will be recognised here.

Islam Outside India Being Modernised But Pakistan Sleeps

In fact, westernisation is the root of progress and even of political existence, in the modern world, where science has annihilated distance. The Father of Modern Turkey, Ata Turk, saved Turkey by abolishing the old Quranic polity and thoroughly secularising the State. In Afghanistan too the rule of the Mullahs has been abolished. Even of the Arabs of Palestine and Syria, a European observer has recently remarked that they have been increasingly westernised and Islam has lost its hold upon them, and that this modernisation has enabled them to stand up to the Jews and the French respectively with every hope of success. Such is the picture of the Muslim world that counts. Where stands Indian Pakistan by comparison with these? *Quo Vadis* (whither goest thou?) Great "Cid", with your obedient flock?

It is a mistake to suppose that Islamic society is uniform and solidly united. The great rift between the *Shias* and the *Sunnis* is known to all. But students of Islamic history will tell you that even in the early days of the Caliphs after the Prophet's death, there sprang up *seventy-two* different sects in Islam, and some of them (like the Aga Khan's first ancestor) resorted to secret murder of their Muslim opponents. "Abu Mansur resorted to murder and magnified assassination for political ends as a religious and meritorious act. The Assassin Sect (under Hassan bin Sabbah skilfully rid themselves of their enemies by assassination." (*Encyclopaedia of Islam,* i. 491, ii. 276). If once fanaticism is let loose, the prospect is not alluring.

Defence of Indian Union

What about the military defence of India? Can Hindustan, when cut off from the West Punjab, the N.-W. F. P. and Sind, maintain itself by its own armed nationals? Take it from me that Hindustan can hold its own, though the positive hostility or treacherous intrigue of the Western Pakistan belt may add to the difficulty and costliness of our national defence. In the British Indian army today 23·7 p.c. of the officers and 33·8 p.c. of the other ranks are Muslims as against 64·1 p.c. of officers and 63·2 p.c. of the men being Hindus and Sikhs taken together. Besides, there are 37 Gurkha units, not counted in the above and also Indian Christians. Exclude all the Muslims from this calculation and even then what remains of non-Muslims will be sufficient to defend India. But why should we lose all of the existing Muslim officers and men? Such of them as have their homes in Hindustan will usually be glad to continue in their honourable career in the loyal service of their homeland, without hankering to banish themselves to the hills and deserts of Pakistan. Let me recount a personal experience. I have been in touch with many Indian Commissioned officers, through a dear relative (passed from Sandhurst and the Quetta Staff College), who was lost on service in the war with Japan, and nothing impressed me more in these young men than their complete freedom from sectarian differences, their good comradery and their eagerness to serve India. Under Pakistan and its preaching a different breed of officers may spring up, but Hindustan will remain untainted by this religious virus. If today one-third of the sepoys in the Indian army instead of the communal quota of one-fourth, are Muslims, the reason is historic and not any cowardice or pacifism of the Hindu and Sikh races. Readers of the life of Lord Dalhousie know that after his annexation of the Punjab, which pushed his boundary up to the Afghan passes, his first act was to enlist the turbulent plundering frontier Muslims as armed policemen and *irregular* levies in order to keep them out of

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mischief and provide a lawful means of subsistence for them.* During the Sepoy Mutiny, these West Punjab and Frontier Muslim mercenaries of the British Government had no compunction in shooting the Muslim mutineers of Delhi and Lucknow, as they were assured of free loot and high pay. This class of men were incorporated as *regular* regiments in the reorganisation of the Indian army after the Mutiny, when Bihar and Oude men, called Purbeas, and Rajputs and Marathas were rigidly excluded. This unnatural balance is sure to be rectified by the national Government of Hindustan, which is pledged not to rule by fomenting divisions, but will give our central and eastern peoples a fairer chance of dying in their country's defence.

Makeup of A Modern Army

But mere numbers do not count for anything in the modern age, except when the two sides are equal in intelligence, training and armament. Was has now become immensely scientific, it requires higher brain power, greater mechanical skill, a nobler discipline than in the old days of rigid formation drill, smooth-bore muzzle-loaders and the stereotyped command "Charge the enemy with bayonets fixed." In the wars of the future, how will the soldiers fed solely on Pakistani slogans and the officers educated in the Pakistani madrassahs or the Osmania University, face men trained in modern science and full of the modern progressive spirit?

The strength of a modern army depends not so much on its number, as on the mechanical excellence and the latest model of its artillery, aircraft, signalling apparatus, tanks and other mechanised vehicles and above all a ceaseless flow of weapons, spare parts, and ammunitions from armament factories in the highly industrialised back areas. Can Pakistan with its limited money resources, its undeveloped Mulla-guided brain power, its predominantly agricultural or pastoral economy, supply these? Where has it the safe back area, the space for "defence in depth" on which modern military experts insist as indispensable? Hindustan is ten times stronger in these respects.

Indian history has proved again and again how defect of weapons has led to disaster. The *Times* of London wrote that in each of the three Afghan wars the British Indian army was outclassed in armament by the Afghans, in musketry in the retreat from Kabul and in modern artillery in the defeat of Maiwand (1880) and the invasion of 1919. Besides, to the battle of Maiwand General Burrows sent Jacob's regiment of sepoys, of which a hundred men had never fired ball-cartridges in their lives before. These men became 'cannon-fodder' before Ayub Khan's quick-firing artillery of the latest model secured from Russia. The surrender of Kut in the First World War was due to the British Indian Army having been supplied with smooth bore artillery, fifty years old, which had been deposited in arsenals in India as out of date, while the Turks used very modern German guns. The new Government of Hindustan will see to it that these imbecelities are not repeated when India's defence is next at stake.

Sikhs and the Indus Line

Don't yield to the popular falacy that India has always gone down helplessly when invaded from beyond the north-western passes and never defeated any troops in the Frontier or beyond it. On the contrary, Indian armies, containing Hindu Rajputs had occupied parts of Afghanistan, fought before Kandahar and invaded Balkh up to the bank of the Oxus River in the 17th century, when there was not a single British officer amongst them, nor any white battalion "to stiffen the Sepoys" as it is called by European writers. Under Shah Jahan Kachhwa Rajputs have held the Hindu Kush pass amidst snow and storm and guarded the Muslim army of Delhi against the wild Uzbaks and Hazaras. Maharaja Jaswant Singh's Rathor troops in 1674 bravely beat the Afghans of the Karapa pass back and saved the remnant of Shujaet Khan's army after that General had been overwhelmed and killed.

In more recent times the Sikhs have conquered Peshawar and Attock and guarded the Indus frontier to the very mouth of the Khyber Pass. In the German national song an anxious question is asked,—

A wild cry leaps like thunder-roar,
Like glitter of brand or wave to shore:
"The Rhine! the Rhine! the German Rhine!
Who will hold it when our foes combine?"

Then comes the reply sung by the audience in chorus—

"Dear Fatherland! No fear be thine,
Fast stands and true, the Watch on the Rhine."

The Sikhs can rightly claim that they have in the days of their independence successfully held, and later helped the English to hold, the Watch on the Indus.

What the Sikhs have done in the past, they can do even more easily under a modernised national Government of India. If the Khalsa Army was defeated by the English in 1845-48, it was because their modern-trained officers and leaders being all foreigners had left them before the war with the English,—as Perron and other French mercenaries deserted Sindhia in the war with Wellesley; so that during this war, the leaderless Sikh soldiers' self-sacrifice was unavailing through want of modernised officers of their own race. A British writer has rightly spoken of the Sikh common soldiers in these wars as "Lions led by asses." But that will not happen in a free Hindustan. I have enjoyed the friendship of the Sikh professors of the Amritsar and Bombay Khalsa Colleges and noted how keenly modern they are in their outlook, how eager to shake off reigious obscurantism and to imbibe and impart new light and the progressive spirit. They will train a new breed of modernised Sikh officers who will more worthily replace Ventura and Court, Alard and Avitaibile and other foreign mercenaries of Ranjit Singh's days. Already 16·3 per cent of the officers of the Indian Army are Sikhs against 23·7 per cent Muslims. It will be as easy as wise to double the Sikh "communal quota" (blessed catchword).

An Indian Union Will Be Unconquerable

Forty years ago, Sister Nivedita, the worthy disciple of Swami Vivekananda, one day told me that the proper place of Raja Ram Mohun Roy was at the right hand of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. She meant to say that Sikh valour and patriotism joined to Bengalee brains and scientific spirit would have saved the independence of the Punjab. That dream is passed. But let us pursue the same ideal. Let all who love their native land gather under the banner of a strong modern and beneficent Central Government of India irrespective of colour or creed, and help to defend, feed, adopt and cherish our masses. Let Bengal by avoiding all selfish spirit of isolation and loyally

* Lee Warner, i. 261-62.

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serving the Central Government of Hindustan, make itself an example and model to the rest of India. This great land, this holy Bharatbarsha will advance, with the Muslim League if the League is wise enough to join us, but in spite of the League if it continues to be led by selfish and blind Fuehrers. Another ominous League,—the Catholic League of France—failed and disappeared after calling in foreign armed aid, committing the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, shedding the blood of Frenchmen by Frenchmen and retarding the progress of their native country by half a century. Its Indian caricature—the Muslim League, may do equal harm, but is foredoomed to the same ultimate futility. This is the teaching of history. Our enemies can make our advance painful and our path blood-stained, but nothing in the world, not even Carlton Club and Cliveden House standing behind our enemies, can stop us now.

Bengal, save yourself by your true patriotism and save the rest of India by your example.

——:O:——

A STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF GERMANY

By TARAKNATH DAS, ph.d.

There is a struggle for control of Germany going on between Soviet Russia on the one hand and the Anglo-American powers on the other. Soviet Russia has the advantage over the Anglo-American powers in matters of feeding Germany, because Eastern Germany which is now under Soviet Russian control produces more food than Western Germany (which is industrial). Soviet Russia does not allow export of food from its zone to Anglo-American-French zones of occupation in Germany, and the surplus is sent to Russia to meet Russian need. Furthermore, large numbers—millions—of Germans have migrated from the Eastern Germany to the American zone. Thus there is food-shortage in Germany. America is forced to spend hundreds of millions of dollars annually to feed Germans. Hungry Germany may be a menace to Europe and may decide to make a common cause with Soviet Russia. Thus Soviet Russia may extend its influence over all Germany and a Russo-German Alliance may be a menace to the Western Powers.

The German people must be fed and allowed to resume industrial production and America to uphold her own self-interests should aid Germany. This American policy will be decried by Soviet Russia and the Communists of all lands and some well-intentioned but ill-informed liberals and "fellow-travellers." To understand American policy of feeding Germany in the present crisis, one must read the Report of ex-President Herbert Hoover on the subject. This report should be regarded as a document of historic significance and we publish it in its entirety for the enlightenment of our readers.

Text of the Hoover Mission's Findings on the Food Requirements of Germany

Herbert Hoover's report to President Truman on conditions in the British-American zone of occupied Germany follows :

February 26, 1947

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

I have now completed the Economic Mission to Germany and Austria, which I undertook at your request.

I enclose herewith a memorandum on the economic conditions affecting food supplies for the newly combined American and British zones, together with estimates of supplies and costs involved in deficiency appropriations for the last half of the fiscal year 1946-47 and appropriations for the fiscal year 1947-48. I shall submit detailed annexes to this memorandum as soon as they are completed.

I shall report separately on Austria, and at a later date I shall have some further report on other economic and health problems in these areas.

In this examination of food questions in the combined zones, I have had the invaluable service of Dr. Dennis A. FitzGerald in food questions and that of Dr. Wm. H. Sebrell Jr. in nutritional and health questions, together with the able assistance in other economic questions of Mr. Hugh Gibson, Mr. Louis Lochner, Mr. Frank Mason and Dr. Gustav Stolper. I have received the full co-operation of Generals McNarney, Clay and Draper, Colonel Haster and their able staff, as well as General Robertson, Sir Cecil Weir and Mr. T. F. Griffin and their able staff on the British side.

My thanks are also due to the devoted service of Mr. Tracy S. Voorhees, Special Assistant to the Secretary of War, and to the Air Transport Command for their co-operation and skill.

Faithfully,
Herbert Hoover

Report on Agricultural and Food Requirements

Introduction

At the time of her surrender Germany had exhausted all of her reserves and most of her stocks of consumer goods and raw materials. We now know that, driven back into her own borders, she would have blown up in chaos within a short time without further military action.

Promptly after the surrender her liquid resources from which she could have been provided with supplies were seized and divided as reparations. The population thus became largely dependent for its life upon the armies of occupation.

It is hardly necessary to repeat that parts of Germany were annexed to Poland and Russia and that the shrunken territory was divided into four military occupation zones between the Russians, French, British and Americans. The American and British zones have now been administratively combined, each nation bearing one-half the expense, and this report relates to that area only.

Changes in Population and Manpower

The changes which have taken place in population profoundly affect all economic problems. The population of the combined zones in 1939 was about 34,200,000. The Germans expelled from the Russian

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and Polish annexations, together with those from Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Austria, have raised the population in the American and British zones to about 41,700,000. It is estimated that an additional 1,000,000 will come into this area by December, 1947. There are also about 400,000 British and American military and civil personnel. Thus, the two zones will have to accommodate about 43,000,000 people, bringing the population approximately 9,000,000 above that in 1939.

The skilled manpower and the ratio of working males in the population have been greatly affected by the war. For the whole of Germany, it is estimated that 5,700,000 were killed or permanently injured. It is also estimated that over 3,000,000 prisoners of war are held in work camps in Russia, 750,000 in France, 400,000 in Britain and 40,000 in Belgium. The detention of large numbers of skilled Sudeten German workmen in Czechoslovakia bears on this problem.

As applied to the American and British zones, this represents a present subtraction of over 6,000,000 of the most vital and most skilled workers in the population. Likewise, the 90,000 Nazis held in concentration camps, and the 1,900,000 others under sanctions by which they can only engage in manual labor, naturally comprise a considerable part of the former technical and administrative skill of the country, and the restrictions upon them, however necessary, add to administrative and industrial problems.

One consequence of these distortions is that in the age groups between 20 and 40 there are 6 men to 10 women, and in the age group between 40 and 60, about 7 men to 10 women. Thus, there are in these groups between 6 and 7 million more women than men. The results upon productive power are bad enough, but the consequences to morals are appalling.

Housing

The housing situation in the two zones is the worst that modern civilization has ever seen. About 25 per cent of the urban housing was destroyed by the war. Therefore, 25 per cent of the urban population must find roofs from among the remaining 75 per cent, in addition to all the destitute "expellees" and other groups brought in. There has been little repair of damaged houses, due to lack of materials and transportation. The result of all this is that multitudes are living in rubble and basements. The average space among tens of millions is equivalent to between three and four people to a 12 ft. × 12 ft. room. Nor is the overcrowding confined to urban areas, for the "expellees" have been settled into every farm house. One consequence is the rapid spread of tuberculosis and other potentially communicable diseases.

Coal

The shortage of coal is, next to food, the most serious immediate bottleneck to both living and the revival of exports to pay for food. The Ruhr, which is now almost the sole coal supply of the Anglo-American zones, is, due to lack of skilled men and physical vitality in labor, producing only 230,000 tons per day, as against a former 450,000 tons per day. Of the present production, a considerable amount must be exported to surrounding nations which are also suffering. The shortage leaves the two zones without sufficient coal for transport, household and other dominant services, with little upon which to start exports in the industry.

The coal famine all over Western Europe and the unprecedented severity of the winter have produced everywhere the most acute suffering. As an example in Germany, no household coal has been issued in Hamburg since October. Other German cities have been but little better off.

Agricultural Production

It must be borne in mind that about 25 per cent of the German pre-war food production came from the areas taken over by Russia and Poland. Moreover, the Russian Military zone in Germany was a large part of the bread basket of Germany. Some millions of tons formerly flowed into the American and British zones from these areas. Those sources now contribute nothing.

The British and American armies and civilians are entirely fed from home. The large Russian army is fed upon their zone.

Due to a lack of fertilizers, good seed, farm implements and skilled labor, the 1946 agricultural production in the American and British zones was about 65 per cent of pre-war. A generalized appraisal indicates that in the American zone the harvest of 1946 yielded a supply, beyond the needs of the farmers (self-suppliers), equal to about 1,100 calories per day for the "non-self-suppliers." The similar supply in the British zone was about 900 calories per day average to the "non-self-suppliers." These amounts contrast with 3,000 calories of the pre-war normal German consumption.

With the efforts being made to improve agricultural production there is an expected small increase from the harvest of 1947, especially in potatoes (if better seed is provided in time). The steps which I recommend, however, should show greater production from the 1948 harvest.

Food Distribution

This terrible winter, with frozen canals and impeded railway traffic, has rendered it impossible to maintain even the present low basis of rationing in many localities. The coal shortage and the consequent lack of heat, even for cooking, has added a multitude of hardships. The conclusions in this report as to the food situation are, however, not based upon the effect of this temporary dislocation, but upon the basic conditions, to which the winter has added many difficulties.

From the food point of view, the population of the combined zones has been divided as below, based upon the German census undertaken last autumn. The table must not be regarded as precise for the different groups, as the Berlin sector was not distributed on the same basis as others. It is, however, accurate enough for food computation purposes.

"Self-suppliers," i.e., farmers and their families		7,640,000
"Non-self-suppliers," i.e., urban population :		
Prospective and nursing mothers	660,000	
Children 0-6 years of age	3,070,000	
Children 6-15 years of age	4,495,000	
Adolescents 15-20 years of age	2,100,000	
"Normal Consumers," 20 years up	17,910,000	
Moderate hard workers	2,500,000	
Heavy workers	1,910,000	
Extra heavy workers	720,000	
Displaced persons	680,000	34,045,000
Total population (two zones)		41,685,000

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The base ration is 1,550 calories per person per day to the "normal consumer" group, with priorities and supplements, as the situation requires or permits, for other groups. For instance, milk and fats are given in priority to nursing mothers and children up to 6 years of age; more food, including more meat, is given in supplement to hard workers, etc.

This basic ration for the "normal consumer" compares with the minimum temporary maintenance food intake recommended for "normal consumers" by eminent nutritionists, as follows:

	Present German	Recommended minimum	Present Deficiency
Carbohydrates	283 grams	335 grams	16%
Fats	24 grams	45 grams	47%
Protein	52 grams	65 grams	20%
Calories	1,550	2,000	24%

Thus with the deficiency in quantity and in fats, protein and other nutrients, the 1,550 ration is wholly incapable of supporting health of the groups, which do not have supplements.

Nutritional Condition of the Population

The nutritional condition of the above different groups, irrespective of the immediate consequences of the hard winter, are:

(*a*) The 7,640,000 self-suppliers are, naturally, in good condition.

(*b*) The supplements and priorities in special foods given to 3,730,000 prospective and nursing mothers, and children under 6 years of age, appear to be enough to keep them in good condition.

(*c*) Over half of the 6,595,000 children and adolescents, especially in the lower-income groups, are in a deplorable condition. Their situation is better in limited localities where school feeding has been undertaken but outside these limits stunted growth and delayed development is widespread. In some areas famine edema (actual starvation) is appearing in the children. A study of groups of boys between the ages 9 and 16 years showed 5·5 pounds under minimum standard weights, with girls 5·1 pounds below such standard. Other groups studied showed even worse conditions.

(*d*) A considerable part of the "normal consumer" group of 17,910,000 is likewise in deplorable condition.

This group comprises the light physical workers and is in large majority women, and many are aged. Some portion of this group are able to supplement the 1,550-calorie ration by purchase of some supplies from the black market, from the free markets in the vegetable seasons and from package remittances. Some part of this group are too poor to purchase even the 1,550-calorie ration.

In any event, a large part of the group shows a steady loss of weight, vitality and ability to work. A study in the British zone shows urban adult males over nineteen pounds and females nearly five pounds under proper weight. A study in the American zone showed from five to twenty pounds under proper weight. Famine edema is showing in thousands of cases, stated to be 10,000 in Hamburg alone. The increased death roll among the aged is appalling. In persons over 70 in three months last autumn the increase was 40 per cent.

(*e*) While the workers' rations, due to supplements, are perhaps high enough in themselves, yet the universal tendency is for the workers to share his supplement with his wife and children, and therefore it does not have its full effect in supplying energy for the worker himself.

(*f*) The 680,000 displaced persons are about one-third in the British zone and two-thirds in the United States zone. In the British zone they receive the German ration only. In the United States zone they receive supplements which amount to 700 calories per day, so there can be no doubt as to their adequate supply in that area. In fact, the American ration is above the "normal ration" of the other nations on the Continent, except the former neutrals.

These nutritional conclusions are based upon surveys made by Dr. William H. Sebrell, Jr., of the United States Public Health Service, who was a member of my mission. At my request he also visited Italy, France, Belgium, Holland and Britain to study the comparative nutritional situations of these countries with that of Germany. He reports that the nutritional condition in those countries is nearly pre-war normal, while the special German groups that I have mentioned are not only far below the other nations but disastrously so.

A New Program

The Anglo-American bi-zonal agreement of last autumn calls for an increase of rations by 250 calories per day at some undetermined date. Such an increase is highly desirable. However, the world shortage in cereals, evidenced by the early reduction of bread rations in several other nations, renders such an increase impossible until after the harvest of 1947. Such a program also implies increased import supplies, which, in terms of grain, would add 1,260,000 tons and $136,000,000 annually to costs, above the already huge burden upon the taxpayers of our two nations.

As the present base of 1,550 calories for "normal consumers" is not enough to maintain health in many children or health and working energy in many adults, I propose a different program. This new approach is to repair the weakest spots in the nutritional situation. I believe that this method will accomplish the major purpose of the proposed general increase in ration as nearly as can be accomplished within the limits of available supplies and finances for the remainder of the fiscal year 1946-47.

In many ways I believe it is a better program, and if this method proves a successful remedy during the next few months, it may modify the necessity of so large an increase in imports in the fiscal year 1947-48 as has been proposed under the bi-zonal agreement.

There are two groups to which this repair of weakness should be given quickly.

First are the children over 6 years of age and the adolescents. The number of this group who are undernourished is estimated to be about 3,500,000, or more than 50 per cent. To cover this group and assure that the food reaches the child, the British in their zone, aided by the Swedish and other charities, are giving a small ration in certain schools. There is no systematic school feeding in the American zone. A system of soup kitchens to provide a hot meal of appropriate body-building foods (meat, fats, milk, etc.) of at least 350 calories daily is imperative for the children in the worst areas of the combined zones if a future Germany of wholesome character is to be created.

In order to start this system at once I recommend using the Army surplus 10-in-1 rations, now en route,

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and certain excess stocks not adapted to Army feeding and now in control of the American Occupation Forces. These resources can form the major base of this system for a considerable period. This is the more possible as it is proposed to slaughter during 1947 over 5,000,000 head of cattle, hogs and sheep in order to lessen the animal consumption of ground crops, and a portion of these meats and fats can be applied to this program. These various supplies, together with some minor cereal allotments, should carry the program for six months.

The second group demanding immediate relief is the "normal consumer" group of about 17,910,000 persons, now receiving 1,550 calories per day. I strongly recommend several lines of action. (*a*) A certain portion of them should be advanced to the group of moderate heavy workers and receive the supplement applicable to that category. (*b*) An emergency supply of cereals should be allotted to the German welfare organizations with which to provide a supplement to families in need and the soup kitchens. (*c*) I recommend that the aged in the "normal consumers" group and others where medically certified be issued tickets upon the soup kitchens for the meal of 850 calories per day during the school week, to be consumed either at these kitchens or taken home. These supplemental measures will substantially improve and will at least carry over the most needy part of this group.

By aid to the children and adolescents some pressure will be removed from the "normal consumer" group, who naturally tend to cut their own food to help their children.

In support of the above program for children and "normal rations" I have included in the recommended deficiency appropriation an emergency supply of 65,000 tons of cereals. These measures, as I have said, are in substitution for the great increase otherwise necessary to import for the proposed program of a lift in the whole ration system by 250 calories.

In addition to these measures I have included in the sums given below, which I recommend to be appropriated for the balance of this fiscal year 1946-47, an amount necessary for the shipment of 400,000 tons of surplus potatoes from the United States. The object is twofold.

Due to spoilage during this unprecedented winter and other causes, there are not enough potatoes by 250,000 tons to cover that portion of the minimum 1,550-calorie ration until the next harvest. Certainly we cannot allow the ration to fall below its already dangerous levels.

Of even more importance, most of the potato seed of our zones normally comes from the Polish-annexed area and the Russian zone, and is not available. If we can forward 200,000 to 250,000 tons of good potato seed, with some already in hand, we should be able to assure a yield from the 1947 harvest of 5,000,000 tons and thereby effect some savings in overseas food imports for the fiscal year 1947-48.

Necessary Imports and Finance

The supply and finance of food and collateral relief imports and the development of exports with which ultimately to pay for these imports has been organized upon the basis of dividing foreign trade into two categories :

Category "A" covers imports of food, fertilizers and petroleum products for the civil population. This category is to be paid for by appropriations, and thus one-half by the taxpayers each of the United States and the United Kingdom. It has not been determined whether seeds fall in this group. In my opinion they should be and I have included them in my estimates of supply and cost which appear below.

Category "B" is under the "Joint Export-Import Agency," who regulate the importation of raw materials and the export of coal, some other raw materials and manufactured products. The organization started with a certain working capital and all exports of coal and other commodities are credited to this fund until the exports exceed the raw material imports when the surplus will be applied to the cost of Category "A." It is hoped that the export surplus will begin to contribute to Category "A" in the last half of 1948 and cover virtually all the cost in the calendar year 1950.

Therefore, the cost of Category "A" for the balance of the 1947 fiscal year, in which a deficiency appropriation is involved, and the whole of the 1948 fiscal year, will fall upon the taxpayers of America and Britain.

Cost and Supplies of Category "A" Imports for the Last Half of Fiscal Year 1946-1947

The program of supplies and costs to cover Category "A" for the six months from January 1 to July 1, 1947, will appear large compared to the program given later for the whole fiscal year 1947-1948. The reasons are that imports were unduly low during the last six months of 1946 and the drain on indigenous food unduly large. Also, it is necessary to include the cost of purchases and shipments prior to July 1 so as to provide in June for arrivals in Germany during the period July 1 to August 15, for which appropriations for the 1947-48 fiscal year cannot be available until after July 1. This works to lessen the burden on the fiscal year following that date. I have, as said, included the allotment of 65,000 tons of cereals to support the "normal ration" group and the potato imports.

The following is the estimated cost for both zones; for the six months January 1 to July 1, 1947, in which are included the supplies already shipped for this period :

Cereals (wheat equivalent) 2,505,000 tons	$288,000,000
Other foods, 720,000 tons	54,000,000
Fertilizers	17,500,000
Seeds	12,500,000
Petroleum products (civil population)	12,000,000
Total	$384,000,000

The United States contribution of one-half of this is $192,000,000.

What portion of these expenditures are already covered by appropriations and what portion must need be covered by deficiency appropriations is not known to me.

Supplies and Cost for Fiscal Year 1947-48

In considering the supplies and cost of Category "A" for the fiscal year 1947-48, the supplemental supports I have proposed to strengthen the children, adolescents and "normal ration" group, should undoubtedly carry through these groups until October, especially with the spring and summer produce. Therefore, it will not, in any event, be necessary to increase the general ration by the 250 calories provided in the bi-zonal agreement until that date. It is my hope that the revised methods by which the week

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places in the system are strengthened may partially or wholly avoid this necessity after that date. I have, however provided in the estimates an item of $62,300,000 for such an increase after October. I have also included in these estimates an enlarged fertilizer and seed program. It is my belief that these latter measures will greatly lighten the burden on our taxpayers in the fiscal year 1948-1949.

The following is my estimate of the supplies and costs needed for the fiscal year 1947-48 covering Category "A."

Cereals (in terms of wheat) for 1,550 calories level, 2,785,000 tons	$278,500,000
Cereals for "normal consumers" emergency supplemental feeding 192,000 tons	19,200,000
Child feeding program (includes special foods), 130,000 tons	35,000,000
Other foods, 450,000 tons	75,000,000
Fertilizers (available)	45,000,000
Seeds	27,000,000
Petroleum products for civil population	25,000,000
	$504,700,000
Cost of ration increase to 1,800 calories on or about October, 1947	62,300,000
Total	$567,000,000

of which the United States share of 50 per cent amounts to $283,500,000.

Due to these changes in method, the above program is different from that submitted by the War Department for the fiscal year 1947-48, but the total cost is no greater.

It is my conviction that these appropriations for Category "A" for both the 1946-47 and the 1947-1948 fiscal years should have first consideration, even in priority to appropriations for military purposes. The occupational forces cannot be reduced without these assurances of minimum food supply. From the point of view only of maintaining order, the need for these forces is not great if we can meet the food needs. Their size will depend upon other considerations.

Further Savings to the Taxpayers That Can Be Made

There are ways by which these costs could be reduced, although they are not certain enough to be deducted in advance against appropriations which must now be determined.

1. If these changes in rationing program render the general calorie lift unnecessary, there would be a saving of $62,000,000.

2. If through the 1947 deficiency appropriation the seeds are provided in time, there should be substantial additions to the German potato harvest, in relief of 1947-48 expenditures. If the fertilizer and seed recommendations for the fiscal year 1947-48 are accepted, there should be savings by increased indigenous production in the year 1948-49.

3. There would be savings if prices proved lower and if climatic conditions for the indigenous crops turned out exceptionally favorable.

4. The Potsdam Declaration results in Germany having no consequential overseas shipping. If we could effect some temporary operation by German crews of, say, seventy-five Liberty ships, now laid up, to transport food and raw materials, all of the expense could be paid by the Germans in marks, except for fuel, and thus save a very large amount of dollars otherwise coming from the American and British taxpayers. This would probably amount to $40,000,000 per annum.

5. A further saving of possibly several million dollars could be made for the taxpayers if the large American Army return equipment, now being transported at high ocean rates, were sent home on the return voyages of these Liberty ships.

6. There are food surpluses in the control of other nations than ourselves and the British. They comprise possible increased catches of fish in Norway, Sweden and Denmark, which otherwise are little likely to find a market, and some surpluses possible from the South American states. It would seem to me that some supplies could well be furnished by these nations, being repaid as indicated below, *pari passu* with the British and ourselves.

7. The Germans lost a considerable part of their deep-sea fishing fleet. If more such boats could be found and leased from American surplus small shipping, the fish supply could be greatly increased. The fishing grounds in the Baltic and North Seas are being limited against German fishing. As there are ample supplies of fish in these seas, it seems a pity that, with this food available, British and American taxpayers are called upon to furnish food in substitution for fish the Germans could catch for themselves.

Fish is particularly needed, as the present diet is sadly lacking in protein content.

8. A still further saving to British and American taxpayers is possible if maximum expedition could be made of exports of German manufacture. The Joint Export-Import Agency is doing its best, but such exports are hampered by the lack of coal for manufacture, by trading-with-the-enemy acts and restrictions on free communication, together with limitations on dealings between buyers and sellers. The restoration of trade is inevitable, and every day's delay in removing these barriers is simply adding to the burden of our taxpayers for relief that could otherwise be paid for in goods. No one can say that in her utterly shattered state Germany is a present economic menace to the world.

Should there be such good fortune as to realize all these possibilities, we could not only increase the food supply to health levels but also lessen the joint costs by $150,000,000 during the fiscal year 1947-48. However, as I have said, I am convinced that the larger sum should be provided for.

German Repayment for These Outlays

The great sums hitherto spent on relief of the German civilian population from outside Germany's borders, together with those in the future, should not be an irrecoverable expenditure to our two Governments.

I have, therefore, urged upon the American and British authorities that it be announced as a policy and stipulated in all peace arrangements that these expenditures for the relief of the civil population (Category "A"), past and future, should be made a first charge upon the economy of Germany and repaid from any future net exports from Germany before any payments to other nations of any kind.

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At my instance all Allied nations in the first World War agreed that German civilian relief expenditures at that time should be repaid from any liquid assets and ranked ahead of any reparation claims. They were so repaid. The grounds which I advanced at that time are no less valid today. By these relief expenditures we are rebuilding the economy of the German people so that other payments can be made by them. These costs should be a sort of "receiver's certificate." If this policy be pursued, these appropriations for relief asked from the Congress and the Parliament can become a recoverable expenditure and not a charity loaded on to our taxpayers. It would seem that a tax upon exports of some per cent, to be paid in dollars after July 1, 1949, might be an effective implementation of such a provision.

Organisation

I have made certain recommendations to the joint Military Governments of the two zones as to organization matters, which I believe will improve administration now that bizonal operation under larger German responsibility has been undertaken.

Conclusion

It may come as a great shock to American taxpayers that, having won the war over Germany, we are now faced for some years with large expenditures for relief for these people. Indeed, it is something new in human history for the conqueror to undertake.

Whatever the policies might have been that would have avoided this expense, we now are faced with it. And we are faced with it until the export industries of Germany can be sufficiently revived to pay for their food. The first necessity for such a revival is sufficient food upon which to maintain vitality to work.

Entirely aside from any humanitarian feelings for this mass of people, if we want peace, if we want to preserve the safety and health of our Army of Occupation, if we want to save the expense of even larger military forces to preserve order, if we want to reduce the size and expense of our Army of Occupation—I can see no other course but to meet the burdens I have here outlined.

Our determination is to establish such a regime in Germany as will prevent for ever again the rise of militarism and aggression within these people. But those who believe in vengeance and the punishment of a great mass of Germans not concerned in the Nazi conspiracy can now have no misgivings, for all of them—in food, warmth and shelter—have been sunk to the lowest level known in a hundred years of Western history.

If Western civilization is to survive in Europe it must also survive in Germany. And it must be built into a co-operative member of that civilization. That, indeed, is the hope of any lasting peace.

After all, our flag flies over these people. That flag means something besides military power.

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INDIA'S INTERNATIONAL OPIUM POLICY

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

IV

Second International Opium Conference of 1924

In accordance with its resolution of the 27th September, 1924, the League of Nations issued invitations on the 18th October, 1924, to all signatories to the Hague Convention to participate in an international conference to consider the two questions of the limitation of the amounts of morphine, heroin, cocaine and their respective salts to be manufactured and the limitation of the production of raw opium and coca leaves to the medical and scientific needs of the world. It was attended by forty-one nations. Postponing for the present any discussion of the first question which is not the matter under consideration here, it has to be stated that the second was something like an attempt to give effect to the proposals made by the American delegation to the Advisory Committee of 1923 subject, of course, to reservations made by certain countries including India.

The Conference met on the 17th November, 1924 and two months were wasted in infructuous discussions and repeated adjournments to give time to the various Committees appointed by it to conduct investigations on different aspects of such problems as rose from time to time and to submit their reports. From these, it became clear that there was no likelihood that the production of raw opium and coca leaves would be restricted to the medical and scientific needs of the world.

In this Conference, the second proposal as qualified by the reservations referred to previously, was opposed by all the colonial Powers financially interested in the opium traffic as well as another modifying it, as put forward by the representatives of Japan, the only colonial Power apparently ready to alter its opium policy. The representative nominated by the British administration not only voted against the original proposal but also against the milder Japanese one. It also appears that he was one of those who opposed a suggestion for the gradual reduction of the traffic in opium and the simultaneous decrease of its production through limitation of cultivation within a period of fifteen years.

The comment of Lewin, the great German authority on habit-forming drugs, on page 69 of his *Phantastica* is that this attitude earned for India or rather for its administration "the reproach of being influenced in opium politics by financial and commercial considerations."

Withdrawal of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

Countries like the United States which had pressed for the acceptance of the two proposals mentioned previously had expected that colonial Powers like Great Britain, France, Holland, Japan, etc., in whose territorial possessions the continuance of opium-smoking had been permitted as a temporary measure

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would, in adherence to the obligations undertaken under Articles 6-8 of the Hague Opium Convention, take steps to limit imports of raw opium used for the manufacture of smoking opium and that at least some of them would agree to suppress this traffic within a definite period, which, of course, by reducing the demand for the narcotic would probably result in an appreciable reduction in production of the drug. These hopes were dashed to the ground when it was realised that, with the exception of Japan, they in the language of memorandum submitted to the President of the Conference by Representative Porter in behalf of the American delegation, were

> "not prepared to reduce the consumption of smoking opium unless the producing nations agree to reduce production and prevent smuggling from their territories and then only in the event of an adequate guarantee being given that the obligations undertaken by the producing nations would be effectively and promptly fulfilled."

The American delegation therefore concluded that, in view of the conditions precedent demanded by the colonial Powers, it was useless to expect any restriction in the production of raw opium. It had been authorised by the Congress of the United States to participate in the Conference and to sign agreements bearing on the opium problem only if they "fulfilled the conditions necessary for the suppression of the narcotic drug traffic" as set forth in the two American proposals referred to more than once. Feeling that the draft of the Convention then under discussion, did not satisfy the conditions imposed on it by the Congress, the American delegates withdrew on the 6th February, 1925, "as the instructions under which they were acting did not permit them the slightest compromise."

It was, however, made clear by the American delegation that its withdrawal did not even remotely imply that the United States would cease its efforts through international co-operation for the suppression of the illicit traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs for it recognised that success in it was possible only through this means.

Utterly sceptical about the adequacy of the steps proposed for the control of the traffic in drugs, the obvious aim of the Second Opium Conference of 1924, as a satisfactory solution of the problem, the representative of Russia stated that the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics was already far in advance of all the participating countries in the fight against the drug menace and had taken effective steps for stamping it out "which the other Governments at present in power have not dared to adopt owing to their fear of private enterprise."

It claimed that it had already brought about complete freedom from drug addiction among its nationals which the Conference was only contemplating "as an object to attain in the distant future." It therefore refused to participate in its deliberations as the only possible reason for its presence in it would be "to induce other Governments to adopt measures similar to those taken by itself," and which, it was felt, would not be accepted by any one of those financially interested in the production and distribution of drugs.

Geneva Convention of 1925

The deliberations of the Second International Opium Conference of 1924 led to what is known as the Convention of 1925 relating to Dangerous Drugs, in addition to which there was a Protocol and a Final Act all signed on the 19th February, 1925.

As regards the matters covered by this Convention, its thirty-first article said :

> "The present Convention replaces, as between the contracting Parties, the provisions of Chapters I, III and V of the Convention signed at the Hague on January 23rd, 1912, which provisions remain in force as between the Contracting Parties and any States Parties to the said Convention which are not Parties to the present Convention."

For the convenience of the reader, it may be stated here that the first chapter of the Hague Convention comprising the first four articles are concerned with laws for controlling the production and distribution of raw opium, the third, consisting of Articles 9-14 envisage legislation regulating the manufacture and distribution of medicinal opium, morphine, cocaine, etc., and the fifth covering Articles 20 and 21 with the enactment of laws against the illegal possession of drugs, etc.

The aim of the Convention hereafter called the Geneva Convention was, in the language of the preamble, to ensure

> "a more effective limitation of the production or manufacture of the substances (habit-forming drugs) and to exercise a closer control and supervision of the international trade than are provided for in the said (Hague) Convention."

Under the first article of the Protocol, the signatory States admitted their responsibility for the establishment of such control over the production, distribution and export of raw opium as would eliminate all chances of illicit traffic. They also agreed to take, within five years of the date of its coming into effect, measures to prevent the smuggling of opium which, it was recognised, had up to that time, seriously interfered with the effective suppression of opium-smoking in such countries where it was temporarily permitted.

The unwillingness to immediately implement the Geneva Convention, it has been held by anti-opiumists, was due to the desire to put off the evil day as long as possible and constitutes still another proof, if proof is required, of the reluctance with which the problem of ending the drug menace was approached by many of the participating States.

That these previously mentioned worthy objects were not likely to be pursued by all the signatory Powers with equal zeal is also evident from the last article of the Convention under which it was open to any of them to declare at the time of its signature, ratification or accession, that its acceptance did not include

> "any or all of its colonies, overseas possessions, protectorates, or overseas territories under its sovereignty or authority, or in respect of which it had accepted a mandate on behalf of the League of Nations, etc."

This article had to be incorporated in the Convention in deference to the wishes of many Powers which disliked the idea of putting an end to the opium traffic from which they derived a revenue. It is needless to add that it had the effect of largely stultifying the objects aimed at in arriving at this agreement.

The Convention was subject to ratification which, as experience in the case of the Hague Convention had already shown, was not a matter very easily secured.

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Further, the thirty-sixth article provided that it would not be brought into effect till at least ten signatories had formally ratified it along with the Protocol. In this connection, it may be mentioned here that, only eight of the participating Powers had ratified it as well as the Protocol by the beginning of 1928.

The Smuggling Problem in the International Opium Conferences of 1924

From what has been said elsewhere, it is clear that the opinion of the United States as expressed by the House of Representatives and the Senate in February, 1923 had been that countries like India, Persia and Turkey were not producing much larger quantities of opium than actually needed for the medicinal and scientific needs of the world and that it was this excess which was used for euphoric purposes. It was also held that large amounts of this extra opium were smuggled into it which, manufactured into morphine, heroin, etc., was used for intoxication purposes by addicts who were estimated to number one million or so. Inquiries made at that time showed that the same state of affairs had appeared in certain parts of Europe so that the civilised nations of the west were being at last menaced by this evil which had so long touched the people of the east only.

The position so far as the latter were concerned, was that the colonial Powers had imposed restrictions on the availability of opium, generally because of the revenue motive. This had operated in checking, to some extent, the wide diffusion of addiction to opium. But here too, the difference between the cost of production and the sale price of the narcotic had encouraged smuggling so much so that, on the 15th August, 1924, the Opium Advisory Committee was compelled to record the following :

> "Large consignments of raw opium without any restriction are exported to the Far East under false declarations of destination for the purposes of the illicit traffic and are being smuggled into China and elsewhere."

Further investigations showed that smuggling of opium had been going on for a long time on a much larger scale than had been conjectured. So serious was the position that, in the preamble to the Agreement signed on the 11th February, 1925, after the end of the First International Opium Conference, special note was taken of the fact that

> "The increase of the smuggling of opium in the greater part of the territories in the Far East since the ratification of the (Hague) Convention is hampering greatly accomplishment of the gradual and effective suppression of the manufacture of, internal trade in, and use of prepared opium, as provided for in the Convention, and is even rendering less effective some of the measures already taken for that end."

Similarly, in the Final Act supplementary to the above Agreement, reference was made to the fact that the registration of addicts and rationing had not led to satisfactory results in most countries in the Far East because of the existence of the contraband trade which "equalled and even surpassed in extent the legitimate trade."

The problem of smuggling also engaged the attention of the Second International Opium Conference. This is evident from the very first paragraph of the Agreement signed at its conclusion where it is said that while

> "The application of the provisions of the Hague Convention of January 23rd, 1912, by the Contracting Parties has produced results of great value, . . . the contraband trade in and abuse of the substances to which the Convention applies still continued on a great scale."

The signatories to the previously mentioned documents agreed to take certain steps to discourage smuggling. Under the eighth article of the First Agreement, the Contracting Powers agreed to assist one another in their efforts to stop it by "direct exchange of information and views between the heads of the services concerned." The carrying out of the same procedure in a somewhat modified form was also agreed to under the third article of the Final Act supplementing the Agreement entered into after the Second International Opium Conference.

Feeling that the mere exchange of information and views was not enough, in the sixth article of the Protocol, supplementing the First Agreement, the signatories, with a view to effecting "the complete and final suppression of the use of prepared opium," made

> "a pressing appeal to the poppy-growing countries for the establishment between all the States concerned of a sincere and energetic collaboration which will lead to the termination of the illicit traffic."

The wording of the lines quoted above makes it clear that it was felt by some of the Powers concerned that there were some opium-producing States which, like them, were also signatories to the above documents and which had, at last in the past, failed to offer their "sincere and energetic collaboration" the result of which had been to facilitate illegal traffic in drug and which, therefore, were being exhorted to amend their ways.

The Protocol to the Second Agreement went further, for its first article stated :

> "The States signatory to the present Protocol, recognising that under Chapter I of the Hague Convention the duty rests upon them of establishing such a control over the production, distribution and exportation of raw opium as would prevent the illicit traffic, agree to take such measures as may be required to prevent completely, within five years from the present date, the smuggling of opium from constituting a serious obstacle to the effective suppression of the use of prepared opium in those territories where such use is temporarily authorised."

It is to be noted that this article admitted in unmistakable language the obligation of the signatories to the Hague Convention to take steps calculated to stop the illicit traffic in raw opium with the clear implication that this duty had not been fully discharged in the past and also that the situation was so grave that it was not thought advisable to allow them to take their own time to do it. It was therefore necessary to fix a time-limit which, it was agreed, would not exceed five years.

Embarrassing Situation of India Government

Though, under circumstances mentioned elsewhere, the export of Indian opium to China had been stopped from 1913, India had continued to send it to such Far Eastern territories as the Straits Settlements, Hongkong, Macao, Japan, Indo-China, Java, Siam, and British Borneo. Part of this had gone to their Governments, while the rest had been taken by private

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merchants. The following statement taken from the *Statistical Abstract for British India* shows the number of chests of opium exported to the Far East during the period 1922-1928 :

1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
7,827	8,300	5,889	6,972	8,012	7,531

It had become clear that the Indian opium imported by the above-mentioned countries of the Far East was much in excess of what was normally required by the addicts residing in them. The customs authorities in China had repeatedly seized large quantities of contraband Indian opium at the ports of that country. Indian opium had also been seized in South Africa, Australia and other countries which could not legitimately have gone there.

India had not only participated in framing the provisions of the Agreements, Protocols and Final Acts resulting from the two International Opium Conferences of 1924 but had also signed and ratified them thus making it obligatory on the part of its rulers to give effect to them. This should have been done with effect from the beginning of the official year 1925-26. That this had not been done is quite clear from the fact that the total number of chests exported had gone up from 6,972 in 1925-26 to 8,012 in 1926-27, dropping to 7,531 in 1927-28, which, however, was higher than the Far Eastern exports for 1925-26 by more than 1,500 chests.

It could not be suggested that this increase was due to a sudden expansion in the Chinese adult male population in them as had been the case so far as the Federated and Unfederated Malaya States, the Netherlands East Indies, British Borneo, etc., were concerned in the First World War. Anti-opiumists contended, and that not quite unreasonably, that a part, probably a much larger part than was admitted, of the Indian opium exported to the Far East was smuggled into territories including China which did not permit its entry.

The British administration could very well say that so far as the opium produced in British India was concerned, the whole process from the cultivation of the poppy down to the reaching of the narcotic to the users was under such efficient control that leakage, if any, must necessarily be negligible. It was, however, in a different and more difficult situation so far as opium produced in the Indian States, known as Malwa opium, was concerned for repeated seizures of contraband opium of this variety inside British territories in ports like Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi as well as on board ships leaving them had proved beyond any doubt the existence of smuggling on a large scale. Under these circumstances, it was only reasonable to assume that the amounts seized must have been a fraction, probably a small fraction, of those successfully smuggled.

Credit must go to the India Government which, by the end of 1923-24, had persuaded most Central Indian States to pass laws aimed at reducing the amounts consumed by their people but as, under treaty obligations, it was not entitled to enforce any policy of suppressing or restricting the cultivation of the poppy in them, all that happened was that reduction in the consumption by these Indian States' peoples without a corresponding reduction in the poppy acreage made larger quantities of the drug available for which there was no legitimate outlet. Part of this, it was held, was smuggled to British India and part abroad.

The awkward position into which the British administration was put by the constant seizures of contraband opium was described in the following terms by Prof. H. G. Alexander of the Selly Oaks College, Woodbrooke, Birmingham, on page 48 of his *Narcotics in India and South Asia.*

> "The smuggling trade is a source of embarrassment to the Government of India ; for, although the Malwa States are not under its control, the Government of India is alone responsible to the League of Nations for drug control in the whole of India ; and it is rather annoying for that Government, which has prided itself on the exemplary thoroughness of its control of opium, to be called to account because Malwa opium is being smuggled to South Africa, Australia, and other distant countries. In Bombay, for instance, I was assured that every mail-boat leaving for South Africa probably had smuggled opium on board."

New Anti-Smuggling Measures of the League of Nations

At this time, there were four principal opium producing countries, China, India, Persia and Turkey. So far as the first of these was concerned, it was true enough that it was producing large quantities of the drug but, at the same time, so great was the demand for it among the poorer Chinese addicts and so strict the preventive service at the ports that it could not be said that it was smuggled outside the country the more so because there was no authenticated instance of the seizure of Chinese contraband opium.

Seizures of Turkish and Persian opium were made from time to time. As Turkey had not declared even its formal adherence to the Hague Convention of 1912 and was not a party to the Geneva Convention of 1925, it was not bound by any of their provisions. So far as Parsia was concerned, it had signed but not ratified the Hague Convention. In addition, while it had attended the Second International Opium Conference, it had neither signed nor ratified the Geneva Convention of 1925. It, therefore, follows that it too was not under any obligation to take any steps whatever under these two Conventions.

All this has been stated merely to show that the one large opium-producing country which could, at this time, be legitimately asked to adopt measures to suppress the illicit traffic in opium was India. When in August, 1925, that is about six months after the Geneva Convention had been signed and ratified by India, the Opium Advisory Committee passed the resolution quoted below, it may be held, not quite unjustifiably, that it was, at least to a certain extent, a gentle hint to the British administration in India that it should not make any further delay in discharging its duty. The resolution in question reads as follows :

> "I. (*i*) The Committee desires to call the attention of the Council and the Assembly to the prevalence of the illicit traffic in the drugs at the present time, its organised character and the large financial resources behind it, as indicated by the documents laid before the Committee and appended to its report."

As no signs of improvement in the situation had manifested themselves, the Opium Advisory Commit-

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tee which met from May 26 to June 8, 1926, that is nearly one year after the above resolution had been passed and circulated among the signatory Powers, including India, returned to the charge.

"I. The Committee, after examining the information before it relating to the illicit traffic, points out the gravity of the present situation. Considerable seizures of the manufactured drugs and of opium continue to be made . . .

"IV. The Committee recommends that the Governments in their annual reports to the League, should be asked to state the total quantities of each of the drugs (including opium) seized by their authorities during the year . . ."

In September, 1926, the recommendations of the Advisory Committee came up for consideration by the Assembly of the League of Nations, its final authority, which, too, drew the attention of its members including India to them suggesting that there should be no further delay in taking effective steps to stop the contraband trade in habit-forming drugs including opium.

Naturally enough, the British administration at the Centre which could easily afford to defy nationalist anti-opium opinion in India did not relish the charge brought against it of failing to use its paramount powers to stop the smuggling of opium outside India. Further, it had no desire to antagonise world opinion through non-fulfilment of its international obligations in the matter. There was also the fact that Chapter VI of the Geneva Convention envisaged the appointment of a Permanent Central Board "within three months from the coming into force" of the Convention. The duties of this Board as defined in Article 24 of the Convention were as follows :

"The Central Board shall continuously watch the course of the International trade. If the information at its disposal leads the Board to conclude that excessive quantities of any substance covered by the present Convention are accumulating in any country, or that there is a danger of that country becoming a centre of the illicit traffic, the Board shall have the right to ask through the Secretary-General of the League, for explanations from the country in question.

"If no explanation is given within a reasonable time or the explanation is unsatisfactory the Central Board shall have the right to call the attention of the Governments of all the Contracting Parties and of the Council of the League of Nations to the matter, and to recommend that no further exports of the substances covered by the present Convention or any of them shall be made to the country concerned until the Board reports that it is satisfied as to the situation in the country in regard to the said substances. The Board shall at the same time notify the Government of the country concerned of the recommendation made by it."

(*To be continued*)

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RECEPTION FOR INDIA'S FIRST AMBASSADOR

By Dr. ANNUP SINGH

The most significant and the colorful event of Washington, still talked about here, was the reception given by the National Committee for India's Freedom in honor of India's First Ambassador, Mr Asaf Ali. Almost one thousand guests participated in this function in the ballroom of Hotel Mayflower. There were a large number of foreign diplomats, scores of senators and congressmen both republicans and democrats, the high officials from the State Department and various other departments, a number of leading socialites of Washington, the top-ranking newspaper representatives and a flock of Indians from all over the country and naturally those residing in Washington.

I headed the receiving line as the host of the party, next in line stood the Ambassador, then Nazili Heera Meneck, the Treasurer of the Committee ; Mrs. Hansa Mehta, India's delegate to the U. N.; Mr. Sher M. Quraishi, Secretary for All-India Brotherhood Association of Detroit ; Mrs. Hamid Ali, another Indian delegate to the U.N.; Mr. Mumtaz Kitchlew of Chicago and Mr. Gulam Mohamed of California. There we stood for almost two hours shaking hands with the guests who continuously poured in.

The Indians with their colorful turbans and the Indian ladies with their glittering *saris* mixed with the foreign dignitaries in their native costumes. Some of the leading Washington socialites acted as hostesses, poured tea and coffee for the guests and amiably chatted with them while moving back and forth obviously enjoying themselves. The press cameras flashed back and forth spotting the diplomats, the senators and many others who attracted their eyes. Over and over again they dragged this, that, and the other notable to the side of the Indian Ambassador to be flashed together.

The local press played up the party in the Society Columns twice during the week and displayed pictures in prominent places. The Press was unanimous in its lavish eulogies of the function, which according to them was the most colorful and brilliant that has been staged in Washington in a long time. Mr. Asaf Ali, according to the Press, "is an agreeable person with great dignity." When one of the young inquisitive girl reporters asked the Ambassador when his wife was going to join him, he brushed aside the query with the typically American reply, "That is the $64.00 question." In a short period he has already established himself, a man of good manners, charm, dignity, and humor.

The Indians came from all over the United States to attend this historic function. They came from California, Chicago, Pittsburg, Detroit, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and many other cities in the United States. They brought with them the sentiment of the entire Indian community in the States, a small community that in its humble way has striven for the day when India would be represented by a true son of India in Washington. Their messages were distributed to the press, though not read at the function, as that would have spoiled its informal character. Conspicious among the messages was the following

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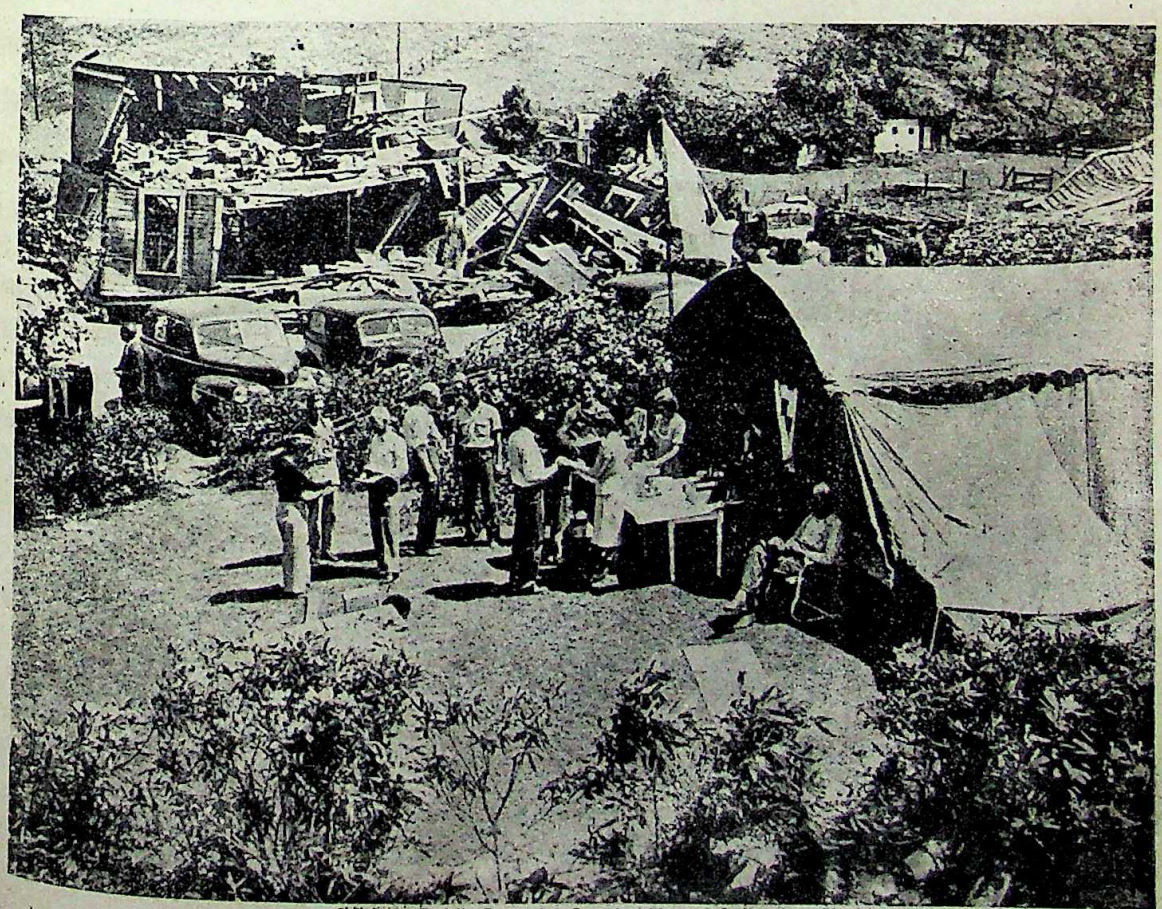
Reception of India's First Ambassador in Washington
Front Row (*left to right*) : Satya Mukerjee, New York; P. C. Mookerjee, Pittsburgh; Mrs. Mumtaz Kitchlew, Chicago; His Excellency Asaf Ali; Mrs. H. Weirum Boulter, New York City; Mr. P. C. Mukerjee; Dr. Anup Singh ; Mr. G. N. Chaugani



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An American Red Cross relief station set up in an area badly damaged by a tornado in the Eastern State of West Virginia

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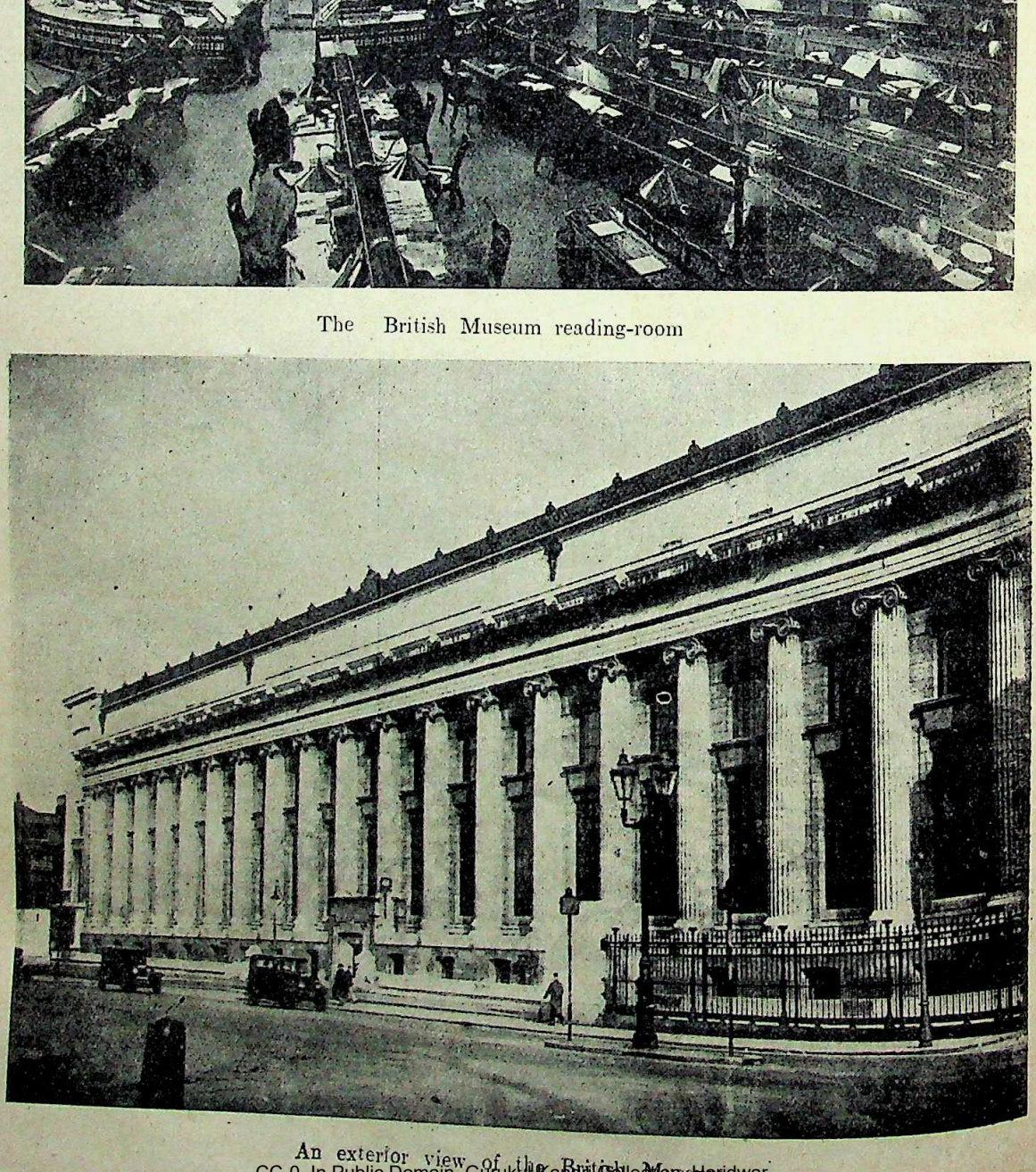
The British Museum reading-room



An exterior view of the British Museum

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received from Dr. Syud Hossain, the Chairman of the National Committee from India :

"It is with deep gratification that I send this message of welcome to India's first Ambassador to the United States. It is in the fitness of things that his first public reception in Washington should be under the auspices of the National Committee for India's Freedom, which was established specifically for presenting the case for India's freedom to the Government and to the people of the United States at a time when such advocacy in and from India had been made impossible. The Committee, until now, through war and peace, has served precisely that purpose and, with the advent of India's National Ambassador may well feel that it is entitled to rest on its oars. Henceforth our National Ambassador will be the duly authorized person to attend to our National affairs in the United States. Perhaps I may add a word of personal greeting on this historical occasion. I welcome Mr. Asaf Ali as India's first Ambassador not only as a worthy representative of her national Government and a veteran fighter in her battle for freedom, but also as an old and valued friend. I wish I could have been present in person to join with you in welcoming him to Washington, but you may be sure I will be with you in spirit."

I, as the Secretary of the Committee, made the following statement on the occasion :

"Your Excellency and distinguished guests,

It is my very great pleasure and privilege to welcome all of you here on behalf of the National Committee for India's Freedom, and all the other Indian organizations in the United States, Canada, Panama, Trinidad and British Guiana.

It is an historic event for India to send her first Ambassador to the great Republic of the United States of America. It ushers in the dawn of a new, and I dare hope, a greater era for India. As for America it opens up new and direct contact with India. This opportunity will, I am sure, strengthen the already existing bonds between the two countries.

For us, the nationals of India long resident in this country, this is a day of great rejoicing. We, in our humble way, have been working and waiting for this day. We strove to keep the issue of India alive before the American people, and have often acted as self-constituted spokesmen for India whenever we have felt that India's authentic voice was not being heard.

From now on that authentic voice will be officially heard through one of India's great sons, His Excellency Asaf Ali.

It is a happy augury for his relationship with America that an American friend of ours, whether inadvertently or deliberately, I do not know, mispronounced his name. According to her, he is not Asaf Ali but A Safe Ally. No matter how you pronounce his name, I do hope you will all consider the Ambassador from India as your safe Ally."

All Indian Societies Unite

One of the great significances of this reception was the fact that all the Indian organizations in the Western Hemisphere became the sponsors of the function. Among them were as follows :

All-India Brotherhood Association, Detroit, Michigan;
Bharat Welfare Society, Sacramento, California ;
Gadar Party, San Francisco, California ;
Hindustan Students Association of America ;
India Benevolent Association, New York ;
India Chamber of Commerce of America, New York ;
India Community of British Guiana ;
India Community of Trinidad ;
India League of America, New York ;
Indian National Congress Association of America;
Khalsa Diwan Society, Vancouver, B.C.;
Muslim Association, El Centro, California ;
Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society, Stockton, California ;
United India League of America.

This was also the first occasion for the Indians to have so many exalted persons as their guests. It was only fitting that this should have been the case at the arrival of India's first Ambassador.

Indians at the Embassy

The day following the reception Mr. Asaf Ali invited a group of out-of-town Indians to informally chat with him at the embassy. The very first thing he said when they entered this palatial residence was that they should look upon that house as their home and feel free to come and go any time they felt like it—a welcome surprise to these Indians, most of whom had never set foot in the Embassy till that day. "Although I am technically and officially the Ambassador from India," said Mr. Asaf Ali, "I want you to look upon yourself as the unofficial ambassador of India." "India," said he, "has been and will be judged by your conduct." Referring to the political situation, he wanted them to feel as free citizens of a Free Indian Republic. He emphasized the fact that Great Britain has made a clear-cut commitment to end her domination of India before June 1948. And in support of this he read Pandit Nehru's statement after Prime Minister Attlee's announcement. He expressed the hope that Indians, true to their culture and heritage, will behave with honor and dignity but not arrogance. He advised the group to forget the bitter and the dead past and to focus their eyes on the present and the future.

The Ambassador readily conceded the complexity of the internal Indian situation, but he also expressed his deep conviction that the leaders of all the Indian Committees will soon find a just and an honorable solution that would satisfy all the children of India. His last words to the group were that they cannot serve any purpose by injecting the poison of sectarian politics among themselves. They should leave the matters of mutual adjustment to their leaders. He wanted each and every one of the Indians present to carry this message to the places he came from.

Mr. Asaf Ali, the new Ambassador from India, has brought new inspiration and a new hope to the Indians here, and they in turn feel that India's choice of the new Ambassador was a worthy one.

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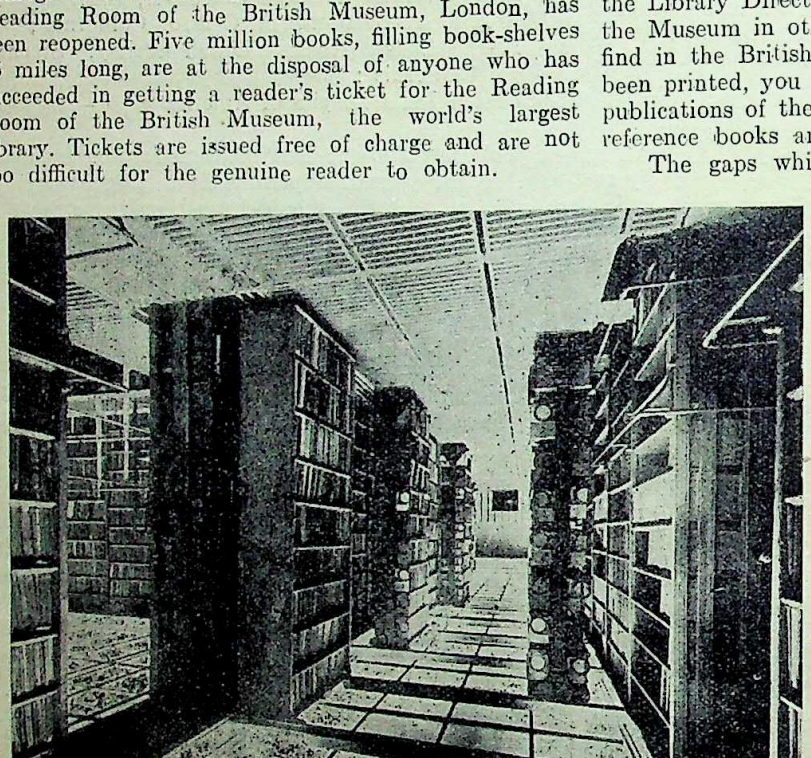
THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Fifty-five Miles of the World's Books

By EGON LARSEN

After extensive renovations and the repair of bomb-damage incurred during World War II, the famous Reading Room of the British Museum, London, has been reopened. Five million books, filling book-shelves 55 miles long, are at the disposal of anyone who has succeeded in getting a reader's ticket for the Reading Room of the British Museum, the world's largest library. Tickets are issued free of charge and are not too difficult for the genuine reader to obtain.



A corner of the British Museum Library before the war

The Reading Room is an enormous, domed, round hall with innumerable comfortable seats and desks and lamps. Books are issued at counters in the centre, and the whole rotunda is lined with reference books—a library in itself large enough to offer you information on any subject on earth. Yet this is only the facade. Behind the scenes, connected through an elaborate modern mechanism of lifts, trolleys, and conveyer belts, is the wealth of literature collected from every corner of the earth, in every living or dead language.

One hundred years ago a Copyright Act was introduced in Britain obliging everyone who publishes any printed book, music book, pamphlet, or geographical map to send one copy of it to the British Museum. Within this century, therefore, mountains of publications have thus accumulated, the greater part of them, however, without any literary or infomative value. When during World War II, the nation's waste paper was collected for the munition factories most of this superfluous literature was sent to the paper-mills.

Although a good many foreign publishers have made it a habit to send one copy of every valuable publication to the British Museum, and consider it an honour that their books are going to be kept there, the Library Director has to buy many more works for the Museum in other countries. So although you don't find in the British Museum every book that has ever been printed, you may be sure that the most valuable publications of the world's literature and all important reference books are available.

The gaps which you may discover are probably those for which the Luftwaffe is responsible. During the "blitz" a number of German explosive and incendiary bombs fell on and around the British Museum. A large number of volumes were destroyed, and the historical Reading Room damaged. So the "habitues" had to move out, into the smaller, but more modern hall of the North Library. Only now the big Reading Room has been repaired and reopened.

Precious Possessions

The most precious possessions, however, had been taken to safe hide-outs at the beginning of the war, among them the famous collection of manuscripts—£56,000 worth of them. They include such gems as the "Codex Sinaiticus," 1,500 rare editions of Thomas a Kempis's "De Imitatione Christi,' the first books printed for the Paris Sarbonne in 1470, an English psalter of the 12th century, the charters of the Saxon Kings (written in gold letters), early MS. copies of the Ilias and Odyssey, a papyrus MS. of Aristotle's *On the Constitution of Athens,* more than 2,700 other Greek and Latin papyrus MSS.; and, last not least, the oldest document of the Library: a letter tablet of Egypt's King Amenhotep III, written in 1400 B.C.

In spite of these ancient treasures the Library is relatively modern. On January 15, 1759, the first Reading Room of the Museum (which had its nucleus in a private collection of exhibits purchased for Britain in 1753) was opened. The Library consisted mainly of the collections of two men who had both been, at different times and for different reasons, prisoners in the Tower of London: Sir Robert Cotton, an antiquarian who was imprisoned in 1629 because his librarian had lent to a reader a political treatise; and Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, a distinguished statesman, the friend of Pope and Swift and a great collector of books, which he left to Britain.

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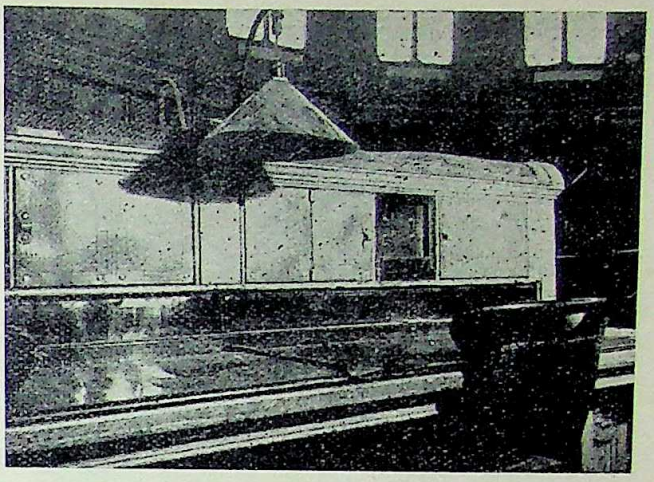
Since then, royal collections made by successive English sovereigns from the time of Henry VII were added; entire libraries or single valuable volumes were sold, bequested, or presented to the British Museum. Small wonder that for the last 200 years many famous men of letters, British and foreign writers, politicians, and philosophers have done their research work or written their books and essays in the Reading Room.

Diversity of Users

Sir Walter Scott had his customary place at this desk, Charles Darwin used to work at another; Thomas Carlyle would dig himself in at his favourite spot, behind a wall of historical works. The Hungarian rebel, Ludwig Kossuth (who described himself as "late Governor of Hungary" in the visitors' book), came to the Reading Room in the same year as his German co-exile, and Socialist leader, Eduard Lasker; here Isaac Disraeli collected the material for his "Curiosities of Literature" in 10 years of research work, and when his son, Benjamin, afterwards Britain's famous statesman, was 16 he was introduced to the British Museum Reading Room by his father. Perhaps Lord Beaconsfield (as Disraeli became) met here his future opponent, Gladstone, who also used the Reading Room.



Desk in the reading-room of the British Museum. Marx and Lenin studied here

Charles Dickens and David Hume, Browning and Irving Ruskin and Thackeray, Macaulay and Meredith—there is hardly a name from the index of English literature of the 19th century that cannot be found in the list of readers.

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MARVELS OF THE COLORADO RIVER CONTROL

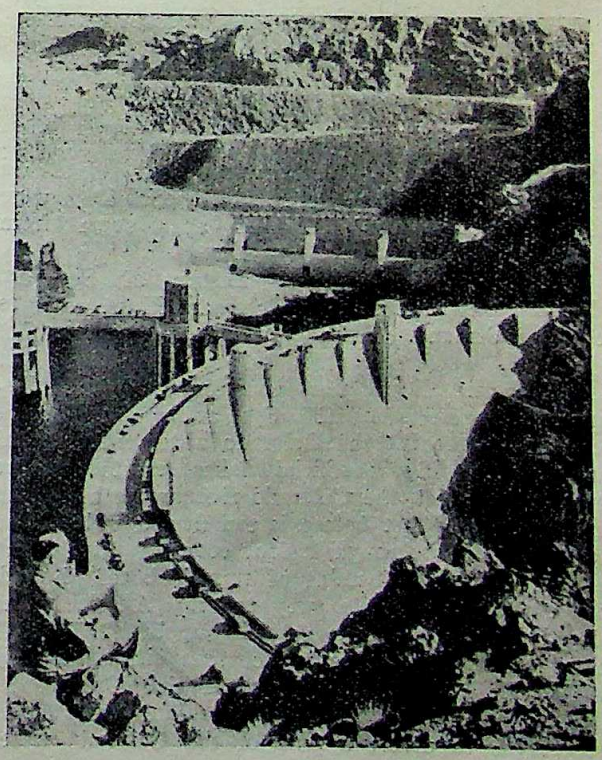
By KAMALESH RAY, M.Sc.

The Colorado River which carries 20,000,000,000 tons of water every year forms one of the major arteries of the arid western United States. Mere existence of resources however is not enough unless they are made available to man. Boulder Dam which stands across the giant river has almost become a part of the surrounding rocks. But it is a story of one decade only: Boulder Dam was conceived in the enactment of Congress in 1928, and the construction was completed by the Bureau of Reclamation in 1935 at a cost of more than $125,000,000. Before the dam was constructed the twenty billion tons of water was useless to the people, rather, it was more dangerous, as it would come off in a wild flash of flood lasting for a short time, then dwindling into a streak of seepage water for the rest of the year.

It was in 1901 that President Theodore Roosevelt brought his message to the Congress, "It is as right for the National Government to make the streams and rivers of the arid regions useful by engineering works for the storage of water as to make useful of the rivers and harbours of the humid regions by engineering of another character." In 1902, the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation was formed which now takes care of seventeen western states through conservation of water resources.

Since then a number of storage and diversion dams have been constructed across the Colorado River to harness its water for man's use in irrigation, generation of electric power and for domestic and recreational uses.

Colorado River received its name for its red muddy colour, but after its wild fury has been controlled its colour has changed from ruddy brown to restful tranquil blue. The entire river is now controlled with a series of beautiful lakes, Lake Mead behind Boulder Dam being the largest—115 miles long



Visitors' automobiles parked along the highway over the 726-foot-high Boulder Dam

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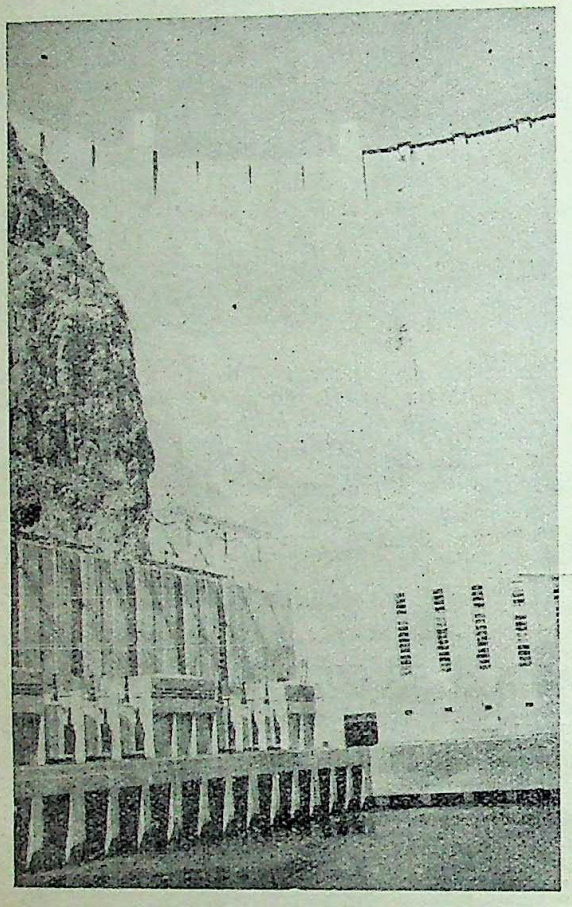
and 590 feet deep at its deepest. The blue lakes with reflections of red mountains form the most picturesque sites which fascinate tourists, artists and photographers.



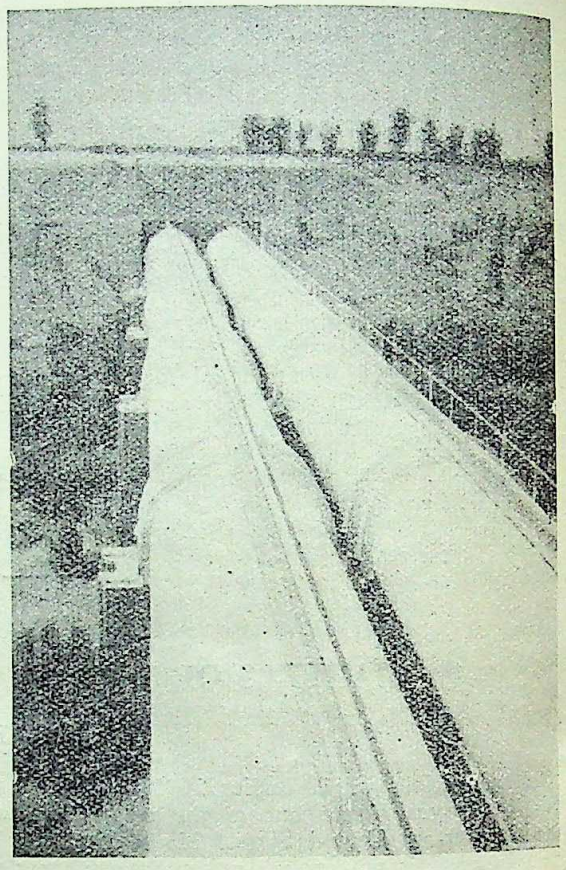
Boulder Dam generating electricity for Southern California

After Boulder Dam was completed other control works on the Colorado River were rendered easier. Two other large ones—Parker Dam and Imperial Dam were built across the river 150 miles apart down from Boulder Dam.

The Metropolitan Water District of Southern California was interested in Colorado River water to meet the demand of the growing areas around Los Angeles. At a cost of $7 220,000 financed by the Water District, Parker Dam was constructed by the Reclamation engineers in 1938. Spectacular giant pumps were installed to lift the Colorado water from Parker Dam through five artificial lakes created on the mountains. In fact, the Colorado river water has to be pumped up 1617 feet before it can flow downhill. The water then flows through 16-foot concrete pipes which are laid through 108 miles of tunnels bored through mountain ranges on its way to Los Angeles. The Colorado River Aqueduct which supplies 165,000,000 gallons of water per day to fourteen cities including Los Angeles, runs 250 miles from Parker Dam.

Imperial Dam which is 2/3 mile long and 31 feet high, serves to divert a part of the Colorado water into All-American Canal which flows 80 miles to irrigate one million acres of land in the Imperial Valley.

Head Gate Rock Dam and Laguna Dam are also



All-American Canal crossing the New River through giant siphon conduits

low long dams on the lower Colorado River.—Way up the river, a dam 288 feet high is being constructed near Granby, Colo, under the Colorado-Big Thompson Project of the Bureau of Reclamation. This will supplement irrigation water for more than half a million acres in the state of Colorado.

Generation and demand of electric power goes hand in hand. Demand for Boulder power has increased ever since. Boulder Dam now produces about 4 1/3 billion kilowatt-hours of electrical energy per year. The power demand has led to heavy draft of water from Lake Mead, and one can see the old water mark on the rocks which stood 67 feet higher than the present water level. Authorities are, therefore, going to build thermal stations to generate electricity and thereby economise in Boulder water.

Nearly half a billion dollars has been spent as a sound national investment to control and utilise the Colorado river. The cost is being repaid gradually every year through the sale of hydro-electric power and increased revenue of the irrigated districts. More significant is the comfort and security in living conditions of the people, and the increase of wealth of the nation.

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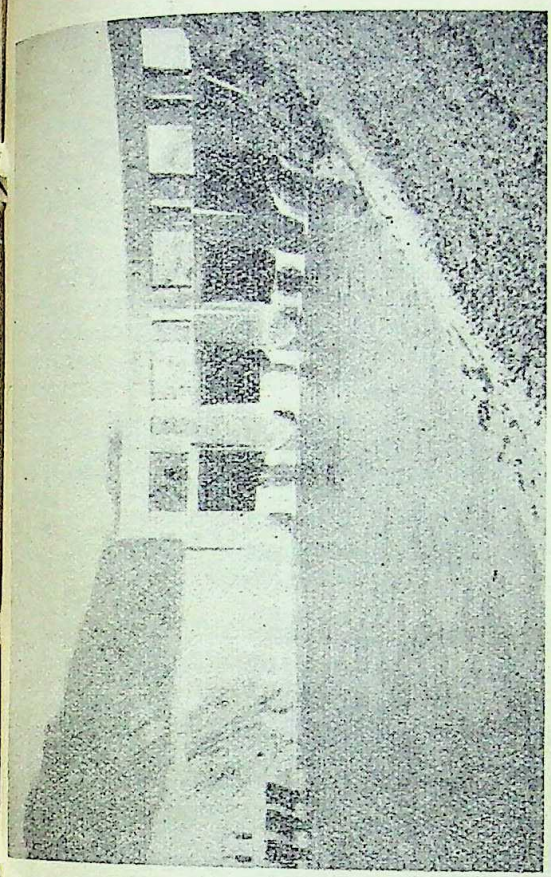
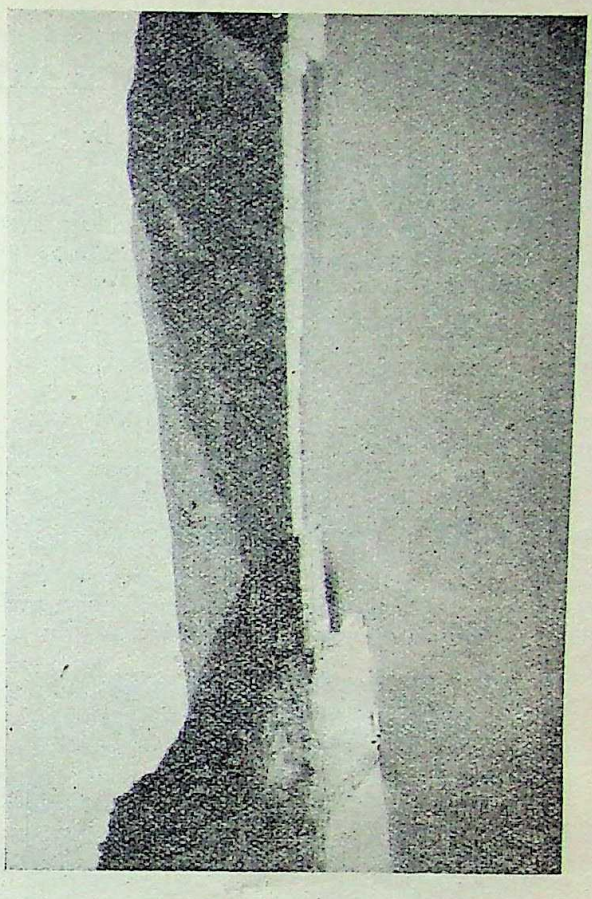
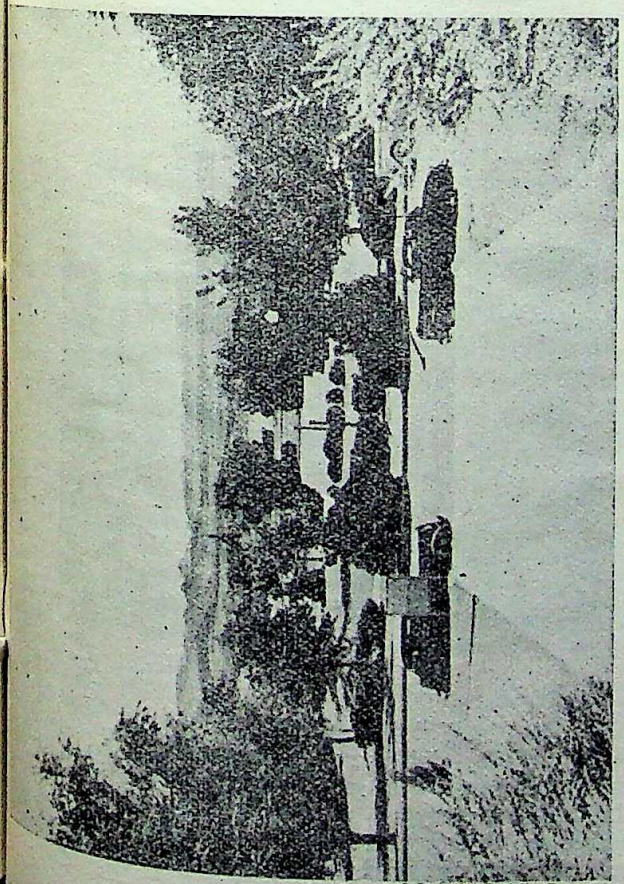


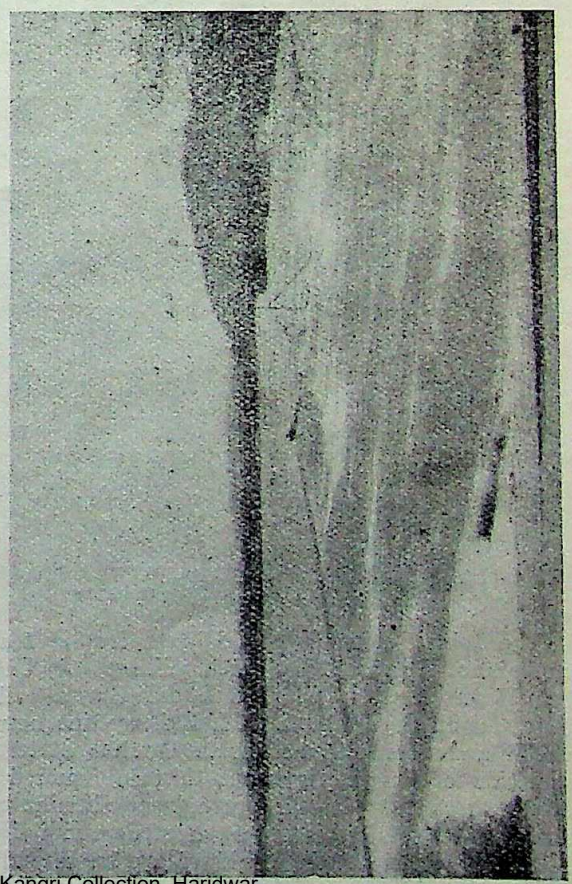
Parker Dam which diverts water into Colorado River Aqueduct and generates 30,000 kwts of electric power



Lake Mead from Boulder Dam crest



Boulder City where the Bureau of Reclamation workmen camped, while building the huge dam



Laguna Dam, 13 feet high, more than ¾ mile long

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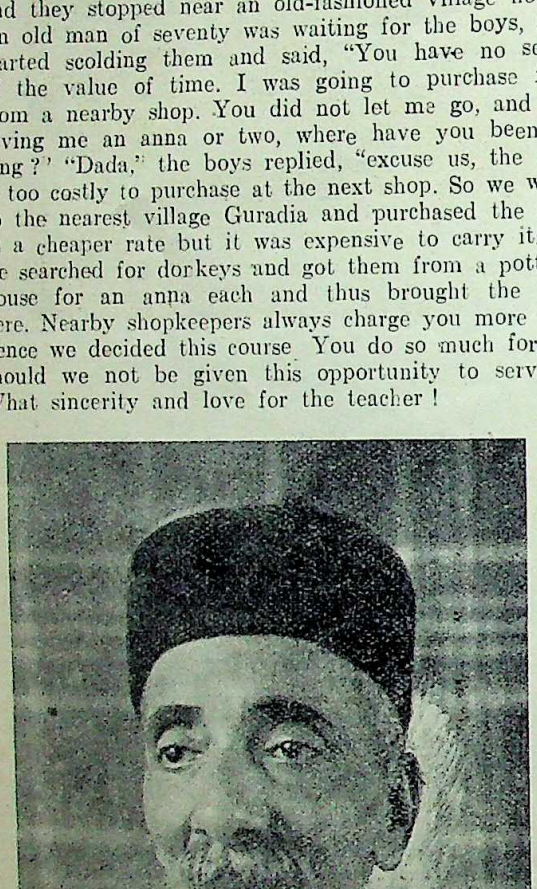
FIRST VILLAGE ART INSTITUTION IN INDIA

By "CHITRA GUPTA"

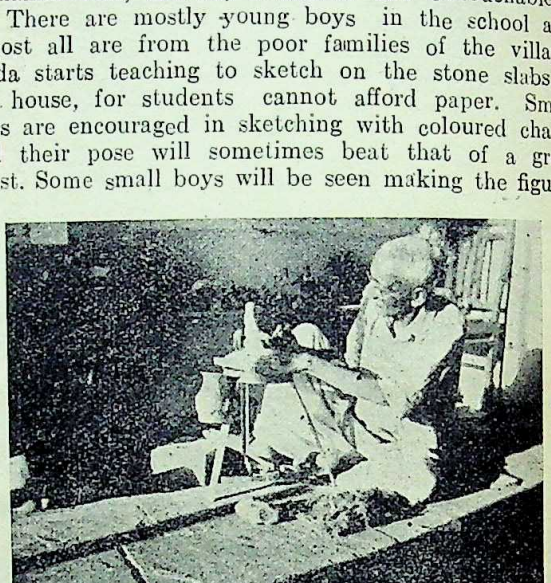
Some boys were bringing fuel on the back of donkeys and they stopped near an old-fashioned village house. An old man of seventy was waiting for the boys, and started scolding them and said, "You have no sense of the value of time. I was going to purchase fuel from a nearby shop. You did not let me go, and for saving me an anna or two, where have you been so long?' "Dada," the boys replied, "excuse us, the fuel is too costly to purchase at the next shop. So we went to the nearest village Guradia and purchased the fuel at a cheaper rate but it was expensive to carry it. So we searched for donkeys and got them from a potter's house for an anna each and thus brought the fuel here. Nearby shopkeepers always charge you more and hence we decided this course You do so much for us, should we not be given this opportunity to serve?" What sincerity and love for the teacher!



Portrait of Trimbakrao Yawalkar

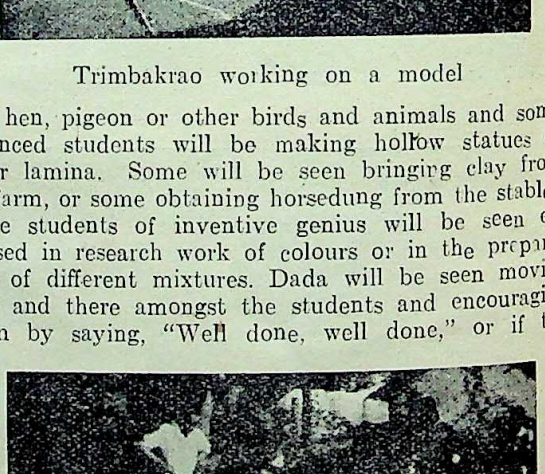
The above-mentioned old man is the teacher Trimbakrao Yawalkar of Suvasra Village Art Centre. The villagers lovably call him "Dada." Suvasra village is situated on the B. B. & C. I. Railway line between Rutlam and Shamgarh and is in Gwalior State. The population of Suvasra is about thirteen hundred and Dada has made it his permanent headquarters. Dada's School of Art is not in a modern building of Bombay or Poona but is an old village house and the students that are receiving education are Bohari, Mohammedans, Hindus, Christians and Untouchables.

There are mostly young boys in the school and almost all are from the poor families of the village. Dada starts teaching to sketch on the stone slabs of the house, for students cannot afford paper. Small boys are encouraged in sketching with coloured chalks and their pose will sometimes beat that of a great artist. Some small boys will be seen making the figures



Trimbakrao working on a model

of a hen, pigeon or other birds and animals and some advanced students will be making hollow statues of paper lamina. Some will be seen bringing clay from the farm, or some obtaining horsedung from the stables. Some students of inventive genius will be seen engrossed in research work of colours or in the preparation of different mixtures. Dada will be seen moving here and there amongst the students and encouraging them by saying, "Well done, well done," or if the



Open air art classes conducted by Trimbakrao

student has spoiled his work, he will scold him and just say, "Why did you hurry so much." There is scarcity of space but on the contrary, students are admitted—as many as would come. You will find a furnace for baking the earthen pottery or statues, the same place for mixing clays. It includes an experimental laboratory and smells of Swadeshi chemicals. Some

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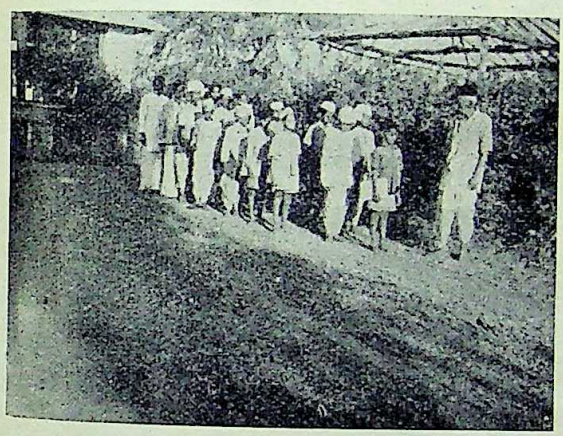
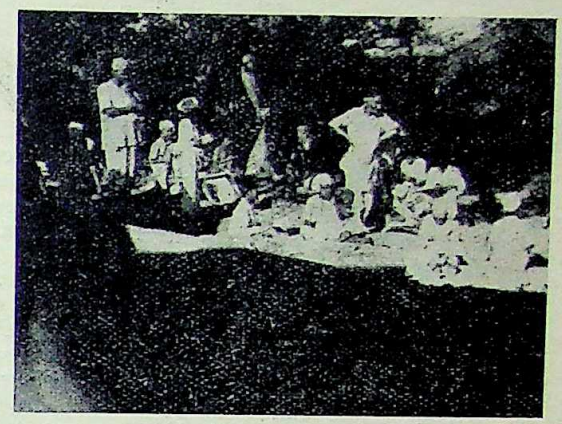
models are kept for drying. During the summer recess, the number of students increase so much that they have to sit in Dada's kitchen, at one corner of the room cooking is done and in the other corner students will be seen sketching or painting. We need not speak of the troubles of smoke or fire of the kitchen for an adjoining room has a furnace fitted with a hand-blower for the purpose of melting, oxidising metals and casting work. Some of the advanced students will be seen interested in casting from originals prepared by them and the flames of the furnace go so high and bright that any visitor who happens to be there would ask, "Oh, is it a school or a school on fire ?" To save the expense of canvas and paper, some advanced students are taught to practise decorative pictures on ordinary walls built of mud and finished by cowdung with the help of the ordinary available colours of red clay (Hidumchi), charcoal and white. It shows an interesting art of village decoration. If any villager wanted any decorative religious paintings drawn in his house, he has to pay nothing but simply to ask Dada and he will be pleased and say, "You have really valued Art. Students will be glad to paint because they will get good practice."



Trimbakrao with his village art students

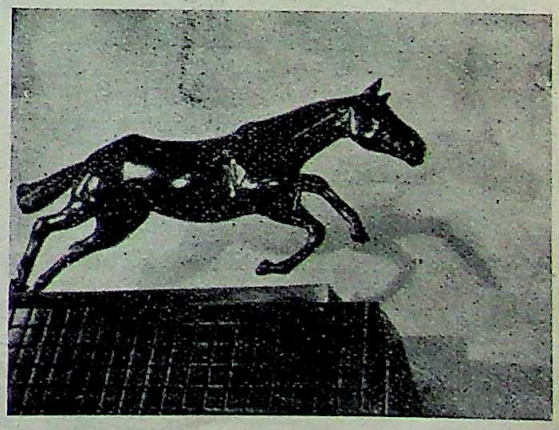
In Dada's School, the technique of teaching and the type of students will be seen to be quite different and new. There is no modern Western furniture and any student can sit wherever he likes, wherever there is room. Dada, a Brahman, does not at all observe caste distinction. In the village, at one time all the Maulavis started a movement against him as he was teaching art to some boys of the Bohari community. They thought this art education is against their religion. But the Amin, one of the educated Boharis, called a meeting of his community and presented a *shawl*, as a token of appreciation for the selfless services being rendered to his community, to Dada, and thus stopped the movement. This incident served as a rebuke to the Maulavis.

There is no fee paid by the students but on the other hand they are supplied with the material they require and they are taught mostly how to prepare the home-made implements and other necessary colours from barks, roots, flowers, metal ores, etc. Brushes are taught to be prepared for wall decoration, from the plants of Ramban, and the purpose of canvas is served by a piece of coarse *dhoti* or *sari* stretched on a frame of canes or pieces of bamboos. Dada's school does not at all depend on any foreign material and almost everything that the student requires is prepared in the school and no expense worth mentioning is incurred by the school and that is why



Trimbakrao giving art lessons. Study from Nature is the best method taught to village talents

the school has been running for so many years. There is no holiday for the school but the holidays are the most important days for the work and practice of the students. School is open practically for twenty-four hours but students studying in Primary schools come in the morning and evening. College students from outside come during the summer vacation. Women and girls take their art instruction after finishing their daily domestic dutes. Thus Dada is twenty-four hours at the disposal of the students and the routine is prepared according to the convenience of the students. It is no wonder that Dada's good nature, selfless interest in teaching, interesting, easy and sincere methods of teaching, and sympathy towards the poor attract the students more and more from the villages and towns.



The Running Horse is a cast done by a student of Trimbakrao

In the Art Centre of Suvasra, the following subjects are taught, painting and sculpture which should be useful in regard to Cottage Art Industry so that students thus taught may make a living out of it among the poverty-stricken people of the villages. They are also taught :

1. To mix cowdung, horsedung, and clays and to bake the articles prepared by these mixtures,

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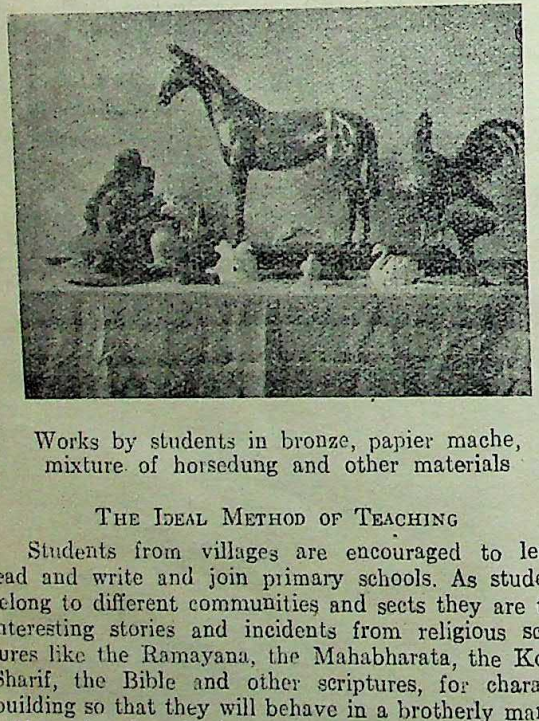
2. The uses of scrap metals in casting to prepare hollow statues, utensils and to prepare other necessary articles.
3. To prepare moulds of clay, plaster, wax, paper-mache and lamina, and learn other ways that would be useful in making copies of the original art works.
4. To prepare hollow statues, boxes, toys and useful things from waste paper in the shape of paper lamina and paper mache.
5. To apply the methods of painting and sculpture in making potteries and porcelain vessels on a cottage industry scale.
6. The art of baking the different mixtures so as to make use of them in different mediums.
7. The character and property of different Swadeshi chemicals found in nature so that students could develop their inventive energies in order to prepare swadeshi materials that may be required in reviving cottage art industry and prepare works that could be useful to the village public and will be within the easy reach of the village folk.
8. To experiment on colours and to prepare some of the necessary colours, brushes, etc.
9. Stone-carving, and making stone images, statues and useful articles.
10. Wood-carving, and making *murties*, statues and useful articles of wood.

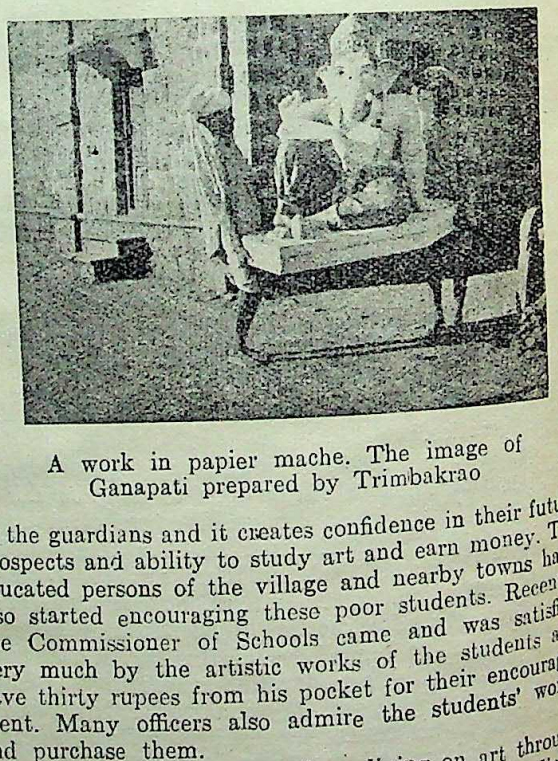
Dada has an inborn love for the poor and this school is meant for them so that they may be able to find out ways of livelihood and in his experiments he has devoted his life of seventy years. The Art created with the help of foreign materials is naturally dearer, hence he has been experimenting to create works of art through the materials like wastes, scraps, rags, and the materials abundantly available in nature like horsedung, cowdung, clays, etc. Naturally the works created with the help of such cheap materials will be cheaper and will be patronised by the village folk. With this idea, he has been teaching the students in order to enable them to be self-sufficient in the villages.

Students are seen selling their works of Art in the village on the weekly Bazar day. Crowds of village folk gather around the best students' works which are sold out for a pice or an anna or two. Students of small age are the salesmen of their own works and the best student who sells his stuff early goes to another student's shop and says in a tone of pride, "I have sold out all my works of Art and got more money than you. Boys are telling that you are simply sitting idly. Why don't you work hard like me."

Students earn either a rupee or two on the weekly day. As they are from the poor and the low class family this income gives great pleasure to the parents



Works by students in bronze, papier mache, mixture of horsedung and other materials



A work in papier mache. The image of Ganapati prepared by Trimbakrao

The Ideal Method of Teaching

Students from villages are encouraged to learn, read and write and join primary schools. As students belong to different communities and sects they are told interesting stories and incidents from religious scriptures like the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Koran Sharif, the Bible and other scriptures, for character building so that they will behave in a brotherly manner with each other. Dada's ways of expression in telling these stories are interesting, full of love and sincerity. They make an abiding impression on the minds of the students at a young age. He prefers students of young age so that his teaching may have lifelong influence on them and be very effective in the development of the students' career. The first lessons that are taught in art education are to concentrate on work patiently and to increase the capacity for hard work. The teacher wins the heart of the students by his good and lovable nature and self-sacrifice. His activities are an institution by themselves and produce a good effect on the minds of his students.

or the guardians and it creates confidence in their future prospects and ability to study art and earn money. The educated persons of the village and nearby towns have also started encouraging these poor students. Recently the Commissioner of Schools came and was satisfied very much by the artistic works of the students and gave thirty rupees from his pocket for their encouragement. Many officers also admire the students' works and purchase them.

It is not possible, to make a living on art through the cottage art industry on the above-mentioned lines, for those who do not believe in this programme. This sale of art objects of the Suvasra Village Art Centre will be an eye-opener to them.

During this period of transition, when the use of art is only for the rich, Dada has to bear with insults and remonstrances from the guardians or parents. They often say, "Dada, are you going to starve these boys by teaching Art?" It has no effect on him. His experience and life-long study of art has convinced him that there must be a revival of art through Cottage

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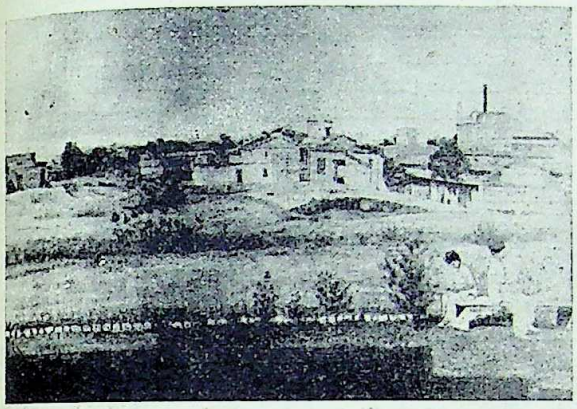
Art Industry, and to find scope for the village talent, he has started imparting art education, so that people may learn the economics of Arts and Crafts. His method of teaching is to develop creative and inventive genius of the village talent, and try to create a market in the village for the works of Art. With this idea in view he has made his permanent headquarters in the village of Suvasra. There are



The landscape of Suvasra painted by Trimbakrao

Government Art Institutions and other art societies in big cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Delhi in the form of big buildings, and there is also an ideal Art Institution at Bolpur, Santiniketan, but all these facilities of Art education are meant for the middle class and the rich, but what for the poor of the villages? Do they not have artistic talent? But Suvasra Village Art Centre is an institution for the poor of the villages. His sole aim of Art education is to make this art self-supporting in the cottages through experiments in Swadeshi materials for this purpose. Therefore, the object is to serve the poor through the medium of Art education at this centre.

Fourteen years ago. Dada prepared a *murti* of ten feet carved on white stone. He worked continuously for three years and it has become a religious work of art of a high standard. The people collected from a pice to ten thousand rupees and built a beautiful temple and installed the *murti*. Dada had in his mind to do some gardening work as his evening exercise, but a well nearby was essential but he had no funds. Shortage of funds did not discourage him and an old man like him started to dig the well and he thought that by working continuously and regularly he could complete it in four or five years. But students came running to him and started helping him and in two months' time with the village young men's help, who came to help them, the ditch was 20 feet deep. When they were digging in the evening hours, labourers came to contribute their quota and in three months more, the ditch turned into a well. For fourteen years Dada has been doing gardening as a sort of his evening exercise, and one will be struck with wonder to see a beautiful garden around the temple. To add to the beauty of this place, an American gentleman donated and sent from California (U.S.A.) plants of fruits and flowers which are decorating the spot of this public place of the village.

Once a farmer asked the village boys who were on the way to neighbouring hills, "Are you going to die on these hills?" The boys straightway replied, 'There is no more honourable death than this for the cause of our Guru." The farmer was surprised and the boys went their way. After four or five hours' continuous walking, they brought a bag of particular clay and kept it before Dada and said "Dada, is this the particular clay that you wanted for which your experiments of making crucibles and casting were held up?" Dada at once got angry and replied, "I did not ask you to go up these dangerous hills as you are very young and that is why I did not tell you of this work. No one knows, something worse might have happened!" The boys answered politely, "At this old age you should not go to these hills and to avoid your troublesome journey, we went there without letting you know. We would have honoured death in serving a Guru like you. We were not afraid of death and that is why we went and got the thing we wanted for you."

It will be seen from the conversation that the relation between the teacher and the taught is based on love, sympathy and sacrifice.

Students of the Art Centre of Suvasra sell their art-crafts in the weekly bazar

Unless and until Cottage Art Industry is revived, there can be no supplementary way of earning for the local talents. The main Art Centre is based on village economics. A careful study of its methods based on practical experience and years of experiments will be useful for the patriotic people interested in the village uplift work.

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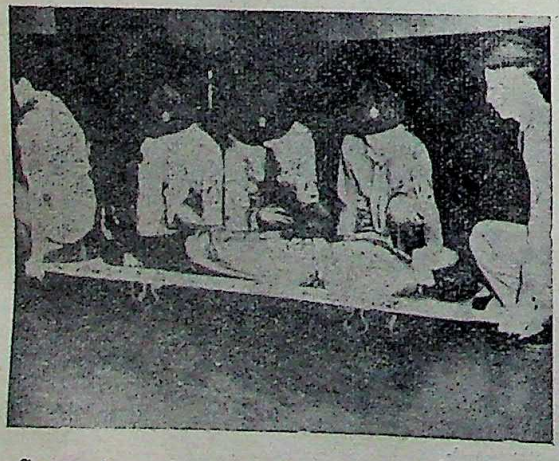
U. S. BOY AND GIRL SCOUTS

Lord Baden-Powell, while an officer of the British Constabulary in South Africa, devised a program which was designed to teach men the fundamental qualities of dependability, initiative, resourcefulness, self-

Signalling is an art with which the scouts learn to communicate at a distance

reliance and co-operation. It was so successful that Baden-Powell consented to adapt his plan to boys' needs. He called his plan "Boy Scouts," and the organization—to help make the rising generation into good citizens—was formed in England in 1908. In 1910, it was granted a Royal Charter of Incorporation, being recognized as a "non-military public service body."

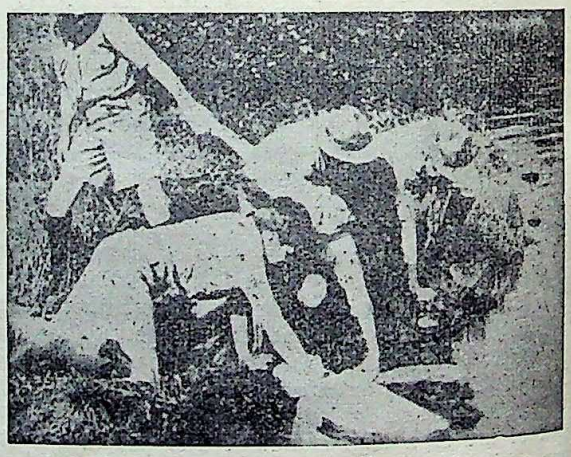


Scouts learn how to carry an injured person on their forearms to a stretcher and then properly place him in an ambulance

An American publisher, William D. Boyce of Chicago, visiting London, was so impressed by the courteous and helpful behaviour of a Boy Scout that he was instrumental in bringing the movement to America. The Boy Scouts of America was incorporated on February 8, 1910.

Ernest Thompson Seton, who in 1902 founded "The Woodcraft Indian" became Chief Scout. Daniel Carter Beard (known as "Uncle Dan" to the boys) who was born in Cincinnati in 1850 and died in 1942 at the age of 92—he was organizer of "The Sons of Daniel Boone" and "Boy Pioneers"—became Scout Commissioner, along with Colonel Peter Bomus and General William Verbeck. Mr. Colin H. Livingstone was President from 1910 to 1925.

There are nearly two million Scouts in the United States and since its formation more than 11,400,000 men and boys have been associated with the movement. The Girl Scouts has a membership of 600,000. The benefits of scouting are available to all boys and girls in the country and activities include life saving, first aid, signalling and practice in useful trade and crafts.



Scouts are taught the best way to rescue and assist a person in distress from the water

During the war Scouts, boys and girls, formed an important body of volunteer workers. Some of their activities included collection of scrap, messenger service, farming and harvesting of vegetable and other farm products, Red Cross service and visiting nurses in hospitals and orphanages.

On joining the organization the neophyte takes the Scout Oath, which states :

"On my honor, I will do my best—
To do my duty to God and my country, and
To obey the Scout Law ;
To help others at all times ;
To keep myself physically strong, mentally awake and morally straight."

Boys 9 to 11 years are called Cubs. They belong to a Den, have weekly meetings under the guidance of a Den Mother. A Scout acts as Den Chief. Boys 12 years and over are called Scouts. From Tenderfoot, a Scout progresses to a Second Class Scout, a First

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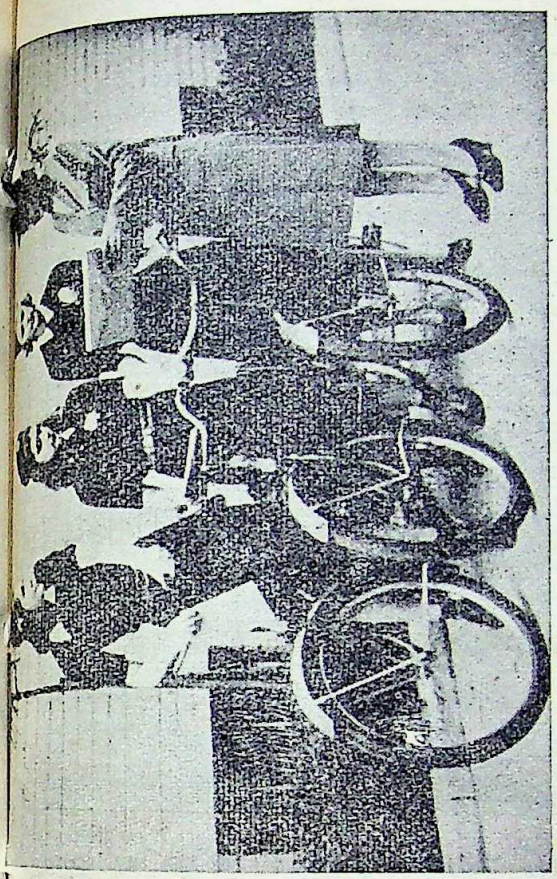
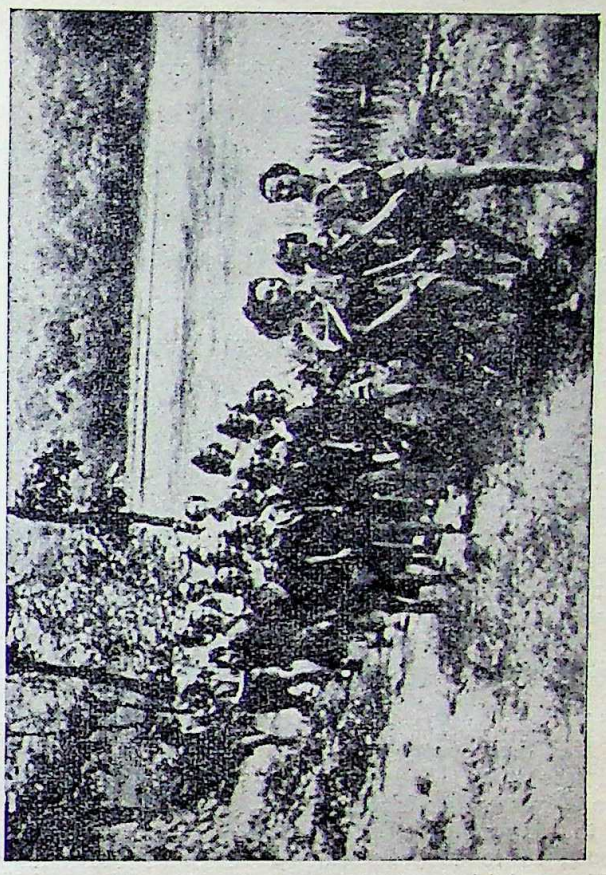
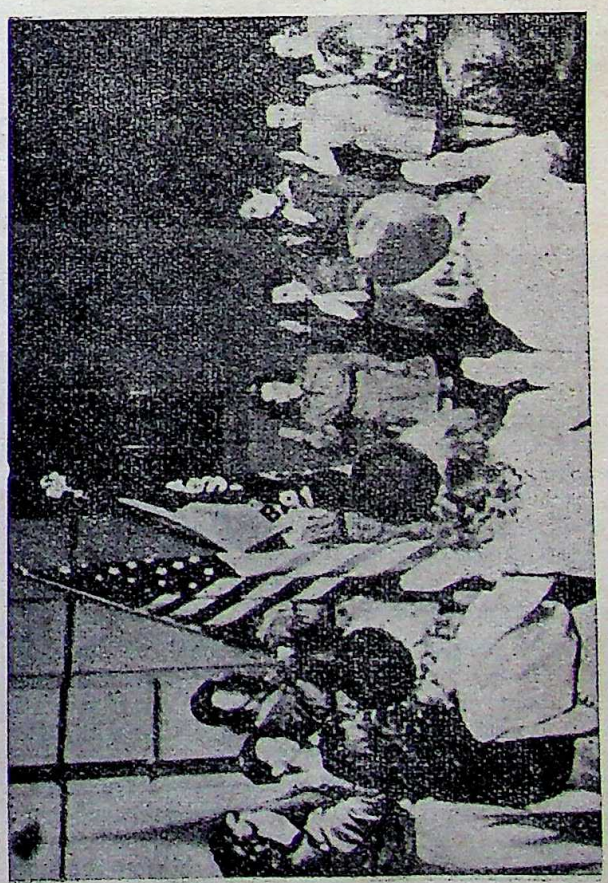


Receiving orders from a Girl Scout leader, the bicycle messengers are ready to speed away with their communications



Hiking along the camp trail in the early morning is only one small part of the busy life of a day at camp

During the war Scouts provided voluntary help in many ways, including the collection of scrap



At the beginning of the Scout meeting, the pledge to the flag is given and also the Scout Oath

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Class Scout, and continues to the ranks of Star, Life and finally Eagle Scout.

Explorer Scouting, for older boys, includes mounted patrols, exploration trips, canoe trips, trail building and forestry projects.

Sea Scouting, designed for boys who have access to water, and are interested in seamanship, includes special training for emergencies on land and water.

Air Scouts is a more recent branch of the movement and is designed to help youths acquire knowledge of rapidly developing aeronautical industries.

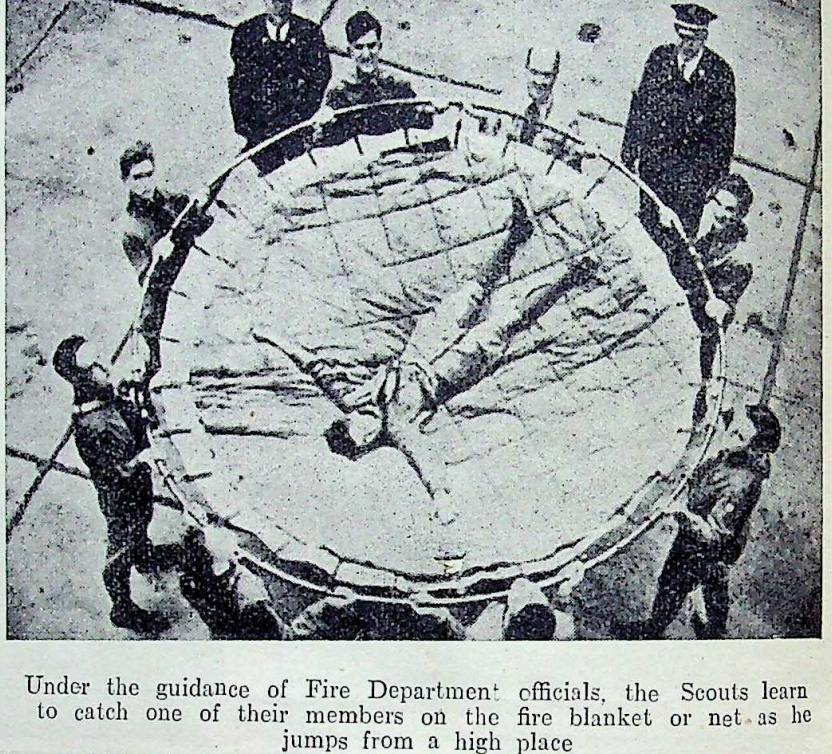
Girl Scouting is a sort of sister organization to the Boy Scouts, founded in England in 1908 on the principles and plan developed by Baden-Powell. It was brought to the United States by Mr. Juliette Low in 1912, founded in her home city, Savannah, Georgia.

The Girl Scouts of the United States are members of the World Association of Girl Guides.

Girl Scout groups are classified into three : Brownie Scouts, 7 to 10 years old ; Intermediates, 10 to 15 years old ; and Senior Scouts, 15 to 18 years old.

The activities of Girl Scouts are many, including nature study, woodcraft, health, first aid, games, music, cooking, home making, civics, etc. Wing Scouting prepares older girls for nation service or jobs in practise cooking for groups ranging from 30 to 300 people, and are thus prepared to get a meal on emergency equipment, with improvised stoves and a few utensils.

One of the important aims of Girl Scouts and Girl Guides is to foster co-operation and better understanding among girls in many lands.—*USIS.*



Under the guidance of Fire Department officials, the Scouts learn to catch one of their members on the fire blanket or net as he jumps from a high place

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CLIMATE OF CALCUTTA AND HUMAN ENERGY

By Prof. P. C. CHAKRAVARTY, M.A.

The present great Calcutta comprises Calcutta Presidency town, Cossipore, Chitpore, Satpukur, Paikpara, Belgachia, Maniktola, Beliaghata, Tangra, Entally, Beniapukur, Ballygunge, Bhowanipore, Alipore, Kalighat, Chetla, kidderpore, the Dock area of Garden Reach and Port and Canals. The present area is 41·75 sq. miles and is divided into 4 Corporation Districts in which there are 32 wards.

Calcutta is situated on the east bank of the river Hughli. It is about 80 miles from the Bay. The city is 20 ft. above the mean sea-level. Average normal pressure, reduced to 32 °F, is 29·77 inches while the mean pressures in 1938 and in 1939 are 29·75 inches and 29·76 inches respectively. Monthly pressure graphs of 1938 and 1939 as well as monthly normal pressure graph indicate that in all cases pressure in January and pressure in February are the same, the highest pressure being attained in January. The lowest pressure of the year is met with in June-July. The pressure difference being ·48 inches. The graphs also state that in all cases, pressure decreases slowly from January to July and there is an increase in pressure for the rest of the year. The pressure graph of 1939 shows a very little departure from the average normal. (Plate 1)

The study of the temperature graphs, drawn of 1938, 1939 and of normal, reveals that the month of December registered the minimum temperatures in 1938 and 1939, although the average normal minimum temperature is attained in January. Again the maximum temperature of the year, as shown by the graphs, is attained in two cases (1938, 1939) in the month of April, while the normal maximum temperature is in May. There is, of course, in all cases, a tendency of secondary maximum temperature of lower strength in September. The rise of temperature from February to March is abrupt, followed by a slow increase of temperature in the following months up to June. There is subsequently a decrease in temperature from June to

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August. The slight increase in temperature in September is followed by steep falls in November and December.

There is an inverse relation between temperature and pressure, that is, when temperature is high, pressure is low. Hence, it follows that as maximum temperature of the year is attained in April-May, the pressure, according to theory, must have been the lowest in the same period. But the graphs reveal that minimum pressure is attained in June-July.

This anomaly can be explained when humidity of the atmosphere is taken into consideration. Relative humidity curves of 1938 and 1939 show great departure from the normal curve from January to April. In 1938, relative humidity decreased from January to February, then there was an increase in March followed by a slight decrease in April. The relative humidity from April to July was in the increase while from July to December there was a decrease. In 1939, relative humidity decreases from January to March, subsequently an increase is followed up to July; the decrease in relative humidity was not so appreciable from July to October. But in November and December, decrease was appreciable, the percentage of moisture present being higher than that in 1938. As regards the curve representing the normal relative humidity, the important feature is that the decrease in percentage from January to February is followed by an increase up to July. The curve undergoes a slight change from July to September showing a decrease in percentage of humidity up to August and then an increase in September. Afterwards the 1938 relative humidity curve coincides with that of 1939 in subsequent months.

Now, due to the presence of moisture, air gets lighter. There is the upward movement of moisture-containing air. Hence, pressure becomes the lowest in June-July, when the upward thrust is the highest as the relative humidity reaches the maximum percentage for the place. In April, maximum temperature is attained, but the relative humidity is less than that in January. Moisture-content has increased to a great extent and again actual moisture present in the atmosphere is far from saturating it. There is an upward thrust due to the expansion of the volume of air at the surface and the addition of moisture; hence the pressure is in the decrease. Another interesting feature in the temperature and relative humidity of the place is the general fall and rise up to September. But these effects have little influence on pressure condition which is in the increase from July to December.

The fall of normal temperature from May to August and the secondary rise in September can easily be explained if the rainfall graphs of the place be studied. Rainfall and temperature graphs of Plates 2 and 3 are drawn for a period of 19 years from 1924 to 1944 (excluding 1936, 1933 and including normal). The graph showing the normal rainfall and temperature would throw more light on the study of the climate. Almost all temperature curves are of the same type. There is a general tendency of double maximum temperature. Primary maximum temperature is attained in most cases in May, the secondary maximum being in September. The minimum temperature in all cases is above 50 °F and is attained in January; the annual range varies between 20 °F and 25 °F. The rainfall curves enlighten that occasional showers in March and April register a few inches of rainfall. May also witnesses very little rain. Actual rainy season breaks in June and lasts up to September, the maximum being in July-August. October records as much rain as in March-April. There is almost no rain in November and in the first half of December. The latter half of December and the whole of January often record a few inches of rain. Rain from June to September is quite natural as the atmosphere is almost saturated with moisture. Windroses from May to October, as shown in Plate 4, explain the causes of rain in that period. During that period wind is conspicuously southerly. Number of winds from the south is almost, in each of these months, the highest and those blowing from the south-east and south-west directions come next. During this period, the northerly wind is absent. It reappears in September. In October, the number of

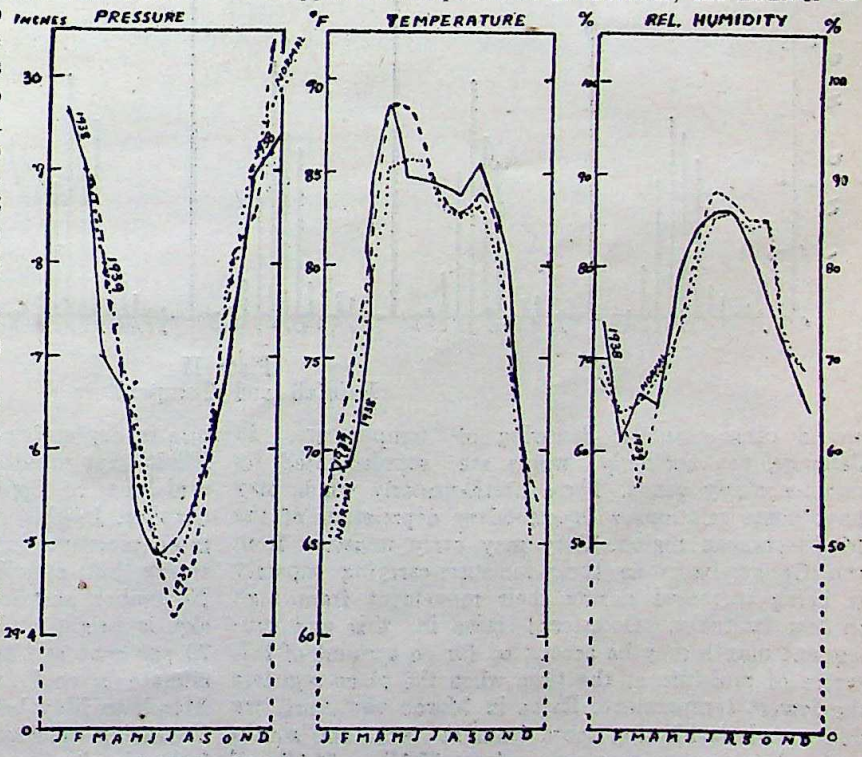

Plate I

1938 ———— 1939 - - - - - Normal . . . . .

winds is almost uniformly distributed in all cardinal directions.

Now, the Bay is in the south and the wind that blows from that direction is naturally laden with moisture. Condensation begins as the moisture-laden air loses temperature during its latitudinal movement and atmospheric ascent due to the release of pressure in this locality. This fall of temperature easily makes the atmosphere supersaturated for precipitation in the form of rain. The dry wind of the north suggests that there can be no rain in November and December. This

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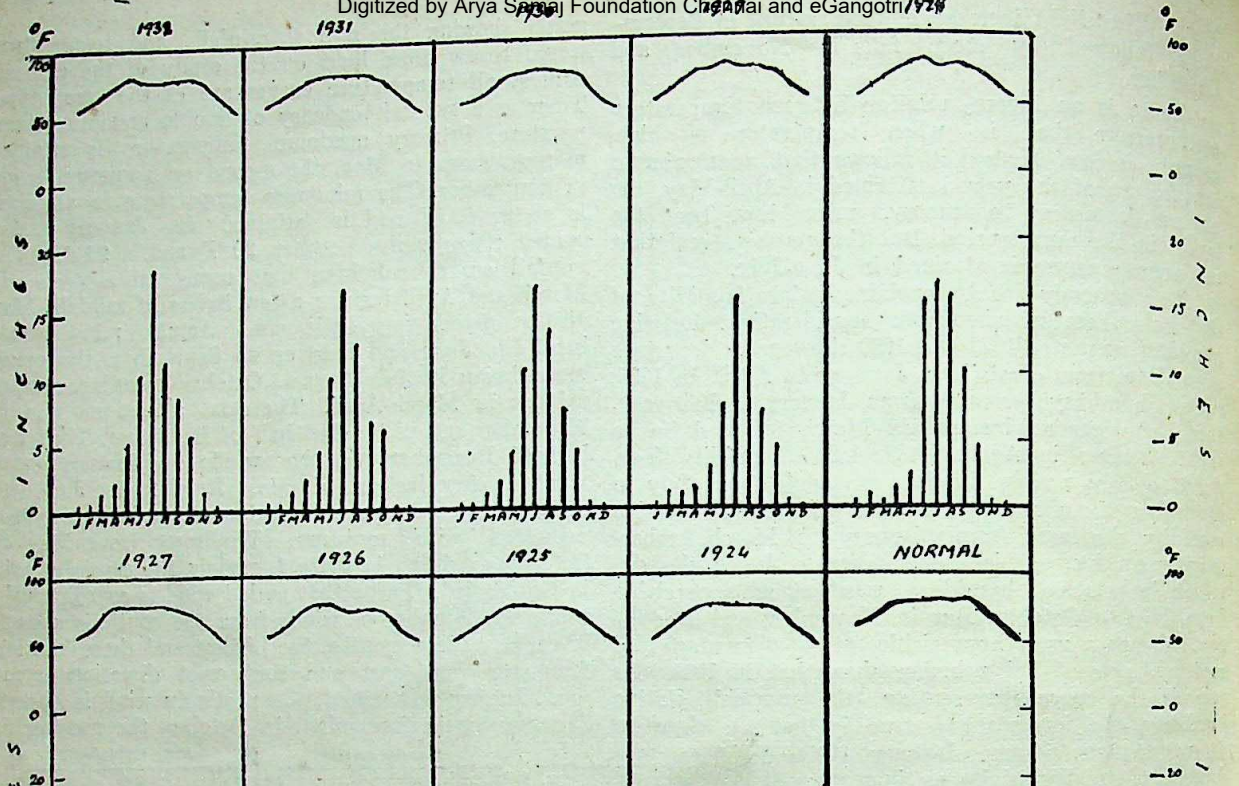

Plate II
Rainfall and Temperature

would cause simply lowering of temperature. In January, the northerly winds are supplemented by north-westerly winds. These north-westerly winds may have some relations with secondary depressions of the Mediterranean region. They may carry moisture from the Ganges-Basin as their moisture-carrying capacity is being increased during their movement from high to low latitudes. Occasional rains in this and subsequent month may be accounted for on account of this excess of moisture at the time when the place registers the lowest temperature. Rains in March and April are due to winds blowing more from the west and south-west, when temperature ranges from 80 °F to 85 °F and Relative Humidity 65 to 68 per cent. In these months, rains are more frequent in the afternoon, when all conditions for precipitation are satisfied. The sun is vertical to the Tropic Cancer—(23·½N) on the 14th of June. Hence due to unequal distribution of land and water, the thermal equator over India must be more inland. This suggests that Calcutta must have its maximum temperature in June-July. Observed data show that the maximum temperature is attained in April. There is a gradual fall of temperature in June and July. This may be due to both the rain-fall and excess humidity of the atmosphere. Both of these can lower the atmospheric temperature. The subsequent rise of temperature in September may be due to the decrease of rainfall in that month. Hence, the rainy season lasts from mid-June to September and lasts sometimes up to October. In this rainy season, due to the presence of more moisture in the atmosphere, the climate is not trying but stimulating. Cold season starts from November and lasts up to mid-February. When the sky is bright and clear, relative humidity is about 70 per cent and temperature is over 60 °F. Hence, the climate is cool and enjoyable. Summer months from March to May bear the highest temperature and ever-increasing relative humidity. People become more lethargic due to heavy perspiration. The Climograph (Plate 4) suggests invigorating climate from October to February, during which period Europeans are quite at home in Calcutta. In this period Europeans entertain out-door games, *viz.*, Cricket, Polo, Hockey, Rugby, Golf, Tennis, etc. Activity in general, for all classes of people becomes accelerated in this period. Mind can be concentrated on more critical and complex matters in this period. Teaching in this term becomes more effective. Again due to atmospheric clearness, some of the scientific experiments, especially those with electricity, can be performed with brilliant results.

In summer, daily routine-works are carried on

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with much difficulty and sometimes by creating an artificial soothing climatic environment. Mental activity is greatly handicapped and to such an extent that all activities in educational institutions are stopped for at least two months. Unfortunately examinees have to labour hard in this unfavourable climate as all examinations take place from March to July. It is more or less enervating. Rainy season, though not invigorating, is more or less stimulating. In this period, among other activities, fishing in the Hooghly attracts a large class of fishermen from the 24-Parganas District.

In Calcutta, southerly and northerly winds are predominant. Winds, insolation and moisture of the atmosphere make three seasons (Winter, Summer and Rainy) conspicuous. The retreating Monsoon is not so much felt. Here the effective rain-fall and sensible temperature are of no use to agricultural purposes. It does not mean that in this Great Calcutta there is no land for cultivation; in other words, all lands are not occupied by architects or are not available for cultivation and there is a fair acreage of cultivable waste. The Maidan, the Ballygunge and Dhakuria Lake area, and also added areas of the 24-Parganas District maintain fallow lands cultivable but not cultivated. "Grow More Food" is a pressing need of the day; those fields if cultivated, would yield good market-gardens and even cereals. But all those are vacant lands and favourable climatic conditions are thus being wasted. Such a waste is due to the commercial and industrial tendencies of the City.

Calcutta is a cosmopolitan City. Here men from almost all parts of the civilised world reside. This shows that its climate is suitable for habitation of people of different zones. Population figures from 1881 to 1941 show that people are constantly increasing in numbers. This increase is due partially to excess births over deaths within the City and partially to emigration that may be considered as if it caused a floating population. Birth-rate of Calcutta reasembles that of Italy and Netherlands. Palestine has

Plate III

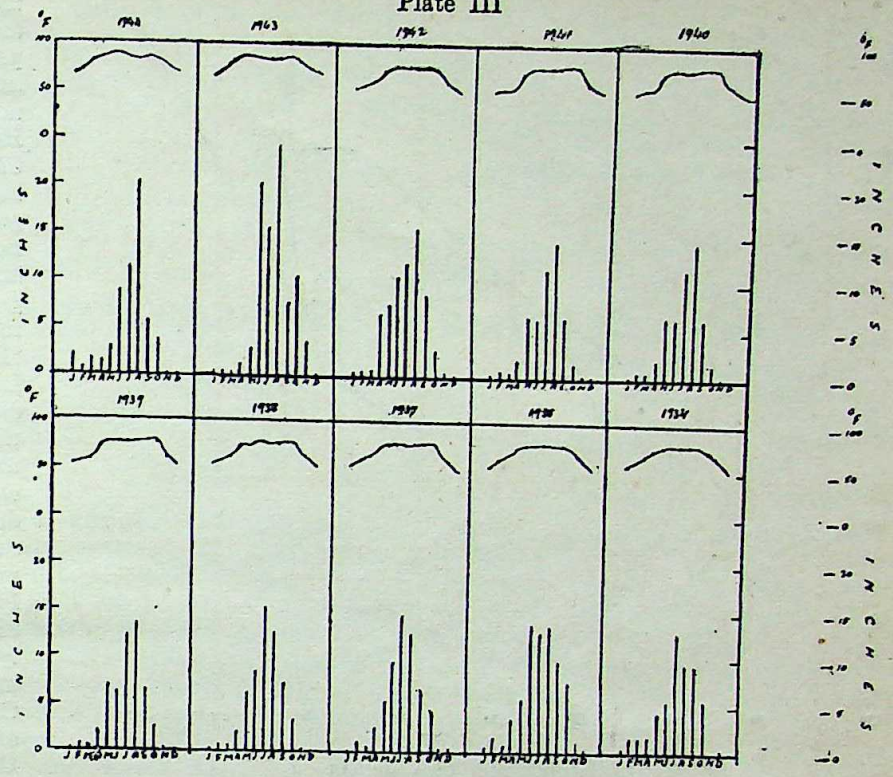
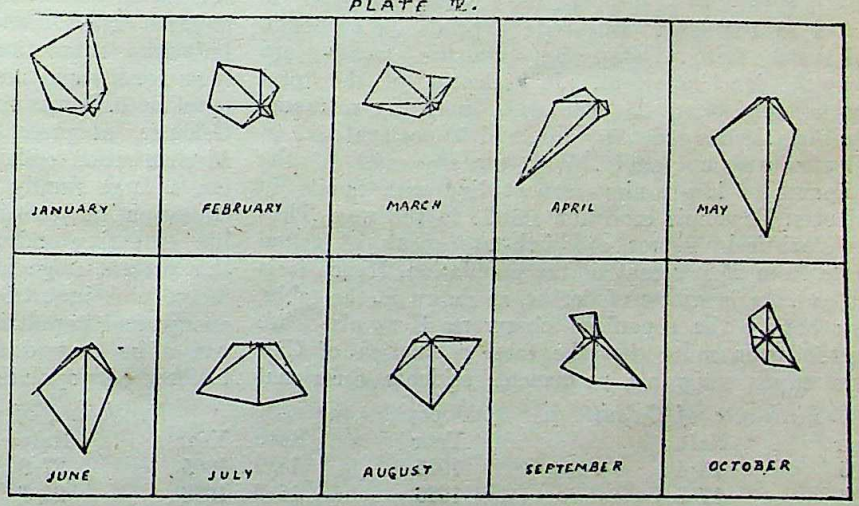
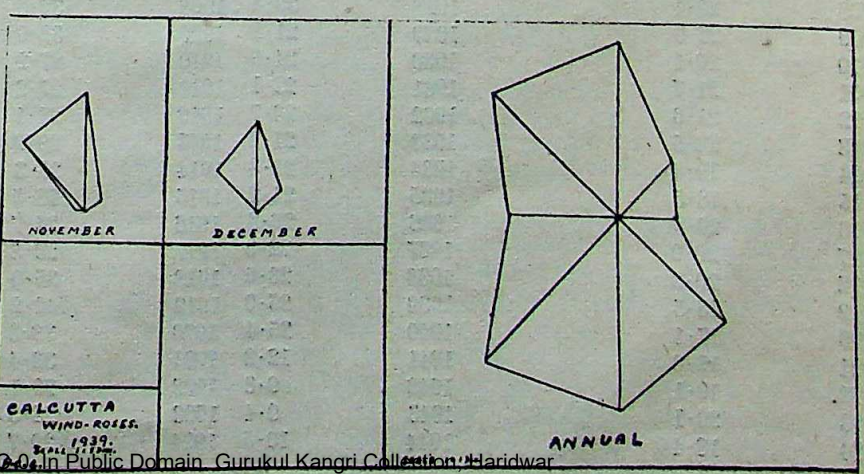


PLATE IV.





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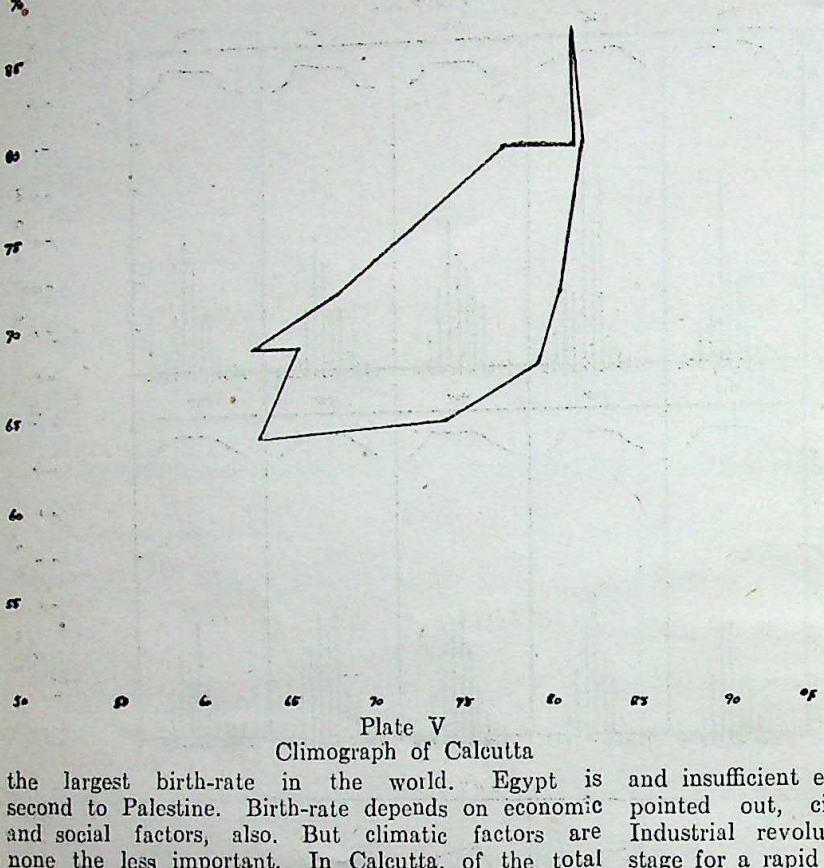

Plate V
Climograph of Calcutta

the largest birth-rate in the world. Egypt is second to Palestine. Birth-rate depends on economic and social factors, also. But climatic factors are none the less important. In Calcutta, of the total population, about 25 per cent due to economic conditions, lead a sedentary life, and 50 per cent live in Calcutta without family. Wage-earners, most of the emigrants of low-earnings cannot live with family in Calcutta. Economic condition stands in the way. Thus the statistical figures of birth-rate speak of actual births from 25 per cent of the population. Hence it is not bad. Again excess of deaths, as shown in the table, may horrify the superficial observers. Here also we must bear in mind that the total population of Calcutta means emigrants, permanent residents, occasional wage-earners and service-men. Hence, population is still in the increase in spite of excess deaths per mille. Taking the total population into consideration the death-rate cannot be considered too high. Huntington in his *Civilisation and Climate* has stated that temperature, humidity and variability are of the greatest importance in affecting health and energy. According to him, an ideal climate for human progress bears an average temperature ranging between 40 °F and 70 °F. moderately high humidity, rainfall at all seasons and a succession of cyclonic disturbances for moderating the temperature. Calcutta cannot claim to possess such an ideal climate. But its temperature is endurable, humidity excepting that of summer months is moderately high, rainfall is well-distributed from 4 to 10 months, annual rainfall being over 60" and occasional cyclones especially during the changes of predominant wind directions pass over the City to cool down the temperature and to improve the sultry weather. Calcutta does not possess bad health and insufficient energy. As Fairgrieve and others have pointed out, civilisation is a control over energy. Industrial revolution gives an impetus in the first stage for a rapid increase in population without regard to climate. In its final phase there may be a decline. Calcutta, at present, may be in the first phase. Mechanisation endangers economic security when rearing a large family becomes less advocated. Again education makes the masses to be satisfied with a life of eating and bearing limited children. Hence at this present stage when the city is advancing in commerce and industries, influence of climate on human energy and population cannot be easily estimated, nor can it be regarded as the primary factor for the increase of population.

*Birth-rate of Calcutta per 1,000 population**

Year	Rate	Year	Rate
1905	18·4	1925	18·9
1906	17·7	1926	16·9
1907	19·1	1927	15·5
1908	20·1	1928	20·4
1909	22·9	1929	21·1
1910	20·1	1930	21·9
1911	21·7	1931	22·1
1912	21·6	1932	20·7
1913	20·5	1933	21·8
1914	19·4	1934	21·8
1915	18·5	1935	21·2
1916	20·9	1936	26·3
1917	20·9	1937	22·9
1918	20·3	1938	23·6
1919	18·5	1939	25·0
1920	17·1	1940	25·4
1921	19·0	1941	12·2
1922.	19·1	1942	9·3
1923	20·1	1943	9·4
1924	18·4	1944	10·5

*Death-rate of Calcutta per 1,000 population**

Year	Rate	Year	Rate
1905	37·9	1925	32·7
1906	25·7	1926	34·7
1907	37·6	1927	34·1
1908	32·6	1928	31·6
1909	32·9	1929	30·6
1910	27·2	1930	28·9
1911	27·2	1931	25·5
1912	28·1	1932	25·0
1913	29·2	1933	29·4
1914	28·3	1934	28·7
1915	28·5	1935	28·5
1916	24·7	1936	32·0
1917	23·8	1937	28·8
1918	35·0	1938	29·6
1919	42·2	1939	28·5
1920	33·3	1940	29·7
1921	33·4	1941	14·0
1922	29·1	1942	12·5
1923	28·5	1943	28·32
1924	29·7	1944	24·7

* Corporation of Calcutta—*Year Book.*

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POPULATION OF CALCUTTA

(*From Census Reports and Tables*)

1872—6,33,009	(25 Wards, Port and Canals)	1911—8,96,067	"
1881—6,02,307	"	1921—9,07,851	"
1891—6,82,305	"	1931—11,63,771	(Including 32 Wards, Port and Canals)
1901—8,47,796	"		11,63,771—2,40,395=9,23,376
		1941—21,08,891	21,08,891—4,45,564=16,63,327

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COMPENSATION FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S SERVICES

BY DR. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), PH.D. (Lond.),
University of Dacca

I

SINCE the beginning of this year the question of termination of what are known as the Secretary of State's services has been taken up in right earnest between New Delhi and Whitehall. As a sequel to protracted correspondence between the Interim Government and His Majesty's Government, Mr. Arthur Henderson, the Under-Secretary of State for India, came over to Delhi at the beginning of January and had a series of talks with Sardar Patel, the Home Member of the Interim Government, for about a fortnight. At the end of the talks it was reported that no agreement had been reached between the two points of view of the two Governments. Since then further correspondence must have taken place and at the time of writing the matter is reported to be still under consideration, although final decision is likely to be taken shortly and published in the form of a statement by His Majesty's Government.

Now so far as the need of termination of the said services is concerned it is now beyond the region of controversy and has been finally accepted by the British Government. It forms an integral part of their decision to quit India by June 1948, announced in the Statement of February 20 last. The observations made by Sir Stafford Cripps in the House of Commons on March 5 last in defence of the Government's "Quit India" policy are pertinent in this connection and may be reproduced. Narrating the situation arising out of the creation of the Interim Government at the Centre and Indian Ministries responsible to legislatures in the provinces after the last elections, he said :

"One of the first questions taken up by these Governments last autumn was discontinuance of the Secretary of State's services. They felt that if they were to be responsible for the future administration of India within some reasonable period of time, the sooner the dual loyalty to the Secretary of State and the Indian Governments was brought to an end the sooner they would be able to settle down to a stable form of administration which would accord with the future State of India.

"When the Cabinet Mission was in India, we had naturally discussed this problem of the services . . .

"It was made clear to us and we accepted and took responsibility for acceptance of the proposition *that no short-term scheme could yield effective or valuable results* since a crucial period was immediately ahead and that for that period new or emergency entrants could contribute little, especially in the very difficult and tangled political atmosphere that then existed.

"This committed us to continuation with the existing services under conditions so far as the Indian personnel were concerned."

Stating the only two alternatives which faced the British Government in the new situation he continued :

"First, we could attempt to strengthen British control in India on the basis of expanded personnel in the Secretary of State's services and considerable reinforcement of British troops so that we should be in a position to maintain for as long as might be necessary our administrative responsibility while awaiting agreement among the Indian communities.

"Such policy would entail a definite decision that we should remain in India for at least 15 or 20 years, because for any substantially shorter period we should not be able to reorganise the services on a stable and sound basis. The length of the period necessary would be determined by the consideration that the Indian members of the Secretary of State's and other administrative services should look to us for their future career and prospects rather than to Indian leaders to whom we should undoubtedly find ourselves in opposition if such a policy were pursued.

"Secondly, we could accept the fact that the first alternative was not possible and a further attempt to persuade Indians to come together while at the same time warning them that there was a limit of time during which we were prepared to maintain our responsibility while awaiting agreement.

"One thing that was quite obviously impossible was to decide to continue our responsibility indefinitely and, indeed, against our own wishes, into a period when we had not the power to carry it out. . . .

"We are, therefore, faced with adopting the first alternative of re-establishing the services for a term of years or to specify some terminal date beyond which we should not be willing to continue our responsibilities."

From above it follows that the British Government in fixing a deadline for the transfer of power committed themselves definitely to winding up of the Secretary of State's services not in the sense that the same personnel could not continue but in the sense that the control over them would be transferred to

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Indian hands. It is simple logic that if transfer of power is to be something genuine, it must be accompanied by complete transfer of control over the administrative services to Indian Governments at the centre or in the units as the case may be. So the need of termination of the "Secretary of State's services" has been admitted on all hands. The only question that remains to be settled is when and on what terms are these services to terminate. This has been the subject-matter of correspondence and negotiation between the British Government and the Interim Government ever since the latter accepted office. It was only when it was found that the differences between the two Governments over the terms of termination could not be settled through correspondence that Mr. Henderson was sent out with some concrete proposals for carrying on negotiations personally with the Home Minister of India, Sardar Patel. The main point at issue between the two Governments was the question of compensation for officers under the control of the Secretary of State whose services were to be terminated in the new regime for reasons of constitutional change. The scheme of compensation sponsored by the Under-Secretary of State is reported to have been formulated at the instance of the I.C.S. and I.P.S. Officers' Service Associations. On the inauguration of Montford Reforms officers of the superior services were given the option to continue or not under the new conditions. To those who found the new regime disagreeable and therefore decided to retire prematurely, a compensation was offered in the shape of a pension proportionate to the length of their service whether they were eligible to a pension under the conditions of their service or not. A scheme of proportionate pension to such officers has been in effect since 1923 to the present day. This was deemed to be adequate compensation to officers who chose to retire prematurely because they felt they could not adjust themselves to the new conditions.

No further compensation besides this was thought necessary in the circumstances. Some time after when the position of the superior services was fully reviewed by the Lee Commission in 1924 and various safeguards and concessions were recommended for the members of the superior services, the Commission did not deem fit to recommend a system of general compensation. Numerous representations were made to the Commission for modifying the rules governing the grant of proportionate retiring pensions so as to provide for payment of compensation for the loss of career in addition to proportionate pension in cases other than of compulsory retirement. The Commission decided not to support the claim.

> "In our view," they observed, "the present rules governing the grant of proportionate pension are sufficiently generous for those who are not ready and willing to serve under the reformed system of government."[1]

This opinion of the Lee Commission, a body that nobody would accuse of lack of sympathy for the services, on the question of compensation should be particularly noted as we shall have occasion to refer to it presently.

The Commission also received a considerable body of representations arising out of the interpretation of the phrase "existing or accruing rights" in the proviso to Section 96 B(2) of the Government of India Act, 1919, which runs as follows :

> "Every person appointed before the commencement of the Government of India Act, 1919, by the Secretary of State in Council to the Civil Service of the Crown in India shall retain all his existing or accruing rights, or shall receive such compensation for the loss of any of them as the Secretary of State in Council may consider just and equitable."

The members of the services claimed that the intention of the proviso was to secure to them their prospects of promotion to all higher posts existing at the time the Act was passed, or alternatively to secure for them compensation for the loss of such prospects through the abolition of these appointments. In regard to this claim the Commission came to the conclusion that it was not possible to lay down any general *a priori* ruling as to what, if any, claims to compensation might justly be entertained by a member or members of a service in the circumstances and that each case could only be decided on its merit. They, therefore, recommended that

> "The Secretary of State should refer such claims for compensation, as they arise, for consideration and report by the Public Service Commission, which, being the expert authority in India on all service questions will be well-qualified to form a just opinion. The Indian members however, would limit the reference to the Public Service Commission to cases other than those necessitated by retrenchment or curtailment of work. In such cases they consider there would be no ground for compensation except for the incumbent of the post abolished."[2]

We make a reference to the above recommendation of the Commission as the present claim to compensation on the part of the Secretary of State's services seems to us to be analogous to the claim then put forward, although the two are by no means identical. In finding a solution now, the decision of the Commission may prove helpful. At the next instalment of Reforms in 1935, the position of the services was very carefully considered and an elaborate list of safeguards for the protection of the interests of these services was recommended by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament but even then a general compensation to all officers who wanted to retire because of the constitutional change over and above the proportionate pension already in existence was not thought necessary. They recommended, however, the continuance of the special right, then enjoyed by these services, to such compensation for the loss of any existing right as the Secretary of State might consider just and equitable. Besides this, they suggested that the Secretary of State should be empowered to award compensation to any officer appointed by him in any other case at his discretion if he thought it warranted by considerations of justice and equity.[4]

Even in making this recommendation they were apologetic. For, they observed :

> "This is no doubt a very wide and general power ; but it is impossible to foresee and provide

1. *Lee Commission Report*, paragraph 74.

2. Vide *Lee Commission Report* paragraphs 81-82.

3. Vide *Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report*, Vol. I, paragraph 288.

4. *Ibid*, paragraph 286.

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in a statute against all the contingencies that may arise in the administration of a great service and we do not, therefore, dissent from the proposal. The Secretary of State assisted by his Advisers may be trusted to preserve a reasonable balance between the interests of the services on the one hand and those of Indian revenues on the other."

How far the Secretary of State and his Advisers, many of whom are themselves ex-servicemen, are competent to hold the scale even between the interests of the Services and those of the Indian tax-payers is open to question, but that is irrelevant for our present purpose. The fact is that even the Joint Select Committee who were so keen on safeguarding the rights and interests of the superior Services felt somewhat hesitant in vesting in the Secretary of State's wide discretion in the matter of granting compensation to them in special circumstances and although the various Service Associations pressed for other concessions they definitely negatived the demand.

> "We have come to the conclusion that no further special measures of protection are required for members of the Secretary of State's Services."[5]

The scheme prepared by the India Office at the instance of Service Associations which Mr. Henderson brought with him to discuss with the Interim Government is reported to provide for a twofold compensation, namely, (1) proportionate pension to all officers on the termination of their contract with the Secretary of State for India, and (2) compensation for the so-called 'loss of career.' The number of officers affected is approximately sixteen hundred of whom about one thousand belong to the I.C.S. and about six hundred to the I.P.S. The proportion of Indian members in these two services at present is roughly fifty and forty per cents respectively. The total cost involved in giving effect to the scheme is said to be computed at about ten million pounds. The scale of compensation suggested in the scheme in the event of termination of contract as a result of constitutional change is on a graduated basis, beginning with £2,000 in the case of those officers who have put in four years of service to £8,000 in the case of those who have put in sixteen years of service, rising by an annual increment of £500. From this point again the rate of compensation is to decrease progressively till we reach those who have earned their full pension and as such are not to get any compensation at all.[6]

The idea is that it is the officers, just in the middle of their service career who are in need of the maximum compensation. Because officers who have just entered the service can without difficulty find some other employment and those who are on the verge of retirement have earned a decent pension on which they can live for the rest of their life. The sixteen-year officer, according to the argument of the scheme, is not old enough to earn a pension which can carry him on in comparative comfort for the rest of his life nor young enough to step into some other employment easily.

Now this very same idea underlies the scheme of proportionate pension in operation ever since 1923 and as we have already seen neither the members of the services, nor the Lee Commission, nor the Joint Parliamentary Committee have demanded anything more than this by way of compensation to those who wanted to retire because they found themselves unable to adjust themselves to the new conditions. Be it noted that even this type of compensation is without any parallel anywhere else in the world.

What on earth all on a sudden makes the Services think that this by itself is not sufficient compensation but they should have an additional compensation on a graduated scale over and above the proportionate pension? The demand for compensation is reported to be based on an undertaking given by Mr. Amery, the ex-Secretary of State, to war service candidates and an assurance also to permanent incumbents of the services that the terms offered to them would not be less favourable than those offered to war service candidates. The scheme of appointing war service candidates is reported to have been abandoned since, but the claim of the permanent incumbents is all the same being propped up on the terms that might have been offered to war service candidates if the scheme had been given effect to—a very feeble prop indeed! Moreover even an exalted official like the Secretary of State cannot be supposed to have the authority to commit a people to expenditure running into millions of pounds without their own consent or that of their representatives which was not taken before the commitment was made. It has, therefore no binding effect upon the present or future national Governments of India

As regards this claim of additional compensation over and above the proportionate pension which all reasonable people would view as enough compensation but which the members of the services now deem to be inadequate we may point out that the terms 'adequate' or 'inadequate' are relative ones and cannot be judged by any absolute standards. In determining what is adequate compensation it is not only the needs of the members of the services but the capacity of the Indian tax-payers also which should be taken into account. It would be admitted by all reasonable men that the scale of pay and pensions and emoluments in general does not compare unfavourably with that of the richest countries in the world and is out of all proportion to the economic condition and standard of living of the people. In fact, the grinding poverty of the Indian masses is due to their exploitation by the ruling power, one of the chief avenues of which we find in this high level of emoluments of these pampered services. A national Government worth the name cannot certainly allow the old terms and conditions to continue to the detriment of the interests of the common man which should have the first place in the new order. Besides the liberal scale of remuneration, they have been enjoying a status and privileges unparalleled perhaps anywhere else in the world. A whole chapter in the Government of India Act, 1935 (Pt. X, Ch. II) is devoted to a catalogue of rights and privileges of the services and these apply not only to the Secretary of State's services under the Act but to persons appointed by the Secretary of State in Council to a civil service of or a civil post under the Crown in India before its commencement. Further the Act (Sec. 249) provides for compensation, if by reason of anything done under the Act the conditions of service of the officers in question are adversely affected and the financial liabilities incurred on that account are to be charged to the revenues of the Central Government or, as the case

5. *Ibid*, paragraph 287.
6. The figures are taken from the editorial article of the *A. B. Patrika* (Dak Edition) of 12th January, 1947.

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may be, to those of the Provincial Administration. Their present claim to compensation, of course, does not rest on the terms of this provision but on the second part of the same section which we shall discuss later, as the change in their position, and conditions of service, etc in the present instance are not by reason of anything done under the Act. Anyway the members of the Secretary of State's services have enjoyed up till now unique privileges which have not fallen to the lot of any service elsewhere. Hence a proportionate pension for the rest of their career irrespective of whether they are re-employed or not should satisfy them. As the present change is the natural culmination of the policy initiated in 1917 and embodied in the Reforms of 1919 and 1935, those who are now in the services cannot reasonably plead that when they entered service they could not foresee the present development. Hence the talk of further compensation for an unforeseen contingency cannot be reasonably entertained. The claim would appear to be still more unreasonable if what is reported is true that the Interim Government has offered to retain the services of those who would like to continue their service on existing terms. If some members of these services for any reason find themselves unable to serve the National Government of India, the latter ceases to have any obligation for them. The responsibility for the loss of their career is theirs or at most that of His Majesty's Government who employed them and who controlled their conditions of service so long. The Interim Government should be regarded as having meted out rather generous treatment to them in still offering them the privilege of retiring on proportionate pension. If, however, the Services are still insistent on compensation the claim, if any, should be against His Majesty's Government who are responsible for their appointment and protection of their interests and not against the new Government of India. This view is supported by a very eminent and fair-minded member of the Indian Civil Service, namely, Hon'ble Mr. Justice Meredith, erstwhile President of the I.C.S. Association, Bihar Branch, who is reported to have resigned his Presidentship of the Association on the ground that he disagreed with the views of his fellow servicemen regarding demands for compensation in lieu of retirement. He maintains that the right to retire on proportionate pension is sufficient compensation for those members of the Secretary of State's services, who are not willing to serve the new Government, if offered similar pay and conditions to their present service. He favours compensation only to those officers, if any, whom the new Government are not willing to employ upon the existing terms. He holds, however, that "any compensation paid to and pensions of those who go should be paid by the British Government." He argues that

> "Officers to the service were appointed not by the Government of people of India, but by the Secretary of State as officers of the British Imperial Government. It is not just that the Indian taxpayer should be saddled with the burden of paying compensation."[7]

Even a Conservative peer like Lord Hailey, himself an ex-member of the I.C.S. though supporting the claim of the Services for compensation maintained that Parliament incurred certain obligations by these Services which they were bound to fulfil. He observed recently in the House of Lords :

> "Parliament has undertaken certain statutory engagements for those who have been engaged by the Secretary of State on its behalf. These obligations, as the services see them, will have to be fulfilled, not as a result of discussions with the Government of India but merely as issues for Parliament itself."[8]

Nor has the India Office remained unmindful of their obligations by these Services, as was revealed in a statement made by Lord Pethick Lawrence recently in Parliament[9] in reply to a question of the Earl of Scarborough about what Government had done towards re-employment of the European members of the Services of India and Burma who may retire as a result of the constitutional change. The Secretary of State stated that as a result of discussions with representatives of Service Associations in India and Burma a special branch entitled India and Burma Services Re-employment Branch had already been added to the Services and General Department of the India Office to assist officers of the Secretary of State's services in India and Burma in this matter. He added that arrangements were also in progress to set up a special India Services Section in the London Appointment Office of the Ministry of Labour with which the re-employment branch would work in close co-operation. It would be for His Majesty's Government to decide whether there would be any case for compensation of these officers after fresh employment has been found for them through the above machinery or in case it could not be found. The Government of India's obligations should come to a dead end with the payment of proportionate pension to such officers.

As regards Indian members of these services the case is different. The Indian officers should welcome the new regime and should regard it their proud privilege to place their services at the disposal of the National Government of India in place of the foreign Government they had been serving so long. If instead, they are so unpatriotic as to desert the services of the new Government when it has the greatest need of experienced administrators they should be free to leave, but not to speak of compensation they cannot even justly demand the proportionate pension which their European compeers would be entitled to.

In conclusion, we shall briefly examine the legal aspect of the question. The only legal basis of the claim for compensation is found in Section 249(1) of the Government of India Act[10] which authorises the Secretary of State to grant compensation to any member of the services in two distinct circumstances.

7. Vide *A. B. Patrika*, dated 8th February, 1947 (Dak Edition).

8. *Ibid* of 10th February, 1947.

9. Vide *Patrika* (Dak Edition), 28th March, 1947.

10. The section runs thus : "If by reason of anything done under this Act the conditions of service of any person appointed to a civil service or a civil post by the Secretary of State have been adversely affected, or if for any other reason it appears to the Secretary of State that compensation ought to be granted to, or in respect of, any such person, he or his representatives shall be entitled to receive from the revenues of the Federation, or if the Secretary of State so directs from the revenues of a Province, such compensation as the Secretary of State may consider just and equitable."

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The first arises when the conditions of service of any officer in these services are adversely affected by reason of anything done under the Act of 1935. We have already seen that the present case for compensation does not rest on that ground. The second arises whenever the Secretary of State has reasons to think that compensation is called for by the circumstances of the case and the amount of compensation would be such as he may consider just and equitable. It leaves the decision about compensation as well as the amount thereof to the unfettered discretion of the Secretary of State and under subsection (2) of the Section it is placed beyond the vote of the Indian legislatures. It is perfectly within his constitutional competence to take unilateral action in the matter independently of the wishes of the Interim Government if he can only satisfy his own conscience as to the justice and equity of the claim of the Services. The reason why the Secretary of State deputed Mr. Henderson to contact the Home Member of the Interim Government personally and negotiate with him in the matter is perhaps his anxiety to avoid ill-feeling and bitterness on the eve of transfer of power and also perhaps because he had some qualms of conscience about the justice of the claim. Legally speaking he could enforce the scheme of compensation without any reference to the Interim Government, though that course certainly would have been of dubious expediency. However, the talks are reported to have failed, because Sardar Patel firmly stood his ground in not agreeing to grant further compensation beyond the proportionate pension and to our mind he was perfectly right. Because apart from the arguments discussed above the record of service to India of these Secretary of State's services, particularly the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service, is by and large not such as to make Indians feel overgrateful that they would be prepared to make this tremendous monetary sacrifice spontaneously, particularly at a time when the National Government has so much need of money to start on an all-out programme of development forwarding off the grinding poverty of the masses and raising living standards. It is a standing disgrace to these Services, for so long they practically constituted the Government, that during the past two hundred years of British rule they have not been able to remove the appalling poverty, illiteracy and ill-health of the Indian masses. It makes a poor contrast with what Soviet Russia achieved during less than two decades. But their record is a bleak one not simply because of sins of omission, it is more so because of those of commission. Tragedies like those of Jallianwalla Bag, inhuman atrocities perpetrated during August (1942) movement and countless others like these and above all the man-made Bengal famine of 1943 blacken their record of service. Ever since the inception of the nationalist movement in this country their one aim has been to suppress it by all possible means—sowing the seeds of communal division being perhaps the most insidious and poisonous one which is still eating like a canker into the vitals of the body politic. The freedom movement, however, grew in spite of them and even now on the eve of the transfer of power many officers of these services are still leaving no stone unturned to create mischief and to put spanner into the wheel. There are of course honourable exceptions but we are referring to the record as a whole and those who now want to retire because of the constitutional changes do not certainly belong to this latter category. Can the Indian leaders be blamed, therefore, if they do not see their way to agree to the scheme of a general compensation costing the impoverished Indian taxpayers millions of pounds for rewarding these pampered services for what incalculable harm they have done to India? Since the breakdown of the negotiations between Sardar Patel and Mr. Henderson in January last correspondence is reported to be going on on the subject between Whitehall and New Delhi. According to a report in the Press[11] published recently a settlement is said to have been reached on the following lines: It has been agreed to pay compensation only in certain justifiable cases, for instance, if a member of the services is obliged to retire for no fault of his own, the rate of compensation being decided on the merits of each case. Further, a proportionate pension on retirement from services would be given to all, but in the case of British members of the services by His Majesty's Government and to the Indian members, by the Government of India. In regard to the question of termination of service it is understood although no specific date has been fixed yet, it is likely to take place on some date before June, 1948. The Interim Government is understood to have pressed for the immediate transfer of control over the services to the Government of India on terms discussed between Sardar Patel and Mr. Arthur Henderson. A later report[12] states that there would be an award of modified compensation together with proportionate pensions for members of the Secretary of State's services and an announcement to this effect is to be made shortly in India and London simultaneously. In the absence of an authoritative official statement it would be hazardous to comment. But if the press reports are true, it would appear to us that the Interim Government has very substantially receded from its original position which was the only logical stand for it. In particular we do not endorse the decision to grant proportionate pension to the Indian members of the services. But we should rather reserve our judgment till the terms of settlement are officially announced.

Post Script

The long awaited statement on compensation for premature termination of the Secretary of State's Services has just been made simultaneously in Parliament by Mr. Attlee and Lord Listowell and in India by the Viceroy. The terms are not substantially different from the speculations in the press on the basis of which the above article has been written. The statement will be discussed, however, in another article on the subject.

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11. Vide *A. B Patrika* (Dak Edition) of April 6, 1947.
12. *Ibid*, April 17, 1947.

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SPINOZA LIVES AGAIN

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By Prof. BENOY GOPAL RAY,
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Over three hundred years ago there lived in Holland a philosopher, Benedict Spinoza. Three hundred years and yet his thoughts are as fresh and valid as before. What he taught to the seventeenth century civilization is equally and even in a greater measure applicable to the twentieth century world, sunk in misery, despair and disappointment. The problem of freedom today is 'in the air.' Thinkers, scholars, politicians and philosophers have been engaged in showing mankind the real road to freedom. But real freedom is not external freedom only. According to Spinoza, there are two types of human slavery, *viz.*, external slavery, due to external forces and internal slavery, due to internal emotions. Mere external freedom is of no avail, mere liberation from political or economic disabilities is not real freedom. Today we hear that the welfare of the whole man depends solely on external environmental conditions. But Spinoza raises his voice of protest. If the individual is not free from internal slavery, what matters if he attains external freedom? One must conquer his passions by reason and unless this is done, he cannot be free. Today we are attempting to achieve mastery over external forces only and this is why we are still in fetters. The moment we turn our attention from the outer to the inner, the moment we try to transform man, all our troubles are gone and we human beings are noble, happy and emancipated. The real mistake of the present-day civilization lies in its desire to conquer only external forces of nature. Spinoza's path is a difficult path to tread but it is by no means absurd. The great philosopher himself lived according to his convictions to the last day of his life. He was excommunicated from the synagogue and was distrusted by Jew and Gentile alike. But nothing could daunt his undying spirit and through trials and tribulations he walked to victory.

Spinoza's philosophy is ethical-social, it is meant for human beings who can rise above physical and mental bondage. Spinoza, as a true scientist, analyses the motives of an individual. The principal motive is the *conatus* or urge to preserve oneself. Spinoza starts with the assumption that every individual is fundamentally an egoist (Tractatus. *Theologico-Politicus*, XVI). He warns his readers: "I warn the reader that I have demonstrated all my principles grounding them in the necessities of human nature in general, that is to say in the universal effort which men make to live; which effort is inherent in all of us, be we wise or ignorant" (Tract. *Politicus*, III, 18). The urge to live leads to egoism but is it the only inflexible law of nature? Equally irresistible is another urge which leads to co-operation and altruism. It is a fact that "human beings are so organized that they cannot live outside the pale of society" (Tract. *Politicus*, I, 3). "Men, be they savage or civilized, are everywhere found united and forming civil societies (Tract. *Politicus*, I, 7). Human beings are both individualists and socialists. The perfect society, for Spinoza, is one where the general end is peace and security of the individuals. The ideal State will be a State where every member remains happy and contented. But how can the ideal society or State be achieved? It is only when the egoistic tendencies of men are harmonized in the light of reason. Indeed the fundamental task of today is to base the society or State on co-operation but unfortunately we are attempting to erect it on competition. Spinoza's State has co-operation as its very backbone. What is co-operation? In the words of Ralph B. Winn, "it refers to any type of group activity involving the community of purpose."

Explaining the point further, he says:

> "Co-operation is co-thinking, co-feeling and co-acting, in all their complex and recurrent manifestations and inter-relations, latent and patent, stimulating and depressing, spreading and concentrating, momentary and permanent, local and universal."

Spinoza is emphatic on the values of co-operation. Whatever is conducive to universal fellowship is profitable and whatever brings discord and conflict in the society is evil. Co-operation is real strength. Truly, "if two individuals," says Spinoza, "of exactly the same nature are joined together, they make up a single individual, doubly stronger than each alone." Co-operation does not mean the submergence of individualities. Social and individual interests are not antagonistic to one another. Viewed in the light of reason, they are identical. The golden rule of the perfect society is—"Do not forget that your interest is group interest, and group interest is your true interest."

The aim of Spinozistic ethics is the leading of a life according to knowledge. Knowledge admits of three layers. We may form ideas of individual objects by using only our sense organs. Spinoza calls this kind of knowledge "imagination." In the second layer we may form adequate ideas of the properties of things by understanding their common and general features. This Spinoza calls "reason." He, however, speaks of yet a third layer. This third kind of knowledge is 'intuition' which helps us to know the real essence of things and form an adequate idea of the attributes of God. Spinoza's intuition is not the result of philosophical mysticism. It is only the disinterested appreciation and serene contemplation. One may say, it is the flowering of the reason. Spinoza's reason does not bid adieu to other endowments of human nature. Never has he asked us to annihilate emotions, only he has asked us to harmonize them in the light of reason. In the Note appended to *Proposition XLV* (Part IV of Ethics) he tells us:

> "It is the part of the wise man to refresh and recreate himsef with moderate and pleasant food and drink and also with perfumes, with the soft beauty of growing plants, with dress, with music, with many sports, with theatres, and the like, such as every man may make use of without injury to his neighbour."

From the third layer of knowledge arises the intellectual love of God (*amor intellectualis Dei*) which is the culmination of Spinozistic ethics. An individual in attaining this blessed state has to pass through the various grades of knowledge. Intellectual

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love of God is knowledge but it is not only knowledge. It is attended with joy and it is the highest activity. Spinoza has admirably unified the three *yogas,* (if we speak in terms of Indian Philosophy) *viz.,* the Jnana Yoga, the Bhakti Yoga and the Karma Yoga. In equating the highest knowledge with the highest joy and the highest activity, Spinoza has shown mankind the same path as has been chalked out by the Gita. We shall substantiate what we have said above by three quotations from Spinoza. The individual who has the third kind of knowledge "passes to the highest human perfection and consequently is affected with the highest joy which is accompanied with the the idea of himself and his own virtue." Again, "when the mind contemplates itself and its own power of acting, it rejoices, and it rejoices in proportion to the distinctness with which it imagines itself and its power of action." Thirdly, "amongst all the affects which are related to the mind in so far as it acts, there are none which are not related to joy or desire." (See Ethics).

The intellectual love of God is the goal of a philosopher. His free life of reason is characterised by emotion and action. But this state cannot be easily achieved by all. For the mass, Spinoza's direction was to lead the life according to the second order of knowledge, *viz.,* reason. A reasoned life should be the aim of all. Spinoza points out that passions are emotional states and they cannot be got rid of. Reason must endeavour to control them and harness them to activity. Mere reason cannot lead to activity. It must get the power from emotional energy. If our passions are controlled and harmonized in the light of reason, we attain happiness. How happy mankind would have been, if all of us would lead a reasoned life. All talks of war, territorial expansion, colour prejudice, exploitation, and destruction by science would then become gibberish and useless.

Spinoza is dead physically but in spirit, he has again come before us to give to the war-torn world his philosophy. Spinoza was not merely a theoretical philosopher, he lived his philosophy. He was exalted and noble and he led an irreproachable moral life. He was God-intoxicated and yet he did not plead for a church or a mosque or a synagogue. Disinterested appreciation, harmonizing reason and God-vision are his legacies to world-culture and civilization. If we accept his way of thinking, we win and profit and if we reject, we lose.

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THE RELIGIOUS NOTE IN MODERN POETS

Call of Religion, Faith and Mysticism

By Prof. PRADYUMNA C. JOSHI, M.A., LL.B.

There is always a stage in the development of knowledge when the boundaries of the different branches merge into each other. There is such a point of convergence of literature, philosophy and religion. Modern science and modern philosophy are examining their problems with a greater appreciation of each other's contrasting approach and are in fact closer than they were ever before. The dichotomy of mind and matter, of the physical and the spiritual, no longer presents an insuperable barrier between the identity of purposes, though through divergent approaches, of science and philosophy.

> "Today," says Sir James Jeans, "there is a wide measure of agreement that the stream of knowledge is heading towards a non-mechanical reality; the universe begins to look more like a great thought than like a great machine."[1]

While we thus revise our opinions as to the relations that subsist between different branches of knowledge, we yet recall the vision of Eddington[2] and feel hesitant to declare whether the distant horizons have some substance or only open out to something yet unknown and unrealised.

Literature gives expression not only to this intellectual cognition of things but also to the emotional experience of man. Philosophy and science satisfy the first necessity while religion caters for the other. It may be difficult to decide whether philosophy is not an idle speculation into the ultimate nature of things or religion anything more than a dull opiate for the troubled soul. But it is certain that in literature both protrude themselves and offer what solace they can. The problems that agitate the intellectually or emotionally surcharged mind find their reflection in the sweet discontent of literature. The problems that Philosophy raises but cannot answer, the facts which Science discovers but may not explain, at any rate very satisfactorily, are solved by faith which Religion brings, and mysticism which proceeds from a teleological view of life. And in that Light, which was the beginning of Creation, the human search for Truth is fulfilled.

> "On the roaring billows of Time," says Teufelsdrockn,[3] "thou art not engulphed, but borne aloft into the azure of Eternity. Love not Pleasure; love God. This is the *Everlasting Yea,* wherein all contradiction is resolved: wherein who so walks and works, it is well with him."

The problem in its essential nature can be quite baffling but fortunately for students of literature, the point of interest is not the impulse behind the poetry of faith but the actual outcome of such an impulse. It is however useful to notice how it actually arises. Let us take a concrete problem. There is a long-standing dispute among philosophers about the comparative superior reality of mind over matter. Is mind responsible for physical activity? What is the exact relationship between the two totalities? Is it coincidence that the two work in harmony as some believe? Some gave mind the credit for guiding the physical processes because—and some of you know Berkeley,

1 Sir James Jeans: *Mysterious Universe* (Pelicans), pp. 186-7.
2 Eddington: *The Expanding Universe.*
3 Carlyle: *Sartor Resartus* (Nelson's Classics), p. 180.

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don't you ?—mind is the only real reality. Then many harp upon the brain being purely matter, and a sane mind living in a sane body. We can never finally arrive at what the truth is, since there is bound to be divergence of views in such a matter according to the equipment and the training of individual thinkers. Now when Philosophy leaves us at the end of our tether to devise our own solutions, two consequences follow. Either we get disappointed and say :

There are more things in heaven and earth,
Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy,

or we fall back upon blind faith in the affirmations of Religion.

It is pertinent here to investigate what is the exact scope of Religion. The Hindu conception of *Dharma* would for our purposes be too comprehensive, since every act of man is embraced in the wide reach of the Smritis :

Srutih smritih sadacharah svasya cha priyamatmanah,
Samyaksamkalpajah kamo dharmamulamidam smritam.[4]

We clearly do not mean 'Religion' in that sense. We use it in the narrower—and therefore, perhaps, in the most catholic—sense of man seeking a direct relationship, and an explanation of the perceptible phenomena, in some imperceptible, infinite force, which might subject material and mental energies to its direction, but is not itself subject to their direction. It evidently therefore needs an individual awakening but that individual realisation would in course of time get canalised in certain outstanding traditions and mystic practices. The true religion is, as Swami Vivekananda once put it :

> "An actual perception, and only the man who has actually perceived God and perceived soul, has religion, and with every man who has not done that, there is no difference between the highest ecclesiastical giant, who can talk by the volume, and the lowest, most ignorant materialist. We are all atheists : let us confess it. Mere intellectual assent will not make us religious, and it does not . . . We are all in the dark ; . . . Religion will begin when the actual realisation in our souls begins."[5]

It is something intuitive, something which sounds the depths of human existence. But it is also something indefinite, something intangible. As Renan very wisely stated that no idea which was clearly realised ever got reduced into a myth. It only expresses a vague aspiration, and is a historical fact.

It is for this reason that art has had such great affinity with the development of religions. There is between them a common purpose—the desire to express the inexpressible, to bring forth those unembodied concepts which participate in the very nature of our being and articulate those harmonies of which we are only dimly conscious. What poetry actually does is not to discard those vague and undefinable cognitions as a scientist would do, nor give any positive value to them, but to assign them a local habitation and a name in order that those individual experiences might become universally cognisable, thus bringing even the uncharted depths of human intuition in the purview of critical appreciation. Professor Saurat in his extremely interesting studies in philosophical poetry explains that[6]

> "In the realm of art doubt need not have a sterilising or withering effect. Poetry is carried into a region which is far beyond truth and error, which is sounder and more necessary than being beyond good and evil."

The poet thus once again emerges as an interpreter of the richness of the contents of religions or of the possibilities of beauty and harmony in them. They bring to the ken of the human being the subtle psychological facts of refined human thought and feeling.

The attitude of the religious thinker was very appositely expressed in the famous hymn of Cardinal Newman, written in the midst of the Victorian pride in doubt and scepticism :

> The night is dark, and I am far from home—
> Lead Thou me on.
> Keep Thou my feet ; I do not ask to see
> The distant scene—*one step enough for me.*[7]

He hands over the scepticism and the desire to cultivate a rational system of thought, which only leads a man to the positing of a *Reality* above all *appearances,* which at the end of a long cogitation merely asserts the dignity of something which is pure consciousness and returns at the end of all "night-errantry" to make me question when I am I again :

> O flying feet, O naked sides,
> O tresses flowing free,
> And are you his that all day bides
> So soberly in me ?[8]

But even the proof of something that abides all Change and Decay does not necessarily mean that there is God, that these Cosmic Laws or Law calls for the assertion of a Personality. Crammed up in cities the lowly throng may sing Hosannas,

> sing unconscious of their song,
> Whose lips are in their lives—[9]

but the poets can only arrive at such a conscious realisation in the silent panorama of Nature unfolding itself before them. But the certain possibility which the Victorian scientist demanded could never be achieved in such soul-communions and as a result we come across the supreme example of Victorian indifference in a thinker like Huxley.

We cannot unless we are intellectual giants comprehend abstruse things. We can readily believe in the concrete. The mystery of God, the master of tides,

> "Stanching, quenching ocean of a motionable mind;
> Ground of being, and granite of it,[10]

the God

> throned behind
> Death with a sovereignty that heeds but hides, bodes but abides.[11]

is spontaneously felt, is inwardly realised. Yet it needs being constantly recalled through the several natural

4 Yajnavalkya I, 7. *Cf.* also Manu I, 6 and 12.

5 Vivekananda : Speeches and Writings (*Realization*), Natesan, p. 362-3.

6 D. Saurat : *Literature and Occult Tradition* (Bell and Sons), 1930, p. 159.

7 Newman : *Lead Kindly Light.*

8 Maurice Hewlett : *Night Errantry.*

9 Hodson : *The Song of Honour.*

10 Hopkins : *The Deutschland.*

11 Hopkins : *Ibid.*

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phenomena, sometimes the soft *lasya*, at others the solemn *tandava* of the creation :

I kiss my hand
To the stars, lovely-asunder
Starlight, wafting him out of it ; and
Glow, glory in thunder ;
Kiss my hand to the dappled-with-damson west :
Since, tho' he is under the world's
splendour and wonder,
His mystery must be instressed, stressed ;
For I greet him the days I meet him,
and bless when I understand.[12]

It is however easier to believe in a person who unobtrusively guides us, to whom we can always go for succour, on whom we fall back for help and advice, as we do on a parent. That gives a feeling of security and support, and once that is achieved, man may as well give up all quest. God thus becomes a designer, a benevolent Presence, All-merciful, the goal and the guide of man :

Whom wilt thou find to love ignoble thee,
Save Me, save only Me ?
All which I took from thee I did but take,
Not for thy harms,
But just that thou might'st seek it in My arms.
All which thy child's mistake
Fancies as lost, I have stored for thee at home.[13]

Herein Francis Thompson sums up the religious note, which curiously enough approximates to the ideal of self-surrender, which is the highest of the types of devotion.[14] One step is enough for the faithful. He has to dedicate himself, surrender himself (*atmanivedanam*) in the hands of God. The divine will then works itself.

Once this attitude is formed, the worship of form seems inevitable. In the pursuit of such idealisation, concepts have to be presented in vivid details and therefore rendered through symbols. The English poets, being Christians, whether Roman Catholics or otherwise, naturally adopt the Church symbolism :

I heard the Universal Choir,
The Sons of Light exalt their Sire
With universal song.
Earth's lowliest and loudest notes,
Her million times ten million throats
Exalt him loud and long.[15]

Christ's personality is the medium of Divine Wisdom. The message of God has been vouchsafed to us—"Our race have kept their Lord's entrusted Word" —and his devices with the heavens cannot be guessed so long as we live.

But in the eternities,
Doubtless we shall compare together, hear
A million alien Gospels.[16]

Above all knowledge, above all sacred designs, is the full assurance of the beatitude. Man's soul is prone to obduracy. Humanity and Nature have no effect on it. God alone can awaken the benumbed soul, stab it broad awake, like a surgeon

choose
A piercing pain, a killing sin[17]

before the spirit dies. Life goes on being lived.

"Fire and the windows bright glittered on the
motherland ;
Song, tuneful song, built a palace in the wild"[18]

But on the expiry of time, nature lives again, but not the man. His shade of the roof-tree is now deserted—

Lone stands the house, and chimney-stone is cold
Lone let it stand . . .
I go for ever and come again no more.[19]

If, as Gosse points out, Stevenson makes no ostentatious use of his natural religion, we notice that it is not always so. The wander-thirst, the call of the unknown horizons, where the old ships draw home and young ones sail away, works like madness and is irresistible.[20] Such a restlessness has only one solace, in the house of Christmas—where Christ himself was homeless ! The phantasmagoria of the world we inhabit, its change, its wonder,—all are matters for our observation, enquiry and dispute. There is no solution to our yearnings, no resolution of our doubts and no completion of our lives :

Our rest is as far as the fire-drake swings,
And our peace is put in impossible things
Where clashed and thundered unthinkable wings
Round an incredible star.[21]

Man lives in the faith of a union of the Holy Ghost with God. When the garment is cast away, when the soul leaves the body, the New Ghost (the Soul of Man) meets the Lord, uncertain of the reception. The greatness of their love is inexpressible and ecstatic. The divine kiss—the realisation of their unity—sends a thrill through his being :

The spirit trembled, and sprang up at the
Lord's word—
As on a wild, April day, springs a small bird.[22]

Fredigond Shove knows how to communicate this incommunicable experience by a reference to things terrestrial. Thompson too uses a like method for the evocation of the kingdom of God in us, beating at our own clay-shuttered doors :

The angels keep their ancient places ;—
Turn but a stone, and start a wing ![23]

So too with exquisite simplicity Rachel Taylor communicates the humility of the spirit and the Divine Grace, which implies an acceptance of the effort as a token of performance and so consequently deserving of the Everlasting Mercy.[24]

The glorious vision that religion brings is not always so naively expressed. It more often than not attempts a mystical symbolism. Charlotte Mew thus attempts such an expression in her poem, *Expecto Resurrectionem*. It is very elementary in character. The King is God-in-Christ and the dark room is this bodily life. The poetess prays for being resurrected from the grave in which the prisoner has been newly laid. Mystic symbolism however depends for its effect on the depth of mystic experience. Modern poets, though they have used with effect the picturesque symbolism which their familiarity with Church rituals

12 Hopkins : *Ibid.*
13 Thompson : *The Hound of Heaven.*
14 Cf. the *Navadha Bhakti* :
Sravanam kirtanam Visnoh smaranam padasevanam,
Vandanam archanam dasyam sakhyamatmanivedanam.
15 Hodgson : *The Song of Honour.*
16 Alice Meynell : *Christ in the Universe.*
17 R. L. Stevenson : *Celestial Surgeon.*
18 R. L. S. : *Home No More Home to Me.*
19 *Ibid.*
20 Gould : *Wander-Thirst.*
21 G. K. Chesterton : *House of Christmas.*
22 Shove : *The New Ghost.*
23 Thompson : *In No Strange Land.*
24 Rachel Taylor : *The Quietist.*

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provides them, have never approached in their profundity and magnificence the mystic significances one comes across in a poet like William Blake.

In all these religious poets, the foremost characteristic is *resignation*, which in itself is based on the doctrine of predestination. 'Thy will be done'—and therefore, the necessity of an absolute reliance and trust in God.

For even the purest delight may pall,
And power must fail, and the pride must fall
And the love of the dearest friends grow small—
But the glory of the Lord is all in all.[25]

The religious impulse leads the poets in two channels. One is the search after a technique which may best correspond with the feelings. They try to discover likeness in unlikeness, establish correlation between unrelated things. And naturally for their models, they are led to the seventeenth century mysticism. In Herbert, Vaughan, Crashaw and their fold, they find inspiration. They follow the same method in their imagery, which in turn, they borrow in common from the Church rituals and show a greater leaning to the more picturesque ritualistic imagery of Roman Catholicism. It is prominently evidenced even in a poet like Wilfrid Owen, who recalls the images of a Church illumined to light the path of the dead. It heightens the poignancy of the situation in *the Anthem for a Doomed Youth* by casting it in the formal bonds of a superficial ceremony. It is, of course, not always that it is so. Besides the inspiration in the seventeenth century, there were two other movements which considerably aided the fusion of the religious note with the evocation of a visual appeal. The Oxford Movement and its successor, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, were to a very great extent instrumental in fostering a search for picturesque imagery. Of those who have succeeded in fusing the vagueness of mystic expression with the clarity and precision of the visual imageries, Hopkins and Thompson stand foremost. Eliot, Auden and Spender though they share some of these impulses are yet a distinct school and stand as far apart from the religious poets of today as Donne stands from those of the seventeenth century.

The second consequence is directly related to the search for an appropriate articulation. Since this spiritual experience has no parallel in the physical existence, since the experience is narrowed down to the individual who undergoes it, it can never be adequately expressed. Symbols, it will be remembered, are a handy medium for expressing those things for which no words have as yet been invented. Fortunately for the modern poet the formalism of the Catholic ritual has provided an easily accessible source.

The English poets have obeyed the call of religion, faith and mysticism, but their poems lack the vitality and the inevitability of expression which characterises their love of nature. They turn to religion because they see with anguish the frustrate human life and find in God completion of world's design. It is in the social consciousness or individual imperfectness that most religious fervour is to be traced. If it is not emotional in origin, it is actuated by the failure of rationalistic philosophising. True religious poetry must rest on the foundation of the individual approximating to God, realising that basic unity which is the kernel of the Vedantic thought. In this is to be sought the explanation of the comparative insignificance of English religious poetry and the widespread appeal and prolific output of religious poetry in our country.

25 Blackmore : *Dominus Illuminateo Mea.*

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

LORD MACAULAY'S LEGISLATIVE MINUTES : *Selected with a Historical Introduction by C. D. Dharker. Oxford University Press, Calcutta. Price Rs. 12*

The Charter Act of 1833 ushered a new era in the administration of India. The Government came to be centralised in the Governor-General-in-Council in Calcutta. Details of administration were left to be determined by them in the Charter Act. So far as making of laws was concerned, it was reserved for the newly appointed fourth member of the Council to formulate them. This fourth member was designated the Law Member. The Charter Act came into force in 1834, and it was in this year that Macaulay, who had so valiantly fought for the cause of good administration of India in Parliament, was sent to India as her first Law Member. Macaulay served as such for four years under three Governor-Generals, Lord William Bentinck, Sir Charles Metcalfe and Lord Auckland. The period was most prolific, so far as law-making was concerned, because no less than forty-eight Acts were passed in these years. Some of these acts replaced the former regulations and some were enacted anew ; some were local and some were of all-India character. Some again were placed on the Statute-book in order to rescind former regulations, the most important of which was the Press Regulation. Macaulay as Law Member had to initiate, formulate and discuss these enactments and refute the arguments of his opponents over them, in separate minutes. Of these, thirty-five, presumably more important, have been inserted in this treatise.

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In his masterly introduction Mr. Dharker has unravelled the import of these minutes under different heads, such as, 'Legislation and Public Opinion,' 'The Freedom of the Press,' 'The Black Act and Its Sequel,' 'The Supreme Court at Calcutta,' 'The Supreme Court at Madras and Bombay,' 'Macaulay's Project for the Reform of Mofussil Courts,' 'Macaulay's Project for the Reform of Judicial Procedure,' etc., etc. Under all these sections Mr. Dharker has discussed the minutes threadbare with appropriate historical background as well as their future effect on the State and the people. His discussions on the Freedom of the Press, Black Act and Macaulay's project for the reform of the Judiciary deserve special mention. Mr. Dharker has not forgotten to discuss the state of administration and law-making before 1833, which will enable the reader to make a comparison in this regard before and after this period.

As for Macaulay's minutes, there are no two opinions regarding their cogent reasoning, elegant style and the warmth of feeling introduced in most of them. He stood always for equity and justice. It was Macaulay who by the Act XI of 1836 first roped in the British-born subjects to be tried in the Company's same mofussil Civil Courts as the vast mass of the people. Macaulay was too much for the European opposition in Calcutta. He averred that he on no account would allow the introduction of a new-caste as 'White Brahmin' in this caste-ridden country. His attempt at preparing a common penal code all over India with the help of the Law Commission was also praiseworthy. This was, truly speaking, the precursor and the foundation-stone of the Penal Code of 1860. Macaulay said very harsh things against Indian people and Indian culture in his famous Educational Minute of 1835, which is perhaps the only important minute left out in this book because of its limited scope. But from a perusal of this book, the Indians will, while dismissing his above views as due to his utter ignorance, be able to assess Macaulay as he really was. He was liberal to the core, and it was he, who uttered more than a century ago, that he would be heartily glad to think of the day when England would quit India, a country, whose people would have by then appreciated the utility of the British Institutions, that is, the British system of Parliamentary Government in India. The constitutional development of India may be traced from the days of Macaulay.

The treatise will unfold a hitherto little known but very important chapter of the history of the legislative activities in India. And the credit for this is, no doubt, due to Mr. Dharker whose untiring research has unearthed the minutes from the Archives of the India Office. To every student of nineteenth century India, the book will prove immensely useful.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE—HIS LIFE AND WORKS : *By Sopan. Published by Azad Bhandar, D-11 Madhavji Building, Sandhurst Road, Bombay-4. Pages 558. Price Rs. 11.*

This is an attempt to depict the life and work of a great son of India whose sacrifices for freeing his fatherland is second to none in modern times. Born of noble parents Subhas had the best of education and as an I.C.S. he could have passed a life of ease and luxury if he were made of ordinary mettle. But he was a class by himself and prepared a life of struggle for the cause of his country. A disciple of Deshabandhu C. R. Das, a follower of Mahatmaji, Subhas began well as a political and social worker but the country's cause made him impatient. He did not see eye to eye with Mahatmaji as to the path to be followed by Indian patriots. Nevertheless he had absolute faith in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. So, he had to resign his Congress Presidentship. It was during the last Great War that he left India incognito and visited Germany in 1940 and organized *Azad Hind Fauz* in the continent of Europe. In 1943, he went to Japan and at the request of the late Mr. Rash Behari Bose, accepted the presidentship of the Indian Independence League of South-Eastern Asia and reorganized the Indian National Army and established the provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India). He also founded the Azad Hind Bank at Rangoon.

When the full history of the Indian struggle comes to be written Netaji's name and achievements will be written in letters of gold. Where General Mohan Singh, the veteran warrior failed, Netaji succeeded in organising the I.N.A., such was his personality. Organisation, advance, defeat and retreat of I.N.A. in the Eastern Frontier of India (Manipur and Assam) read like a romance. The book contains detailed description of Netaji's activities in S.-E. Asia and is a fascinating study. The author does not say whether Netaji is still alive. It is useless to speculate. Netaji, dead or alive, is immortal and will ever live in history to inspire generations to come.

The book will inspire young men with a spirit of patriotism symbolised by the life of sacrifice led by beloved Netaji whose love for India knew no bounds. We have no doubt the book will have a wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

THE LEGEND OF THE KOLS : *By S. Haldar. "Bihar Herald" Press, Patna. 1946. Pp. 27.*

In this small pamphlet, the author refutes the legendary history of the Kols created by Christian Missionaries. He is of opinion that the true welfare of the 'Adibasis' lies not in isolation or special treatment, but in the recognition of the fact that they are the same as any other human being, with whom they must share all opportunities on a footing of equality, no more and no less.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

OVER KHYBER TO THE CASPIAN SEA : *By Ruth Ahlsand. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Rampart Row, Bombay. Pp. 116. Price Rs. 4-12.*

This neat volume by Mrs. Ruth Ahlsand, a Norwegian lady, is an interesting book of travel. There is a bit of romance behind the inspiration urging the difficult journey from India across Afghanistan and Iran to the shores of the Caspian and back by the sea route. The authoress went to see the Delhi Fort and when she was told by the guide that the famous Peacock Throne of the famous Moghul Emperor, Shah Jahan, had been taken away by Nadir Shah from Delhi to Tehran after his invasion of India in 1739, she made up her mind to follow the precious throne by the invader's track and have a look at it. Accompanied by her husband this she assiduously did. Mrs. Ahlsand gives us an absorbing account of the regions she passed through and the objects she came across. Her style is fascinating and observations of people are keen and analytic. This volume is undoubtedly one of the best travel books written in recent times about this part of the Middle East which has a veiled mystery for Indians as a region that nourished poets and conquerors; some part of it, particularly Afghanistan, has of late come to limelight for the historic escape of Netaji Bose.

Several fine photographs have enhanced the attraction of the book. The price of the book seems to be a

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NARAYAN C. CHANDA

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ABDUCTIONS OF AMBROSE ALLINGTON : *By B. A. C. Neville. Thacker & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a fantastic spy adventure story, packed with amusing and dramatic situations that keep the reader in suspense throughout.

DEATH UNDER THE MOON : *By Archie Joscelyn. Thacker & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 5-8.*

This is a detective story full of interest, dramatic situations, suspense and triumph of skill in investigation of crimes. The price is rather high even in these days of high price.

J. M. DATTA

HINDI

AJKAL (Annual Number) : *Edited by Anant Maral. Published by the United Publications, Delhi. Pp. 156+4. Price Re. 1-4.*

This well-edited and nicely got-up number with fine matter, attractive and meaningful illustrations and a symbolic cover is something sensational in Hindi's monthly journalism. Its features are entertaining and instructive and the reader will find quite a lot of matter, novel, refreshing and different from the beaten track in present-day journalism. The editors and artists of the publication deserve our warmest felicitations for this fine number.

M. S. SENGAR

GUJARATI

RAVINDRA VINA : *By Jhaverchand K. Meghani. Published by the Bharati Sahitya Sangha, Bombay. 1945. Pp. 152. Cloth-bound. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a translation of Rabindranath Tagore's *Sanchayita* into Gujarati verse. Mr. Meghani has lived in Calcutta, is familiar with Santiniketan and a noted man of letters himself. All these elements together with his knowledge of Bengali have made him enter fully into the spirit of the original and though this collection of poems is a version in Gujarati, one feels as if the poems were originally composed in Gujarati and not a translation. Meghani's introduction is a lucid exposition of the subject and of the lines followed by him. It deserves serious perusal.

SAHITYA PRARAMBHIKA : *By H. G. Anjaria, M.A. Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1945. Thick card-board. Pp. 149. Price Re. 1.*

Mr. Anjaria has already distinguished himself in sketching the History of Gujarati Literature by publishing *Sahitya Praveshika.* The work under notice is a comprehensive introduction to the different periods through which the literature of Gujarat has passed right up to the present times. He has managed to refer to almost all modern writers of note in the small compass of a "Primer".

JIVANNI KALA : *By Ravishankar Mehta. Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1945. Thick card-board. Pp. 136. Price ten annas.*

In about 17 essays Mr. Mehta has in popular language summarised the different ways which, if followed strictly, would lead to a happy life. 'Living through life with smiles' and 'toleration' are some of them.

PRAKASHNAN PAGLAN : *By Karsandas Manek. Published by the Society for Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1945. Thick card-board. Pp. 128. Price ten annas.*

Mr. Karsandas has sought to import 'light' to us by giving instances in his own popular language of several mythological incidents, like the Fight Pelwan, Devas and Asuras, Krishna and Kal Yavan, etc. He has not omitted the tragedy of Karbala even. It is a valuable work.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

INDIA'S TRADE WITH THE MIDDLE EAST : *By S. M. Siddiq. The Indian Institute of International Affairs, Connaught Place, New Delhi. Pp. 32. Price eight annas.*

AN OUTLINE OF BRITISH PIONEERING IN CIVIL AIR TRANSPORT : *Issued by the Ministry of Information, London. 1945. Pp. 24.*

A MEMORANDUM ON THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF PAKISTAN : *By Sir Homi Mody and Dr. John Matthai. Published by the authors, Bombay House, Bombay. 1945. Pp. 27.*

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION : *By Sir B. L. Mitter. Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay. 1945. Pp. 21. Price Re. 1.*

COMMUNISM—A Christian View : *W. M. Ryburn. Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta. 1946. Pp. 30.*

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY : *By Saumyendranath Tagore. Ganavani Publishing House, P 31A, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta. Second Edition. 1946. Pp. 24. Price four annas.*

CONGRESS SOCIALISM : *By Saumyendranath Tagore. Ganavani Publishing House, Calcutta. Second Edition. 1946. Pp. 43. Price eight annas.*

SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF SACHIVOTTOMA SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR (Dewan of Travancore) Vol. I & II : *Edited by P. G. Sahasranama Iyer. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Trivandrum, Travancore. 1945. The selections cover a period ranging from August 1928 to January 1945. Pp. 381.*

VERDICT ON INDIA ANALYSED : *Edited by V. P. Varma. New India Publications, 11 Lodge Road, Lahore. 1945. Pp. 48. Price Re. 1-4.*

VERDICT ON BEVERLEY NICHOLS : *By Gertrude Murray. Hind Kitabs, 267 Hornby Road, Bombay. 1945. Pp. 50. Price Re. 1-8.*

MINERAL RESOURCES (of India) : *By A. M. Heron, Director of Nizam Government's Mines and General Survey Department. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs, No. 28. The Oxford University Press, Calcutta. 1945. Pp. 32. Price six annas.*

SIAM : *By Sir Josiah Crosby. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs, No. 26. The Oxford University Press, Calcutta. 1945. Pp. 32. Price six annas.*

THE INDONESIAN QUESTION : *By 'Kaushik.' Thacker & Co. Ltd., Rampart Row, Bombay. Pp. 32. Price Re. 1.*

POST-WAR EDUCATION : *A Review of the Sargent Scheme with suggestions. Published by the Secretary, (All Bengal, Calcutta & University) A. B. C. U. Teachers' Association, 9 Russa Road, Calcutta. Pp. 28.*

CONSTITUTION OF INDIA : *By Raja Mahendra Pratap. Sansar Sangh, Dehra Dun. 1946. Pp. 34. Price Re. 1.*

A PLAN FOR THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF KOREA STATE : *By E. V. S. Maniam. A Report of the Economic and Industrial Survey of the Korea State, one of the Chattisgarh States belonging to the Eastern States Agency. Published by the Bikaner Economic Research, Madho Building, Connaught Circus, New Delhi. Pp. 90.*

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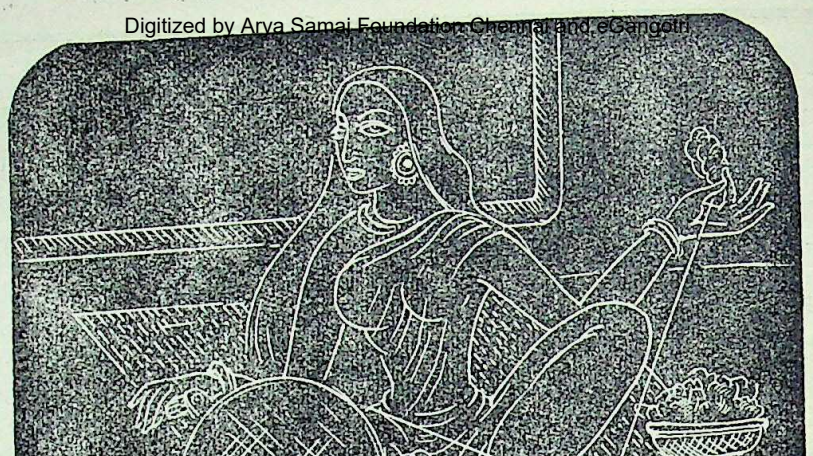

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Can India be One Nation ?

The National Christian Council Review observes :

The following comments on this vital question are the views of Dr. E. Stanley Jones. They are worthy of careful study in this critical period of readjustment in India. Here is what Dr. Jones says :

There are those who say that because India is made of many racial strains and religious allegiances she cannot become one nation. This is absurd. If you wait for a pure racial stock and one religious belief to have a nation, then you will not have a nation anywhere. For there are no pure racial stocks. Every race is mixed. The pure race is a myth. Intermingling of blood is in every race. This has been going on for millenniums.

If a nation is to be formed it must be formed out of heterogeneous races or not at all. But blood has little to do with the forming of a nation. A nation is formed around certain ideas and these ideas can be culturally imparted. The social heredity is the important thing in passing on ideas and attitudes to the next generation.

Take America. It is perhaps one of the most united nations on earth. There is a deep loyalty to the country. This loyalty is not imposed by snooping police but sprints up from within. But is America of one blood or race ? On the contrary. In the year 1930, says James Truslow Adams, the continental population was 123,000,000. Of this 14,000,000 were foreign born, and close to 40,000,000 were either foreign born or children of foreign born. Of the 8,000,000 voters one in every eight is foreign born. We have 6,800,000 Germans ; 4,500,000 Italians ; 4,300,000 Canadians ; British, 33,000,000 ; Poles, Irish and Scandinavians 3,100,000 each ; 2,600,000 Russians ; 1,400,000 Mexicans; 1,300,000 Czechs and some five or six million other nationalities, to say nothing of 12,000,000 Negroes. Thus an American can be a descendant of the settlers of Virginia or a person of a very different race—Greek, Lithuanian, Turk or what not. And yet America is a nation. Why ? Because she has organized life around certain ideas and loyalties under them. We do not mind a man being proud of being a Scandinavian if he is loyal to America.

About religion. We have every religion under heaven in America. There are about twenty million Roman Catholics. A majority are Protestants. We guarantee everyone liberty of belief and expression. People vote not as Catholics and Protestants but as citizens. Religion is something for the individual to hold or not to hold.

The idea that India cannot be one nation because it has different races and religions is absurd. Let certain controlling ideas of loyalty to India take possession of the people and out of this mass of people you can have one people. These ideas can be propagated through the schools and the public press.

Geographically India is one, set off by the most natural boundary lines of the world. There is also a deep cultural unity running through India in spite of the barriers of religions and caste. But modern life is flowing across those barriers. In a very short time it will inundate them. This morning I sat at the table with an Indian and from his dress, speech or anything else I could not tell whether he was a Hindu or a Moslem or a sceptic. Indian is one nation and will be one nation more and more.

The Slogan of "Divide India"

Louis Fischer writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

Robert Aura Smith worked in India during the war as chief of the American Office of War Information. Earlier, he had been a correspondent of the *New York Times,* in Asia. Now he has written a book entitled, *Divided India.* "My purpose in writing this book," he says in his preface, "is to make a small contribution, if I can, to a better understanding between Britons and Americans. The so-called problem of India has often been an impediment to those good relations."

With such a beginning, and with such a title, one expects the author to lionize Churchill and glorify Jinnah. Actually, however, Mr. Smith's thesis is that India, though divided, must not be divided. He stresses, indeed, I think he exaggerates, the divisive factors in India. Yet he vehemently and firmly rejects Pakistan, and advocates instead a united India with "strong Commonwealth commitments." Most Indians, as far as I could judge, want no Commonwealth commitments.

The core of Mr. Smith's book is a long chapter on the "Elements of Division" in India. But then he remarks, disarmingly, that "in actual practice these religious differences, profound as they are, have less bearing on the relationship of Muslim to Hindu than would be supposed. In the main the two groups live together in reasonable peace." This continues to be true, I assume, despite the bloody, barbarous, battles in Bombay, Bihar, Bengal, and the Punjab. "I have had in my own house and office in New Delhi, for example," Mr. Smith recalls—no doubt nostalgically—"at the same time, a Muslim major domo, a Christian cook, a Hindu masalchi (second boy), Hindu untouchable sweepers, Hindu (caste) messengers, a Parsi bookkeeper, Gurkha guards, and a Sikh chauffeur. There were no religious fights on the premises." But an unscrupulous politician could always incite to violence and hope to draw at least some blood in cowardly stabbings in hot house Indian cities and provinces.

Mr. Smith does not believe—and here I concur one hundred per cent—that a civil war in India is likely. He adduces many reasons. The most convincing is the altered character of the Indian armed services. After all, only Muslims would wish to launch a brother-*vs.*-brother conflict but they would because they would find it difficult because of the "gradual transformation in the character of the Indian military over a period of years until the balance no longer favours the Muslim."

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In the army, according to the author, Muslims are "less than one-third. The Hindus are slightly under one-half." In the Royal Indian Air Force, "the Hindu community is predominant." Moreover, "only 16 per cent of the air officers are Muslims, 47 per cent are Hindus, and 27 per cent are made up of Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Parsis. Among the enlisted airmen, the Hindus have just about 60 per cent, the Muslims only 17 per cent and the Indian Christians 18 per cent." Finally, Hindus and Parsis represent a growing proportion among the rank and file and officers corps of the navy.

Summing up, Mr. Smith finds that "the Muslims control not more than one-third the total organized military forces of India." In India I met some of those Muslims. They would certainly not heed Jinnah's or anyone's summons to anti-Indian civil war.

Warfare in modern times, Mr. Smith explains, is a technical business requiring men with education, mechanical training and technical knowledge. This, in his opinion, accounts for the diminishing importance of the martial Muslim.

My own view is that the leaders of the reactionary, landlord-ridden Muslim League have neither the organization nor the power to win or even to start a civil war. At worst they can keep India in turmoil through riots and political boycotts and thus drag their country down into still more abject poverty. This is a grave responsibility which only irresponsibles can face with equanimity.

Like Robert Aura Smith, every decent person everywhere, especially in India and England, should "resist the pernicious theory that India can be or ought to be divided." It is gratifying to find that Mr. Smith, who went to India with no burning zeal for Indian freedom and who still gives British imperialism the benefit of many doubts, has grasped the essential need for Indian unity.

The bisection of India would be a disaster to every Indian and would bring suffering and unhappiness upon every Muslim. In India I met many Muslims who know this but do not speak out. India is involved in a historic crisis, and now is, therefore, the time to speak up despite the Moslem League's unofficial terror.

A compromise is imperative in India. Mr. Smith favours the introduction of a constitutional system in which "residual sovereignty is vested in the units in any federation rather than in the federation itself." That, he says, "was the compromise that was affected in the United States. It was eventually resolved through a broad legal interpretation of the implied powers that were delegated to the federation. Some similar procedure may be necessary in India."

In the 18th century, the American founding fathers made concessions to state's rights. In the 19th century, America fought a civil war to remain one. In the 20th century, the federal government has been strengthened at the expense of the states. This is imposed by the needs of communications, planning, scientific progress, and every aspect of modern life. A modern India must be a united India.

Certainly, however, the experience of totalitarian dictatorship teachers democrats to fear the omnipotent federal government. That is an extreme to be avoided. But an equally perilous alternative is a disjointed federation of units at odds with one another, refusing to collaborate for national construcion, levying conflicting taxes and customs duties, and competing for chaos. This would be meat for an Indian Hitler or a Muslim Mussolini.

Both these extremes should be shunned in the interests of Indian and international democracy. Indian provinces and states ought, under the new constitution, receive the broadest autonomy compatible with the progress and prosperity of the country.

But obviously there can be no compromise between provincial rights and federal rights if the Muslim leaders insist on Pakistan. This is something which the British government does not appear to realize. Hence my sharply critical attitude towards Attlee's declaration of December 6th. As long as Mr. Jinnah is set on Pakistan and rejects a federation of provinces, how can the Muslim League ask for constitutional concessions to the provinces? How can the British expect Congress to offer concessions when the Pakistanians cannot take those concessions without abandoning Pakistan?

The original proposals of the British Cabinet mission were logical on this keypoint: they effectively argued against and then ruled out Pakistan. After that, they could envisage a constitutional compromise between the federal union and its parts.

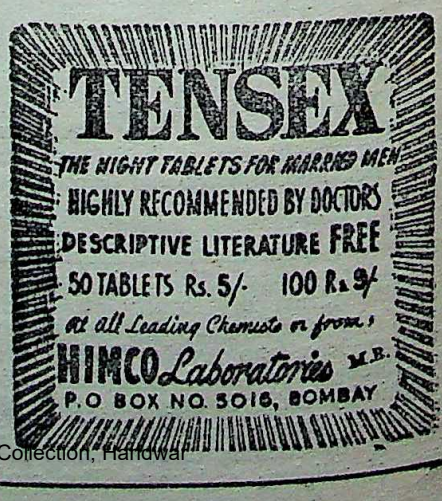
Pakistan is the obstacle. Remove the obstacle and let Congress thereupon act with vision and moderation. Divide India? Every Indian will pay for a divided India, pay for it with his food, clothing, health, and happiness. Divide India and subsequent generations will suffer and bleed until they reunite India.

United Asia

The New Review observes:

The whole of Asia came to Delhi and met in the Quila, the oldest historical monument of the old city. The huge *pandal*, clothed in orange and beige draperies and festooned with hundreds of coloured bulbs, was crowded with enthusiastic delegates and youthful visitors whilst the high rostrum, done in red, stood out against a large map of Asia beflagged with the colours of the nations.

Mrs. Naidu opened the proceedings in a speech replete with poetic imagery and oratorical cadence, and alive with the passion of a tired *prima donna*. Pundit Nehru followed in his business-like manner and adorned with humourous touches his vision of a re-awakened Asia united against nobody for the consummation of one world. Then the delegates came in turn to tell of the hopes and goodwill of their country: the Afghan beaming from afar behind his hooked nose, the Soviet Armenian who had well memorised his lesson, the Bhutan in colourful costume, the short sprightly judge from Burma, the bespectacled patriot of Lanka, the bearded red-capped Egyptian and his short-skirted translator, the Georgian red-tongued schoolmaster, the medical doctor of the Indonesian Mus-



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lim Party, the Chinese lawyer impassive in his olive complexion and the wisdom of the old Wang, the solemnly robed Arab who was the observer on behalf of the Middle East States, etc. All the Asian nations were there: barring two notable absentees, the new Japan and the Muslim League of India.

The Inter-Asian Conference was not planned as a counterpart of the UNESCO meeting recently held in Paris which was sponsored by the governments of the UNO (except Russia), and which was hampered by the political commitments of the States represented. The Delhi function was an informal and cordial gathering of leaders. The delegates were made to feel Asia-minded and decided to carry on their good work through the Asian Relations Organisation which will be some sort of an International Study Circle rather than a Committee of Action: educators, scientists, philosophers, labour leaders, social workers, in general builders of public opinion will meet and work out this new propaganda agency, which can be best compared to the Pan-American Union.

Inter-Asian Concord

India felt at her best in this large-scale function. She was at home to the whole of Asia; she put herself out to keep everybody contented, but on the next occasion she should eliminate the irrepressible 'society butterflies' who encumbered the tea-tables and the conversations. Her delegation dominated the proceedings with personalities like Pandit Nehru, Mrs. S. Naidu, Mrs. V. Pandit, and Gandhiji.

The delegates from the Soviet Republics of Asia at first created a vivid impression as coming from mysterious lands 'where the best is like the worst,' but they soon lost face. A film showing the military power of Russia proved jarring on what was essentially a peace-meeting, and the monotonous repetition of a memorised lesson at every meeting disappointed a public anxious for vital inspiration. Korea and the Philippines created a sensation by their very boldness; against the platitudinous denunciation of western democracies, they threw the vivid picture of what American democracy had achieved to prepare their own countries for independence.

One incident marred the harmony of the Asian concert: the clash between Egypt and Palestine. The greying professor Samuel H. Bergmann had sung his Zionist solo with legato determination; the sopranos of Egypt and the tenor of Arabia retorted with staccato acrimony; the professor wanted to go on, but the chief's baton cut him short, and he went away in a huff. Things looked dark for the future of Asian concerts, and Mrs. V. Pandit and Sir S. S. Bhatnagar rushed after the angered artist and brought him back for an allegro handshake which the audience applauded fortissimo.

This reminder of the sorry business of practical politics was the only unpleasant incident. Yet political pre-occupations were evident. There was first the live nationalism of most delegates who felt impatient at the obduracy of western imperialism. There also pierced here and there a definite fear of the Big Two of Asia, and several delegates did not hide their sanguine hope that the Interasian Relations Organisation would be their best protection against domination by China and India. The common man has grown afraid of everything big.

The Conference was so successful that it was resolved to hold a second in China. The closing ceremony was planned on a grand scale, and Lord Mountbatten and Pundit Nehru had 'commanded' the appearance of Gandhiji. He was given a enthusiastic ovation as the greatest figure of Asia. Gandhiji was not at his best; age and fatigue have told on him and his contribution was less felicitous than usual. He went out of his way to decry 'Christianity which had been disfigured by going to the west' though it is the same Christianity as came to the east, he made Moses into a Palestinian for the sake of his geographical argument, and *horribile dictu*, he failed to mention Confucius among the important sages of the East. But, as Mr. Casey wrote, Gandhiji 'is neither a saint nor a statesman, yet he might be called a statesman among saints and a saint among statesmen,' and he remains the most popular leader of the Asian masses. As most of his speech was inaudible, nobody quarelled with what he said, and all applauded what he is.

It is yet too early to assess the bearing of the Conference; its significance came from the quality of its members and from the goodwill they displayed. Some say it was all talk and no business; yet talk is ninety per cent of business; study clubs and discussion groups prepared legislation and revolution, and exchange of views is as effective as exchange of goods. Asian consciousness is still in its infancy, but it is possibly as advanced as European consciousness and less entrammeled in the meshes of the past. Its growth should be watched with caution and sympathy.

শীঘ্রই প্রকাশিত হইতেছে

প্রথিতযশা লেখিকা শ্রীশান্তা দেবীর

রামানন্দ ও অর্দ্ধ-শতাব্দীর বাংলা

বাংলার সাংস্কৃতিক আন্দোলনের পটভূমিকায় বর্ত্তমান যুগের অন্যতম শ্রেষ্ঠ মনীষীর জীবনাদর্শের সুনিপুণ বর্ণনি ও বিশ্লেষণ।

প্রবাসীর আকারে বহু পৃষ্ঠায় সম্পূর্ণ, বহু চিত্রশোভিত, বাংলা-সাহিত্যে অভিনব জীবনচরিত। ইহা একাধারে মনীষী রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায়ের জীবনী এবং সমসাময়িক বাংলার সাংস্কৃতিক প্রগতির ইতিহাস। বিগত পঞ্চাশ বৎসরের বাংলার সাহিত্যিক, রাজনৈতিক ও সামাজিক ইত্যাদি যাবতীয় আন্দোলনের প্রকৃত স্বরূপ উপলব্ধি করিতে হইলে এই পুস্তকখানি অপরিহার্য্য।

প্রবাসী কার্য্যালয়, ১২০।২, আপার সার্কুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

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The I.N.T.U.C,

The New Review observes :

The Trade-Union movement in India always followed an erratic path, irreducible to a rational equation. Its stationary points, its loops, cusps and other vagaries tell a story of haphazard growth, disunion and disintegration. The explanation is that Indian labour organisation has known little genuine Trade-Unionism. It is not only that factory labour is fluctuating at a desperate rhythm (replacement often reaching as much as fifty per cent per year) or that labour is uneducated, indisciplined and heterogeneous; the main reason is that labour organisation was rarely based on the necessary postulates of professional development. Genuine Trade-Unionism postulates that the development will take place in the existing order of society; of its nature it is evolutionary.

In India a revolutionary spirit cramped and stifled the evolution. Born of the industrial unrest of 1917, Indian Trade-Unionism was put on a somewhat stable basis in 1920. What damaged it was not so much the non-violent revolution which the Congress pursued in politics, but it was the Communist influence which dreamed of a social revolution, attended even with violence. The All-India Trade-Union Congress which had begun good work in 1920 was captured by the Communists in 1929; but their very violence which the Meerut trials brought to light revolted labour opinion, provoked divisions and arrested the movement. The damage was long to remedy, and the Trade-Union Unity Committee had hardly rallied the National Trade Union Federation to the A.I.T.U.C. in 1940 that a new split occurred about the war efforts. Radical Democrats and Communists opposing the stand taken by the National Congress. In January, 1945 at the Madras session the A.I.T.U.C. emphatically supported the Congress programme, but when the Working Committee of the Congress Party had unequivocally condemned the unpatriotic attitude of the Communist Party, the Trade-Union organisation was burrowed out by the Reds who recaptured the A.I.T.U.C. The danger of abandoning labour to the Communists grew as the day of independence and national reconstruction came near. It was decided to set up a new organisation, and in a conference at Delhi on May 4, Sardar Patel, Pandit Nehru, Dr. R. M. Lohia, Mr. Jagjiwan Ram, Mrs. Asaf Ali and other Congress leaders launched the new venture. Sardar Patel was brutally frank: Communists dominate the A.I.T.U.C.; they call only strikes that serve their party and discredit the Government; they foment irresponsible strikes, refuse adjudication and arbitration and favour a 'go slow' policy when production should be intensified. Moreover, they put up a bogus membership and use unscrupulous means in their election methods. Hence the only way out is to give up the irreformable A.I.T.U.C. and start the Indian National Trade Union Congress.

At present the cleavage between Congressites and Communists is sharper than ever. But it will be difficult for Trade Unionism in India to escape the influence of political parties. It is worthy of note that the Ahmedabad Unions which were organised under Gandhiji's guidance obstinately remained aloof from the A.I.T.U.C. or any other All-India labour organisation; they are those that proved most serviceable to the workers. The lesson is clear; Trade-Unions fare best when they eschew the domination of political parties. But politicians are not prepared to learn that lesson; they have all a little totalitarian shirt in their wardrobe.

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AN APPEAL FOR HOSPITAL FUNDS

BY

BANKURA SAMMILANI

Bankura Sammilani is a philanthropic non-official Association of the district of Bankura started in Calcutta in 1911 and has been rendering humanitarian services in the country for 36 years since its inception. It is also a registered association. It rendered help in the previous floods and famines and also in the distress prevalent last year in the district to the distressed people in the affected areas by starting its own relief centres.

It has also been rendering permanent help to the country by establishment of a non-official Medical School in 1922 and its hospital of about 150 beds in Bankura. The annual recurring expenditure of the institution which is very economically managed by the Committee is at present about a lac of rupees. It is an affiliated institution but receives no government grant. It is unique in the country and an example of self-help as observed by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal Sir John Anderson in 1935 during his visit to the Institution. The other Governors and also the non-official distinguished persons, such as Mahatma Gandhi, Kaviguru Rabindra Nath, Sir P. C. Roy, Sj. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and other personages, visited the institution and appreciated in the same terms the humble activities of the Sammilani.

Under the recent circular of the affiliating authority, the institution must be uplifted to the standard of a College for which expansion of its hospital up to 400 beds and proper equipments of considerable value have at present become absolutely necessary. The institution is entirely dependent on the generosity of the kind-hearted persons. The Sammilani has formed a special Committee to work in this direction of uplifting the institution in co-operation with all the members, staff, Students and well-wishers of the institution. It has got its accounts in the Calcutta and Bankura Banks.

It has already commenced brick manufacturing and other works for the purpose. The Sammilani, therefore, appeals for help from the generous public for this present Capital expenditure of this non-official institution. Any contribution however small will be very thankfully received by the collectors of Sammilani Hospital Funds by giving proper receipts of Sammilani and taking the signatures and addresses of the donors in a separate book for the purpose of having the accounts properly checked at the time of audit. It may be also sent to the Treasurer of Bankura Sammilani by Money Order or by Cheques at his address at 3, Ashu Biswas Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta, or to the Superintendent B. S. Medical School, Bankura.

Dated 20th April, 1947.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Texts of Statements Made by Zionist and Arab Spokesmen Before Committee of U. N.

Following are the texts of statements made before the General Assembly's Political ind Security Committee today by Moshe Shertok, head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency for Palestine ; Emile Ghory, Secretary of the Delegation of the Arab Higher Committee of Palestine, and David Ben-Gurion, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency, as published in *The New York Times*, May 13, 1947 :

BY MR. SHERTOK

I am here to reply to the questions which were put to Dr. Silver after the conclusion of his address to the Committee. In so doing, I hope I may be permitted also to clear up some of the underlying issues, in order to bring out the meaning of my replies a little more clearly.

I would begin with a question asked by the representative of Poland as to the organization, composition and functions of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. In the mandate, it was the Zionist Organization which was recognized as the Jewish Agency, with powers to advise and co-operate with the mandatory administration in matters concerning the Jewish national home and to take part in the country's development.

At the time, the World Zionist Organization, founded fifty years ago, was already twenty-five years old. Subsequently, certain non-Zionist groups joined in forming an enlarged Jewish Agency, but the Zionist Organization has remained the main driving force. The World Zionist Organization has today local organizations in more than sixty countries—with a few exceptions, in every country where Jews live.

Within the Zionist movement, as in any democratically organized society, there are parties: the Labour party and other labour groups, the Center or General Zionists, the Mizrachi or the orthodox religious Zionists, and the Revisionists. This party division is reflected in our Congresses, which are held once in every two years after a general election in all countries. The Congress elects our executive, the present executive was elected by the 360 delegates to the twenty-second Zionist Congress in Basle last December, who, in turn, were elected by nearly two million Zionist voters throughout the world. The executive has headquarters in Jerusalem and branches with resident members in New York, London and Paris.

AGENCY'S DUTIES OUTLINED

Two things must be stressed. First, the Agency is the spokesman, not merely of Jews already settled in Palestine, but of all Jews throughout the world who are devoted to the idea of the Jewish national home. The entire Jewish people, I might say, hold the Jewish Agency responsible for the success of that great enterprise. Secondly, the Agency is not merely an organ of national representation, but an instrument of nation-building, an institution of immigration, development and settlement. It mobilizes the energies and resources of our people for national reconstruction, and in Palestine it directs large-scale practical development work.

It has been responsible for bringing hundreds of thousands of Jews to Palestine and settling them there. It has carried out an extensive program of settlement on the land. It has stimulated major industrial development. It has supplied guidance and co-ordination to the vast volume of free initiative and enterprise in the work of Jewish settlement. Our Jerusalem headquarters is divided into departments: political, financial, immigration, agricultural settlement, trade and industry, labour, etc.

During the war, the Jewish Agency acted, in a way, as a recruiting authority. It mobilized the Jewish war effort in Palestine in the cause of the United Nations. It has supplied 33,000 volunteers for armed service within the British forces. They defended Palestine, served in most middle eastern countries and fought in the campaigns of Africa and Europe. All industrial, technical and scientific resources of Jewish Palestine were harnessed to the war effort.

So much for the Jewish Agency as such. Politically, its primary function has been to uphold and defend Jewish rights under the mandate. Immigration is the crux of the problem and several of the questions put to Dr. Silver bear on that issue. In answering these questions, I must make one basic point clear by way of background.

If it is granted that the Jewish people are in Palestine as of right, then all the implications and corollaries of that premise must be accepted. The foremost is that Jews must be allowed to resettle in Palestine in unlimited numbers, provided only they do not displace or worsen the lot of the existing inhabitants who are also there as of right. If that basic premise is not granted, then there is very little to discuss.

It may sound quite plausible to argue that if the right of the Jews to return to Palestine is admitted on the grounds of ancient history, then the whole map of the world would have to be remade and chaos would ensue. But does the question really arise? Do the descendants of the Romans, for example, claim entry into England? Do they need England? Does their future, their very existence, depend on settling there? Or do the Arabs, for that matter, press to return to Andalusia in Spain? Is it a matter of life and death for them? The analogy is fallacious and misleading.

The great historic phenomenon of the Jewish return to Palestine is unique because the position of the Jewish people as a homeless people, and yet attached with an unbreakable tenacity to its birthplace, is unique. It is that phenomenon that has made the problem of Palestine an issue in international affairs, and no similar issue has ever arisen.

Were it not for the presence in Palestine today of over 600,000 Jews who refuse to be left in the minority position under Arab domination; were it not for the urge to settle in Palestine, of hundreds of thousands of homeless and uprooted Jews in Europe, in the Orient, and elsewhere; were it not for the hopes and efforts of millions of Jews throughout the world to re-establish their national home and build it up into a Jewish state, then the United Nations would not be faced with the problem of Palestine as it is now. The problem is real and pressing. It cannot be made to disappear by conjuring up non-existent difficulties alleged to be involved in its solution.

When the distinguished representative from India asks how many Jews from outside there were in Palestine at certain dates—the operating words being "from outside"—I must confess I am somewhat baffled. I can give him the round figures for the Jewish population in those years —50,000 in 1900, 165,000 in 1930, 475,000 in 1939. Now about 650,000. Incidentally, there are more Jews in Palestine today than there were Arabs at the end of

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the first World War. But as to "Jews from outside," I cannot say. In a way, they are all from outside; they are practically all immigrants.

There was but a tiny Jewish community in Palestine prior to 1880. In the early 1880's, the return started, almost simultaneously from Russia and Rumania, from Morocco and southern Arabia, and since then it has been practically continuous. It started because the Jews had always believed it to be their inalienable right to resettle in Palestine. That right was subsequently internationally recognized and enshrined in the mandate. But quite apart from the mandate, nothing will eradicate, from the hearts of Jews, the conviction that it is their right to return. So in that deeper sense, they are from not outside at all but sons of the country.

By the way, my Arab countrymen make much of the fact that Palestine has already taken in so many immigrants. These immigrants, they said, were received by the Arabs. We are very sorry, but we cannot concede them that credit. Conversely, they say that the Jews have settled in Palestine at the expense of the Arabs. That debit item, too, we cannot admit. There has been no receiving of Jewish immigrants by Arabs nor any settlement of Jews at the expense of the Arabs.

The Jews did not come as guests of anyone. They came in their own right. They received themselves and their brothers; and they did so by their own efforts and at the expense of no one else. Every acre of land we tilled was bought and had to be wrested from wilderness and desolation. Nothing was taken away—not one house, not one job. A tremendous amount of work, wealth and well-being was presented to the Arab population.

The honorable representative from India also asked what was the age of the Jewish communities in Europe; and whether, since the Hitler Regime had been crushed, the Jewish displaced persons would not be better advised to stay in Germany.

As to the age of European Jewry, it is on the whole quite venerable, but age has not made for security. Three-quarters of that Jewry—6,000,000 people—are no more. But let us go back into the past. Jews had lived in Spain for a whole millennium when, in 1942, they were despoiled and expelled, and only those who gave up their Jewish identity and became Christians were allowed to remain. Jews have lived in Poland since the eleventh or twelfth century, but in the seventeenth they were the victims of ferocious massacres. Then there were pogroms under the Russian Czars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and in the last war, as we have just heard, came the final catastrophe. Nearly all of Polish Jewry—3,000,000 men, women and children—were wiped out by the Nazis.

In Germany, the beginnings of Jewish settlement are traced back to the fourth century. But just six centuries ago, most of the Jews in Germany were destroyed in a wave of frenzied persecution which swept Europe. Then, by the twentieth century, German Jews had reached the pinnacle of emancipation and were largely assimilated. Yet they were hurled down into the abyss of degradation and death. Even converts to Christianity were not spared.

Anti-Semitism Survives Hitler

It is true that Hitler is gone now, but not anti-Semitism. He was the product, not the source of German Jew-hatred. Anti-Semitism in Germany and in many other parts of Europe is as rife as ever and potentially militant and fierce. Some Governments tried their best to keep it down, but they have a very hard job in doing so. The very age of European Jewry serves only to accentuate the basic historic unsecurity of Jewish life in the dispersion.

The honorable representative of India has also asked whether the Jewish displaced persons would be assimilable in Palestine. The answer is yes. They would be perfectly assimilable in the Jewish community there—the one Jewish community in the world with a self-contained economic system and an independent cultural life which is eager and able to receive and absorb them. He asked whether they would not be better assimilable in Germany. The answer is no. You cannot settle in a graveyard, nor can you build a dwelling out of heaps of rubble.

Actually, most of the Jewish displaced persons are not from Germany itself, but from other countries. They are today in camps, or they otherwise continue as refugees because they cannot be resettled in Europe. They have now waited for two years, and in all this time no one has come forward with a solution to their problem. The clear recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee have remained on paper and, to them, they have proved a mockery.

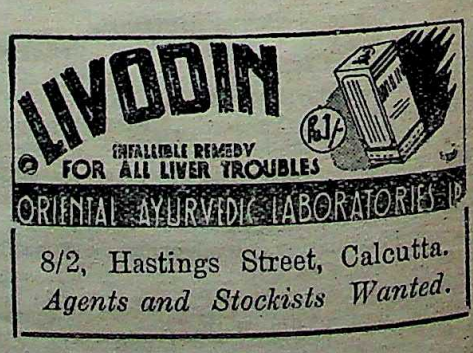
No one has offered an alternative to Palestine. But even if there were an alternative, they refused to be treated as mere chattels. They appeal to the world to realize that they form part of a people which has a national will of its own. They want to go to the only country where they will feel at home, both individually and collectively. Their problem is inseparable from the problem of Palestine. It is the problem of Palestine.

To treat the issue of Palestine in isolation from the immigration issue would make as much sense as to study the beating of a heart in disregard of blood circulation. A solution for the problem of Palestine which would ignore the Jewish claim and the need for immigration would solve nothing. Whoever undertook to implement such a solution would be driven back by the sheer impact of reality to face the problem of immigration.

I may perhaps interpose here an answer to the question put by the honorable representative of the Union of South Africa. He asked whether we wanted the question of the DP's in Europe examined solely in connection with Palestine, or in its general aspect. Our answer is that we believe that only in Palestine can the problem of these people be permanently and constructively solved, for only there can their lives be rebuilt on secure foundations and their homes become part of the home of the entire people.

The immigration issue is not confined to that of the Jewish displaced persons and unsettled refugees in Europe. Various Jewish communities in Europe are involved, as well as the Jews of the Arab and Oriental countries. With regard to these, members of the United Nations have heard during the present session idyllic accounts of the conditions of complete equality and true brotherhood under which they live. The Jewish Agency is naturally very intimately acquainted with the position, and the picture as we know it is totally different.

In most of these countries Jews are treated as second or third-rate citizens. They live in perpetual fear of eruptions of fierce fanaticism, of which there have been tragic examples both in recent years and in the more remote



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past. Their lot ranges from precarious sufferance to active persecution. All formal statements under duress notwithstanding, their hopes and dreams are centered on Zion, and their youth has no other idea but to join its builders.

DP Problem Urgent

We very strongly urge that the position of these communities should form part of the committee's investigations. But the most urgent problem is, of course, that of the displaced persons in Europe who are now on the brink of despair.

The present political crisis in Palestine is nothing but a clash between the dire needs of Jewish immigration and the current anti-immigration policy of the mandatory power. We were asked by the representative of India why public servants of the British Government in Palestine are today the victims of terrorist activity. The answer is because the White Paper of 1939 is still in force. Terrorism is a pernicious outgrowth of a disastrous policy.

The Jewish Agency has unreservedly condemned terrorist bloodshed and in that attitude it is supported by the large majority of the organized Jewish community. Its harm to the Jews and to the Jewish future is far graver than to the Government and people of the United Kingdom. But Jewish efforts to resist and check terrorism are continually frustrated because Government action, in pursuance of the White Paper, adds fuel to the fire. Our efforts will continue, but the representative of India will no doubt agree that Palestine is not the only country which has been afflicted with this most hateful disease.

Another question was why, in contradiction to the Emir Feisal's [Arab leader at 1919 Peace Conference] attitude, the Palestine Arabs were now opposed to Jewish immigration. Since that question was put, we have heard a very able exposition of the Palestine-Arab case which fully covered the point. All I would add is that the uncompromising opposition to immigration now voiced does not invalidate the broader conception and bolder vision expressed in the Feisal-Weizmann agreement, which indicated a way of harmonizing Jewish and Arab aspirations within a wider framework, fully taking into account the independence then promised and now achieved by the Arabs in vast territories.

While I am on the point of promises, may I be permitted to recall that Sir Henry McMahon [British High Commissioner in Egypt during World War I] himself stated that Palestine was never included in the promises made by him to the Arabs, and that this was well understood at the time by the late King Hussein [King Hussein of Hedjaz, Sherif of Mecca in 1915]; also that Trans-Jordan, which was originally included in the Balfour Declaration, is today an Arab state.

Finally, the distinguished representative of India asked whether we recognized the distinction between a Jewish state and a Jewish national home. The answer is that we do, but perhaps not quite in the sense in which the question was meant. The establishment of the Jewish national home is a process. The setting up of a Jewish State is its consummation. That such consummation had been intended by the authors of the Jewish national home policy and that a way was definitely left open for its achievement was conclusively proved by the Palestine Royal Commission. The point was fully understood by those responsible for the 1944 Statement on Palestine of the British Labour Party executive.

The Indian representative drew attention to the use in that statement of the term, "Jewish national home" and not "Jewish state." But may I recall the words of Mr. Hugh Dalton, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, when reporting on that statement of the executive to the Labour Party Conference. He urged common support, in consultation with the United States and Soviet Governments—and now I quote—"for a policy which will give us a happy, free, ind prosperous Jewish state in Palestine." That was only two years ago.

The matter has a most vital bearing on the question of Palestine's independence. Unlike other mandates of Category A, the declared object of which was to prepare the country for independence, the Palestine mandate has no such clause. Its primary purpose, in the words of the Royal Commission, is the establishment of the Jewish national home. But, of course, the ultimate goal must be independence and the mandate must be terminated.

So if, upon the termination of the Palestine mandate, its original purpose is to be fulfilled, if the future of the Jewish national home is to be permanently secured, if the national interest of the Jewish people is to be harmonized with other interests and not sacrificed for their sake, then a Jewish State must come into being. A home, in the words of a British statesman, in the debate on the White Paper for Palestine, is a place to which one is always free to come back. How is the national home to fulfil its primary functions of being open to Jews in need of it, if it is to remain forever subjected to non-Jewish sovereignty?

Would Secure Arab Minority

An Arab minority in a Jewish state will be secure, if for no other reason, because the state will forever remain surrounded by Arab countries with which it will be most vitally interested to be at peace; also because there will always be Jewish minorities in other lands.

But a Jewish minority in an Arab state will have no such security at all. It will be at the mercy of the Arab majority, which would be free from all restraints. To provide boldly, if I may put it that way, for the inde-

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pendence of Palestine as a country, without placing an equal emphasis on safeguarding the independence of the Jews as a people, is to tear the problem out of its real context and load the dice heavily against the Jews. The whole issue is likely to be vitiated in advance by such an approach.

The question of our living with the Arab peoples and the relationship of a Jewish state with them is, of course, the dominant question of the future. The distinguished representative of Poland has asked, in his second question, whether there have been attempts at collaboration between Jews and Arabs. The answer is, yes, there have been, on both sides. Arabs and Jews have co-operated and are co-operating successfully in the wide and varied fields of municipal, commercial and labour affairs.

Arabic is taught in all Jewish secondary schools and in a large number of primary schools. The Jewish Agency is particularly active in spreading knowledge of Arabic in the Jewish settlements and promoting friendly relations between them and their Arab neighbours. From personal observation and direct experience accumulated over a period of forty-one years' residence in Palestine, I can affirm that there is nothing inherent in the nature of either the native Arab or the immigrant Jew which prevents friendly co-operation. On the contrary, considering the admitted great difference of background, they mix remarkably well.

By mixing I do not mean assimilation, for the Jew does not come to Palestine to assimilate to the Arab, but to develop his own distinctive individuality. Nor does he expect the Arab to assimilate to himself. What I mean is co-operation between a self-respecting Jew and a self-respecting Arab, and between the two communities.

Today the issue is overshadowed and practical co-operation is hampered by the political conflict over the country's future. The present official leaders of the Arab states, having achieved practically all they wanted with so little sacrifice, refuse to admit the ligitimacy of the national aspirations of another people. At the head of the Arab Higher Committee of Palestine stands a man who, apart from other well-known aspects of his activity, was directly involved during the war in the Nazi policy of extermination of the European Jews.

Nevertheless, the Jews do not lose heart. They come to Palestine not to fight the Arab world, but to live at peace with it. They are not an outpost of any foreign domination. Their ambition is to integrate themselves into the modern structure of reviving Asia. They are an old Asiatic people returning to their home. At the same time, they are anxious to make their contribution to the great work of bridge-building between modern Asia and the rest of the world.

Partnership of Equality Asked

Their intense experience in development within the narrow confines of Palestine is yielding results which may be of value to all who are interested in social and economic progress in the Middle East and beyond. But their true partnership with their neighbours can only be based upon equality of status and mutual respect. They claim what is the natural right of any people on the face of the earth —that as many of them as possible should live together in their own country, freely develop their civilization, make their contribution to the common stock of humanity, and be self-governing and independent. They cannot possibly surrender that claim, and for its attainment they appeal for the assistance of the entire family of nations.

In conclusion, may I answer the question of the distinguished delegation from Colombia on our views regarding the composition of the special committee. We would not differentiate between big and small powers, nor would we suggest the exclusion of any Government merely we suggest the exclusion of any Government merely because it happens to have or may develop a policy on Palestine. Having a policy does not necessarily mean being directly concerned as an interested party. But we believe that parties directly concerned should not serve on the committee. That should exclude the United Kingdom, for reasons put, if I may say so, with unanswerable cogency by the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom himself. We would also definitely exclude the Arab states, unless it were agreed that the committee should contain one Arab and one Jewish member.

By Mr. Ghory

I have the answers to the questions presented, and a short statement on the terms of reference. These are the replies of the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine to the questions raised at the meeting of the First Committee of the General Assembly on May 9, 1947.

The reply to the question asked by the distinguished representative of Poland: The Arab Higher Committee in Palestine is represented by those of its members who are resident in that country where it has its own organization and offices. The Arab Higher Committee is, itself, the executive. Its decisions, which are made by majority vote, are executed through its own officials.

Part (b) of the question: The Jewish Agency is a body created under the mandate with a view to advising and co-operating with the administration of Palestine on certain matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish National Rule. As the Arabs have never recognized the mandate, the Balfour Declaration, or anything deriving from either, there can be no question of collaboration with a body which is a creature of the mandate and which has as its own object the realization of Zionist aims in Palestine.

The reply to the question asked by the distinguished representative of Guatemala:

As has been explained in our statement made before this distinguished committee on May 9, 1947, Arabs and Jews, prior to the Balfour Declaration, merged harmoniously in the Arab national structure of the country, and their relationship was based on cordiality and mutual respect. The direct result of the Balfour Declaration, and the policy of the mandate connected therewith, was to disturb this harmonious relationship to the extent of recourse to armed conflicts.

There is no reason, however, to suppose that such harmony cannot be restored once the Zionists relinquish their political designs and ambitions in Palestine. This object can be attained only by the establishment of an independent state of Palestine which will not support or facilitate the realization of such political designs and ambitions of an alien minority against the majortiy of the inhabitants.

I would remind the distinguished questioner of the statement presented on behalf of the delegation of the Arab Higher Committee on May 9 to the effect that Arab opposition to immigration and the policy of establishing

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a Jewish national home in Palestine is not based on any racial prejudice against the Jews as such, but would be equally strong whatever the race or religion of any group which might attempt to wrest the country from its Arab inhabitants, or to force emigrants into it against the will of the Arabs.

ARABS CONCERNED OVER LAWLESSNESS

The reply to the latter part of the question is that the Arabs are deeply concerned over the situation actually existing in Palestine, not only because of its political implications, but also on account of the state of insecurity, lawlessness, and the damage to the economy of the country resulting from it. The continued deterioration of the situation is to be attributed to the lack of fairness and determination on the part of the authorities in Palestine to stem it.

Contrary to the attitude taken by the same authorities during the Arab revolt which lasted from 1937 until 1939, the restraint shown by the Arabs can neither be taken as an indication of indifference to the political significance of the situation, nor a gauge of their future attitude, which may be dictated by the demands of self-defence against aggression in all its forms.

We earnestly trust that the United Nations will appreciate the self-restraint of the Arabs and bring about justice and lasting peace to Palestine.

Regarding the question asked by the distinguished representative of Colombia, it was remarked at the time we delivered our statement on May 9 that the question was asked that, in view of the statements made by the honorable representatives—namely, that there was an absence of neutrality and even bias—it was very difficult to express any views on the composition of the proposed committee of inquiry.

In reply to the questions asked by the distinguished representative from India:

With respect to the first question, relating to the contra-distinction between a Jewish national home and a Jewish state, the delegation of the Arab Higher Committee desires to put on record that it is not prepared to consider or even discuss any solution based upon, or having any reference to, the meaning or intention, or even what it may have been of the Balfour Declaration.

The Arabs of Palestine have at all times maintained that the Balfour Declaration does not and cannot bind or affect them, and have expressed their opposition thereto by all the means at their disposal. The protests, strikes, and uprising of the Arabs of Palestine during the last twenty-nine years manifested their opposition to the Balfour Declaration.

Out of courtesy, however, to the distinguished questioner, I have to reply to his question, and I would observe that not only a Jewish national home is not inconsistent with a completely independent and sovereign Arab Palestinian state, but that it was specifically stated by both parties to the Balfour Declaration that it was not intended to involve the notion of a state. In the statements of policy of 1922 and 1939, the United Kingdom have unequivocally repudiated the idea or aim that the Jewish national home implied or contemplated a Jewish state.

On the other hand, some Jewish leaders have expressed the same view.

Mr. Sokoloff, the President of the Zionist Organization, in the introduction of his History of Zionism, written in 1918, said: "It has been said and is still being obstinately repeated by anti-Zionists again and again that Zionism aims at the creation of an independent Jewish state, but this is wholly fallacious. The Jewish state was never a part of the Zionist program."

BENTWICH IS QUOTED

Again, the Jewish national home was defined by a Jewish jurist, Mr. Norman Bentwich, in a book published by him in 1924 called "The Mandate System." On page 24 he wrote as follows: "It signifies a territory in which people without receiving rights of political sovereignty has nevertheless a recognized legal position and the opportunity of developing its moral, social and intellectual ideas."

Without accepting in any way even those British and Jewish interpretations of the Jewish national home, I only refer to them for what they are worth.

Concerning two other questions, according to the available official figures, the number of Jews in Palestine has increased between 1900 and 1939 as follows: For 1900 we have no available official figures; in 1918 there were 56,000 Jews, and this figure is based upon a Jewish estimate. In 1930 there were 165000 Jews; 1939, 445,000 Jews. I regret that I am not in a position at the moment to state authoritatively the number of Jews who until 1900 had gone to Palestine from Czarist Russia.

The increase in the number of Jews since 1918 has been due primarily to immigration as may be seen from the following figures which are also derived from official sources—namely, between 1920 and 1930, including 1930, 105,000 Jewish immigrants entered Palestine; between 1931 and 1939, 218,000; a total of 323,000 immigrants. These figures are of the registered immigrants and do not include the so-called illegal immigrants.

Since 1939, when the White Paper was issued and in which the mandatory power declared that the Jewish national home had been accomplished, over 100,000 Jewish immigrants have entered the country. This figure again does not include the illegal immigrants.

It is understood that few of these immigrants speak Hebrew, the language they speak is either Yiddish, which I gather is a jargon of western and eastern languages, or the language of their country of origin.

In regard to the question as to whether or not these immigrants are easily assimiable in Palestine, I would say that the reply is in the negative.

With regard to the value of the mineral deposits of the Dead Sea, a governmental commission of inquiry has in 1925 estimated them at £240,524,000,000. The enormous possibilities of the Dead Sea, as well as the economic and political interests involved, are outlined in a speech made by the Right Honorable Viscount Templeton in the House of Lords on March 20, 1929. According to the same source, the importance of the Dead Sea and the interest taken in it by a British group date back to as early as 1916.

In reply to the question asked by the representative of Yugoslavia on the establishment of an independent and sovereign state of Palestine, the constitutional organization will be based on democratic lines in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, and will not be dissimilar to constitutional organizations existing in democratic countries.

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Asks Undivided Palestine

These are the answers to the questions raised, but I would ask the indulgence of your esteemed committee to make two observations in connection with certain discussions relative to the terms of reference of the special committee. I wish to express the serious apprehension of the delegation of the Arab Higher Committee concerning the inclusion of any terms of reference which would contemplate, even as a mere possibility, any solution for the problem of Palestine conflicting with its right to complete an unstinted independence as one undivided whole.

We are entitled to the independence we enjoyed, and which was recognized by the Covenant of the League of Nations, but of which we were unjustly and illegally deprived as a consequence of the mandate.

We only request the application to us of the principles of democracies. We are only asking for our natural rights. It is therefore the determined and unequivocal will of the Arabs to refuse to consider any solution which entails or even implies the loss of their sovereignty to the whole or to any part of their countries, or the diminution of such sovereignty in any form whatever.

My second observation relates to the question of refugees and displaced persons. This delegation has defined its attitude in this matter in a previous statement.

I would, however, emphasize that any attempt to solve the question of refugees and displaced persons at our expense will meet with the resolute opposition of the Arabs and will certainly prejudice the chances of a successful inquiry and the chances of any just solution. Palestine has paid dearly for its forced contribution to the refugee problem. This is all the more inequitable as Palestine was at no time responsible in any way for the fate of the refugees. The linking of the refugee problem with the problem of Palestine would mean a pre-judging of the inquiry in favour of the Zionists and would make it necessary for the Arabs to reconsider their attitude toward the whole inquiry.

There is one final request which I respectfully put to this esteemed committee. With the setting up of the proposed special committee of inquiry, the Palestine problem in its entirety becomes *sub judice*. As the question of immigration is one of the fundamental factors involved, the continued Jewish immigration is bound to prejudice the issue.

The delegation of the Arab Higher Committee strongly feels that the immediate and complete stoppage of all immigration in the meantime is imperative if the chance of a successful inquiry is not to be prejudiced. The delegation therefore strongly urges that a recommendation to this effect should be made to the United Kingdom Government. We take this opportunity to declare that we shall continue to resist all Jewish immigration to Palestine under all circumstances.

One more point I ask for your indulgence to permit me to present. Had it not been for the references made this morning in this esteemed committee to His Eminence, the Grand Mufti, the chairman of the Higher Arab Committee, I would not have kept you any longer.

Defends Grand Mufti

I can understand that the acts of any one who seemed to cast in his lot with the Axis during the war must seem to be wicked and detestable. I can also understand how difficult it is for some of you at this moment to see the Grand Mufti in any other light than this. But I am also convinced that, if the reasons that drove him to take the course he took were fully known, fairminded men would at least see that there was another side to this matter; that in fact it was the policy that was adopted in Palestine that finally forced this course of action on the Mufti.

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The Mufti, driven first from his own country, Palestine, in 1937, then from Syria, and lastly compelled to flee from Iraq and Persia, and refused asylum in Turkey, having no alternative, sought refuge in Germany, not because he believed in Nazism, but because he had despaired of justice. Twenty years before, when General Allenby entered Jerusalem, the Mufti had been among the first who went out of the city to greet the British as allies and liberators, and he immediately set about recruiting Arabs for service in the Allied armies.

Until 1936 his attitude toward the British was so cooperative that on several occasions he was accused by the extremists among his own supporters of being a British tool. If later he abandoned that attitude it was entirely the results of twenty years of British policy in Palestine. The Mufti has been attacked as the most inveterate enemy of British policy in the Middle East. That is quite true. He has been the enemy of British policy—as was General Smuts less than fifty years ago—and as was George Washington of this country.

Chairman (Lester B. Pearson): I am sorry to have to interrupt the speaker, but I should like to point out to him that the *bona fides* of any member of the executive of the Arab Higher Committee has not been called into question in this committee at any time, so far as I am aware, and therefore any defense of him in this committee is unnecessary. I venture to express the hope that he might restrict his remarks to the question before us—the terms of reference of the Committee of Inquiry.

Mr. Ghory: This morning the name of His Eminence, the chairman of the Arab Higher Committee, was referred to in contempt by the spokesman for the Jewish Agency—it will not take me long to finish my statement in order to make things clear, including the implications in the speeches made by other members of the committee.

Chairman: I have no recollection of that. I may be quite wrong, but I have no recollection of any attack having been made on any member of the Arab Higher Committee, by name, in any statement made this morning. Can you call my attention to any such specific reference in any statement?

Mr. Ghory: Yes, Sir. This morning I heard the spokesman of the Jewish Agency refer to His Eminence, the chairman of the Arab Higher Committee, as having gone to Europe and worked for the extermination of the Jewish people there. Since our arrival in this country, we have been victimized by anti-Arab propaganda.

Chairman: I am sure the committee is not concerned at the moment with any statements which may have been made outside of the committee. If any statements such as those you are referring to were made in the committee this morning, I have not been able to find them in the written record. If any such mention was made orally, I am sure it was just a casual mention, and I hope the reply to it may be short and also casual. Will you proceed, please?

Mr. Ghory: As I have said, the Mufti has been the enemy of British policy as was General Smuts less than fifty years ago—British policy as the Arabs of Palestine have known and felt it for a quarter of a century. But is there anything to be wondered at in that? I beseech you to try for one moment to put yourselves in the place of the Arabs of Palestine in the period between the two wars. You are, of course, convinced that the Axis represented something evil, and that you and your allies were fighting not only for your survival, but also for certain moral values which made your cause the cause of decency and justice and of right versus wrong in the world at large. However, that was not at all evident to the Arabs of Palestine. For twenty years, Britain, as it seemed to them, had been pursuing a monstrous policy aimed at taking their country away from them and giving it to another people. All their protests against this violation of their elementary rights had gone unheeded. All the promises made to them had been broken. When they attempted to offer resistance in defence of their native land and natural rights, they were machine-gunned, their villages were bombed, and more Jewish immigrants were brought in.

I do not want to dwell any longer in this matter. However, I would say that the attitude of the Mufti represented a natural stand taken in self-defence, stand which any threatened nation would have taken in order to protect itself. He had to escape to Europe in order to avoid arrest by the British as a result of Zionist propaganda. As regards his taking refuge in Germany, that was the only alternative to arrest and exile, which were being urged on Great Britain by the Zionists. His sole crime was that he had stood in the way of Zionist aims.

The question of the Mufti was raised this morning by the spokesman of the Jewish Agency. The Jews are questioning the record of an Arab spiritual leader. Does that properly come from the mouth of a people who have crucified the Founder of Christianity?

MR. BEN-GURION

I am grateful for the opportunity afforded to me to make a few supplementary remarks to the statement made by my colleague, Dr. Silver, on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

First of all, I would like to try to clarify further the nature of the problem which the mandatory power has placed before the United Nations, as this is essential for defining properly the terms of reference of the special committee. Last Friday, the representative of the United Kingdom, on behalf of his Government, declared that they tried for years to settle the problem of Palestine and had failed. They have, therefore, brought the problem to you in the hope that the United Nations would find a just solution.

This statement is open to misunderstanding. The mandatory power was not charged with discovering a solution to the Palestine problem and its failure was not in its inability to find the right solution. The mandatory power was charged by the League of Nations with the carrying out of a definite settlement. That settlement was set out and determined originally by the United Kingdom herself and subsequently confirmed by all the Allies and associated powers in the first World War, as well as by the Arabs through Emir Feisal and the Syrian Arab Committee. It was later embodied in the mandate approved by fifty-two nations and made international law.

The terms of that settlement, as decreed by the conscience and the law of nations, are common knowledge. It is the restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people.

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At the time the United Kingdom took over the mandate, the problem of Palestine had been clearly adjudicated and settled. The failure of the Mandatory Government, as admitted by the British representative, was a failure to carry out the settlement agreed upon and entrusted to it by the nations of the world. The failure became manifest with the introduction of a policy set forth in the White Paper of 1939, which violated the most essential terms of the mandate and vitiated its entire purpose.

The White Paper policy, as you know, was condemned by the permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations as incompatible with the mandate and with the pledges repeatedly given by the Mandatory Government itself. It was also denounced by the most eminent political leaders of the United Kingdom itself, including all the prominent members of the present Government of the United Kingdom, as a breach of faith. Only recently, the White Paper was again unanimously condemned by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The White Paper policy is responsible for the misery and deaths of a large number of Jews and for cruel acts of expulsion of Jewish refugees.

It is responsible for establishing in Palestine a police state without parallel in the civilized world. It is responsible for the introduction in Palestine of racial discrimination against Jews in land legislation. This is the real nature of the failure of the mandatory power.

Therefore, I venture to suggest that the first problem facing the United Nations is how to set right that failure and to ensure that international obligations toward the Jewish population in Palestine are faithfully fulfilled.

The second point to which I would like to invite the attention of your committee is the fact that in Palestine you are faced not merely with a large and growing number of Jews, but with a distinct Jewish nation. There are Jews and Jewish communities in many countries, but in Palestine there is a new and unique phenomenon—a Jewish nation, with all the attributes, characteristic resources and aspirations of nationhood. This nationhood springs from a long history and an uninterrupted connection for 3,500 years with its ancestral soil.

Considered "Land of Israel"

Palestine, which for the Jewish people has always been and will always remain the Land of Israel, was in the course of centuries conquered and invaded by many alien peoples, but none of them ever identified its national faith with Palestine. The Jewish nation in Palestine is rooted not only in past history but in a great living work of reconstruction and rebuilding, both of a country and of a people.

The growth of this nation and its work of reconstruction must not and cannot be arrested—and this, for two reasons. One is the existence of a large numbers of homeless Jews for whom there is no other salvation in the future except in their own national home. The second is that more than two-thirds of the land in Palestine is still waste land, uncultivated, unsettled and believed by the Arabs to be uncultivatable. The history of our settlement in the last seventy years has shown that this land can be and is being cultivated by us.

This is not because we are more skilled or more capable than others, but because this is the only soil in the world which we call our own. We are not, like our Arab neighbours, in possession of vast underpopulated territories, like Iraq, Syria, Arabia, etc. We must therefore make use of every bit of free land in our country, even desert land.

Another observation is this: we are told that the Arabs are not responsible for the persecution of the Jews in Europe, nor is it their obligation to relieve their plight. I wish to make it quite clear that it never entered our minds to charge the Arabs with solving the Jewish problem, or to ask Arab countries to accept Jewish refugees. We are bringing our homeless and persecuted Jews to our own country and settling them in Jewish town and villages. There are Arab towns and villages in Palestine —Nablus, Jenin, Ramleh, Narnucka, Libia, Terschicha. You will not find a single Jewish refugee in any of them. The Jews who have returned to their country are settled in Petah Tiqva, Rishon le Zion, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem, Dagania, the Negev and other Jewish towns and villages built by us.

The return of the Jews to their country is a work of self-liberation and self-reconstruction, which is contributing to the reconstruction and liberation of the country as a whole.

My fourth and last remark is this. We have no conflict with the Arab people. On the contrary, it is our deep conviction that historically the interests and aspirations of the Jewish and Arab peoples are compatible and complementary. What we are doing in our country, in Palestine, is reclaiming the land, increasing the yield of the soil, developing modern agriculture and industry, science, and art, raising the dignity of labour, insuring women's status of equality, increasing men's mastery over nature and working out a new civilization based on human equality, freedom and co-operation in a world which we believe is as necessary and beneficial for our Arab neighbours as for ourselves.

A Jewish-Arab partnership, based on equality and mutual assistance, will help to bring about the regeneration of the entire Middle East. We Jews understand and deeply sympathize with the urge of the Arab people for unity, independence and progress, and our Arab neighbours, I hope, will realize that the Jews in their own historic homeland, can under no conditions be made to remain a subordinate, dependent minority as they are in all other countries in the Diaspora. The Jewish nation in its own country must become a free and independent state with a membership in the United Nations. It is eager to co-operate with its free Arab neighbours to promote economic development, social progress and real independence of all the Semitic countries in the Middle East.

I most earnestly suggest to your committee that the real, just and lasting solution of the problem before you is a Jewish state and a Jewish-Arab alliance.

Text of Pope's Warning of Tyranny and War in Speech to Cardinals

The Year 1947

Once again the recurrence of the feast of our holy predecessor and heavenly patron provides us with the occasion, venerable brethren, of dwelling for a while with you on the great questions of the tremendous happenings of the day, and on the dangers that threaten the whole world.

May the outpouring of our mind and heart, which finds an echo in the thoughts and sentiments so happily expressed to us by your venerable dean, be for each of you, our intimate counsellors and faithful helpers, and for ourselves, a stimulus to continue with renewed confidence, greater energy and calm dedication that apostolic work which today more than ever weighs on all the toilers in the Lord's vineyard, all the ministers of the sanctuary.

The year 1947—what judgment shall the future ages pass on it? It has almost reached half of its course and up to now, to the time of speaking has it brought anything else to the world except the apparently irreconcilable opposition between the mighty onrush of problems in which it is sinking and entangled, and the humiliating lack of solution for them?

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The verdict of history will be in accordance with the results coming from the events and discussions of the months which still remain.

Future generations will either bless or curse it: they will bless it if it means for the great human family a starting point toward the reawakening of the sentiment of brotherhood establishing an order of law and peace worthy of men, useful and beneficial for all; they will curse it, on the other hand, if it means a gradual decline into those stagnant marshes of discord and violence from whose murky depths there can arise only sinister and harmful forebodings of new and incalculable calamities.

Security

The wounds caused by the war have not yet been healed: indeed, some of them have rather been deepened and inflamed.

Was there ever before so much talk of universal security which should have been the fruit of victory? But where is it to be found? Have feelings of uncertainty and the fear of war vanished or, at any rate, have they diminished? If things are considered as they really are, it must be admitted that it is not possible, even with the best of good will, to establish immediately that security for which the human race so ardently longs.

Then, in that case, let not those post-war and peace methods be employed which have nothing to do with punishing the criminals of the war but which create bitter disillusionment, especially among those who had no responsibility for the past regimes and during which they themselves were persecuted and oppressed.

How, indeed, does one help in establishing universal security by heaping up in its very foundations mighty ruins—not only material ones but the ruins of living human beings? How can a Europe feel safe whose members are a prey to despair and to discouragement, the dark and dismal forces of disintegration which the revolutionaries of tomorrow will easily exploit, just as those of yesterday did?

We well know, indeed, the extent and gravity of the unspeakable horrors with which the defeated system covered the face of Europe; nor do we wish to lessen the enormity of its guilt. But how is it possible for the victorious nations, in their turn, to adopt or tolerate the methods of hate and violence on which that system lived and thrived, or how can they use the weapons which aroused their righteous indignation when employed in the hands of others? What sensible man would ever seek a guarantee for his own safety and security in the ruin and misery of his neighbour?

Therefore, once again we desire to exhort and to warn the nations: security, as far as it may be realized here below, cannot have any other solid foundation than the physical and moral well-being of a nation, based internally on right public order and externally on normal relations with neighbouring states. At present, it is still possible to renew such normal relations, even after the second World War. May the rulers of the states not let slip this opportunity; it may be—God forbid—the last opportunity.

Prosperity

Much has been said also about a universal prosperity, which should likewise have resulted from the victory. But where is it? There are, indeed, countries where the wheels of industry turn rapidly and work without interruption and at a maximum capacity. Production, overproduction—that is the golden key, the sesame, the secret formula that would wipe out the last traces of the evils of the war and fill up the craters it made.

But the prosperity of nations cannot be safe and secure if all do not share in it. Hence it is not unlikely that idleness and the impossibility of commerce in which some nations find themselves placed will automatically cause in the near future economic crises and unemployment even in other nations as well.

Liberty

Likewise, much was said of the state of liberty which was to have been another perfect fruit of victory: liberty triumphing over despotism and over violence. But this cannot flourish except where justice and law command and efficaciously secure the respect for individual and collective dignity.

Meanwhile the world is still waiting and pleading that justice and law create stable conditions for man and society. In the meantime, millions of human beings continue to live under oppression and despotic rule. For them nothing is safe, neither home, nor goods, nor liberty, nor honour: thus the last ray of happiness, the last spark of courage, dies in their hearts.

In our Christmas message of 1944, addressing a world full of enthusiasm for democracy and eager to be its champion and proponent, we expounded the main moral requirements for a right and healthy democracy. Today, not a few fear that the hope placed in that order has diminished, owing to the striking contrast between democracy in words and the concrete reality.

If at this moment we raise our voice, it is not to discourage the many men of good-will who have already set to work nor to belittle what has already been attained, but it is only through a desire to contribute, as far as in us lies, to an improvement of present conditions.

It is not yet too late for the peoples of the earth to bring about in a united and loyal effort, these conditions so indispensable for security, for universal prosperity or at least for a tolerable *modus vivendi*, and for a helpful organization of liberty.

Youth

A consideration of the first importance renders necessary this common effort—the good of youth and of the family.

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The Church, a tender mother, is not alone in fearing for the welfare of youth. In some countries the new generations from their adolescence and even from infancy suffer from weakness, physical and spiritual anemia caused by material poverty with all its attendant miseries, from an insufficient family life or even from its complete absence, from lack of education and instruction or finally, perhaps, from long years of imprisonment or exile.

Among peoples living under better conditions, dangers of another kind often arising from an excess of wealth and pleasure menace the physical and moral health of youth. This state is still sadder. But there is something even more serious, and it makes the cure of the evil still more difficult—the widespread crisis, indefinitely prolonged, with the disorders it provokes and the uncertainty for the future which it necessarily brings, sows in the hearts of coming generations seeds of distrust in their elders, whom they hold responsible for all the evils they suffer and makes them skeptical of all the principles and values that their elders held in high esteem and passed down to them.

There is a serious danger that very many youths poisoned by these corrupting principles will end by falling into pure nihilism. Woe to the nations the day when there is extinguished in the heart of youth the sacred flame of faith, of ideals, of readiness for sacrifice, of the spirit of dedication. Even though such a state of things were to last but for a short while, who can foresee the consequences ?

The Family

In a similar precarious state of incertitude which tends to continue, what can the future hold in store for the family—that natural nursery and school where the man of tomorrow grows up and is formed ?

From districts that suffered most come distressing news of the miserable condition of family, youth, woman. Above all, tragic is the state of the families—if those wandering groups may still be called such—whose fidelity to God's law brought the blessing of a rich crown of children, very often after paying more than others their tribute of blood during the war. Today, they are obliged to suffer more acutely the consequences of the general lack of dwellings and provisions.

It is not God, certainly, who is failing to keep His promise, as the sneers of egoists and the pleasure-loving seem to insinuate; but the incomprehension, the harshness and ill-will of others makes the burden of life well-nigh insupportable for the heroes of conjugal duty.

It is only true heroism, sustained by the grace of God, that is capable of keeping in the hearts of young married people the desire and joy of having a large family. What a humiliation for the world to have fallen so low—into a social condition so opposed to nature.

Before God and faced with this sad truth, we call with all our strength for a speedy remedy and trust that our cry of anguish may resound in the ends of the earth and find an echo in the minds of those who are in charge of public affairs and who cannot ignore that, without a healthy and vigorous family life, a people and a nation are lost. Nothing calls more urgently for the peace of the world than the unspeakably wretched state of the family and of woman.

Fear Not

What is the true state of affairs? Who would dare affirm that the two years since the cessation of hostilities have marked notable advances in the path of restoration and social progress?

In seeing fruitless conferences succeeding one another and the series of interrupted or postponed discussions being prolonged, the peoples, bitterly deluded in their desire for order, peace and reconstruction, are coming to lose hope and patience.

It is not our intention to make accusations. We have before our eyes a higher purpose than to pass judgment on what has been done. We wish to forestall new and greater evils in the near and distant future.

During periods of deep agitation of minds and of disordered events we place all our trust in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and Lord of Lords (II Cor. i, 3; I Tim. iv, 15), and after God we place our trust in the faithful of the whole world. To them, then, we address the words that Divine Master repeated to his disciples: "Fear not."

If there is something today that gives cause for fear, it is fear itself. There is no worse counsellor, especially in the present conditions. It only brings dizziness and blindness and leads away from the right and secure path of trust and justice.

False prophets unscrupulously propagate with cunning and violence anti-Christian and atheistic concepts of the world and of the state which are contrary to the natural law, and as such they have been condemned by the Church, particularly in the encyclical, "Quadragesimo Anno," of our great predecessor, Pius XI. Neither the difficulties of the present nor the crossfire of propaganda should frighten or mislead you.

Fear, which is a shameful thing in itself, excels in its many disguises. At times it puts on the misleading garb of a declared Christian love for the oppressed; as if suffering people could derive advantage from falsehood and injustice, from mob-tactics and from promises that can never be fulfilled.

At other times it hides under the appearance of Christian prudence and under this pretext remains silent when duty should require it to utter a fearless "non licet" to the rich and powerful, and to caution them thus: It is not lawful for you, in following a greed for gain and dominion, to stray from the inflexible lines of Christian principles which are the bases of political and social life which the Church has repeatedly and with great clarity expounded to the men of our times. To you especially the invitation is addressed to collaborate without reserve in forming a public order which will realize, in the highest possible degree, a healthy economic life and social justice.

Thus the exploiters of class warfare will be deprived of the possibility of ensnaring the disappointed and the despoiled people of the world, by telling them that the Christian faith and the Catholic Church are not their ally, but their enemy.

By disposition of the Divine Providence, the Catholic Church has formulated and promulgated its social doctrine. She points the path to be followed; and no fear of losing possessions or of temporal gains, of appearing less in harmony with modern civilization or less national or social, could authorize true Christians to deviate even a hair's breadth from this path.

Peace

Considering the sad reality of the numerous and disastrous conflicts which so painfully afflict the world of today and bar the path of peace, it would be equally wrong to shut one's eyes so as not to see or to hold one's arms so as not to act, alleging as an excuse that nothing more can be done. Nothing more can be done ? At the very moment when Christians can oppose to vacillating and uncertain principles that fearless courage which is not the mere joyous exuberance of a sanguine nature, but a manifest proof of a super-natural force nourished by the theological virtues of faith, hope and charity ?

By means of this force a mighty breath of pure air will sweep over the world, dissipating the atmosphere of panic and pessimism which threatens to poison it; eyes, sealed till then, will open to the clear vision of truth and justice. Those men of good faith and of good-will, who had gone astray, will discover a way out of a situation that

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has become almost intolerable and advance toward a solution of apparently insurmountable problems.

For those who see things in the light of the supernatural, there is no doubt that even in the most serious conflicts of human and national interests, there is always room for a peaceful settlement.

Is this not, perhaps, the mission of the Christian, of the Catholic, in the whirlpool of social and political agitation of today? This is precisely the explanation of the hatred toward the Church that all those cherish whose life depends on dissensions and conflicts and whose interest it is to fan them continuously into flame. They feel almost instinctively that the church, established by God as a rock of brotherhood and of peace, cannot come to terms with the idolatrous worshippers of brute force and of the struggles, inside and outside their frontiers, for world domination.

This consideration should be enough to fill you, Catholics, with noble pride because the hatred launched against the church heightens in the eyes of men her spiritual and moral grandeur and her work done for the good of mankind. Be alive to such greatness! It means a task, a duty, responsibility. It is not without a purpose that Divine Providence has disposed that never more deeply, perhaps, than at present, have all the faithful of the church on earth felt conscious of sharing intimate membership in the mystical body of Christ. Even if the powers of darkness, of disunity, discord and destruction are spreading today over the whole world, so much more effective must be the superior activity of Christians and their force, derived from union, order and peace.

What true Catholic could think of shirking such a pressing duty? Apply yourselves, all of you, with earnestness to those tasks: among the timorous be fearless, among the doubters be firm in faith, among the discouraged be strong in hope and be full of love among the skeptics who are devoid of love.

Love

Your love is ardent and is as vast as the world. We know it from experience and can in some measure gauge it from the admirable generosity by which the Catholics in countries still prosperous helped to relieve the needs of people in greater want. They gave incomparably more than figures published in certain quarters would lead one to believe. To a renewed expression of our gratitude toward all the benefactors, we join once again our earnest exhortation: let not your love grow cold, but let it spread more widely. There are still so many districts from which rise to heaven a cry of distress and a plea for help.

Heaven hears this cry of anguish, but wishes to heed it through means of your charity. The words of Christ, "As long as you did it to one of these my least brethren you did it to me" (Matt. xxv. 40), may also be changed by saying: the good that each of you has done to relieve your neighbour in need has been done by Christ; Christ himself, in you and through you, is helping the poor and the derelict.

Therefore, in the happy certitude that Christ lives and works in each of us, we say to all our sons and daughters throughout the universe:

Strong in faith, put up a good fight! The future belongs to believers and not to the skeptics and doubters.

The future belongs to those who love, not to those who hate.

The church's mission in the world, far from being ended or outmoded, goes out to meet new trial and fresh enterprises.

The task confided to you by Providence in this crucial hour is not to conclude a weak and timid peace with the world, but to establish for the world a peace really worthy in the sight of God and man.

Humanity, by its own unaided efforts, cannot win this peace. To implore it from the divine mercy for the poor, torn and tortured world, is a duty that all, pastors and flocks, should undertake with fervent zeal, especially during this month consecrated to the heart of the Divine Redeemer.

Animated by an unshakable faith in the power of this suppliant prayer, and as a presage of its being heard, we impart with an ever-flowing heart, on you, venerable brethren, and on all our beloved sons and daughters scattered over the face of the earth, our apostolic benediction.—*The New York Times*, June 3, 1947.

Butter From Coal

The following extract is taken from the 'Science' section of the *Forward*, Nairobi, December, 1946 :

A Factory that makes butter from Coal was one of the prizes discovered by the British in their zone of Germany.

"It is excellent butter and I doubt if anyone ever would guess it was synthetic", said one British official who sampled it.

The factory, Imhausen and Company, located in this Ruhr city, has not made butter since the end of the war, but its management hopes to resume operations in about a month.

Dr. Karl Heinz Imhausen, young manager of the company, said the plant normally could produce 600 tons a month at a cost less than that of natural butter. During the war, when natural butter cost three marks and 60 pfennings a kilo, the synthetic product cost one mark 80 pfennings a kilo, he said.

That, he added was without any financial help from a Nazi regime that demanded "guns instead of butter".

The synthetic butter can keep without refrigeration. Dr. Imhausen exhibited a pound manufactured before the war ended. It had not been kept under ice, and had not melted. It looked and tasted like the real thing.

Coal is converted into butter like this.

Coal is made into coke, coke into gas, the gas into paraffin. By a blowing process, the most difficult part of the operation, 80 to 82 tons of fatty acid can be drawn from 100 tons of paraffin. The fats are further separated by distillation under a huge vacuum. Some are edible, some are not.

From there on the recipe is: add to the pure, synthetic, edible fat 20 per cent water : Add carrot extract for vitamins and colouring: Add salt: Finally, inject something called diacetyl to give the odour of butter.

This mixture is whipped up in a machine and comes out the other end like a long sausage about eight inches in diameter. That goes into another machine from which pounds of butter come out, neatly wrapped, on a conveyor belt.

Most of the fats that do not go into butter are made into soap by an affiliate, also operated by Dr. Imhausen. The residue, unsuitable for butter or soap, is manufactured into a basic product for plastics, a softening material for rubber, and ingredient for varnish and into alcohol.

The Written plant, built in 1938, began production in 1939, and was hit once by British bombers. It was not severely damaged, although a tank containing 650 tons of paraffin was ignited and burned for days.

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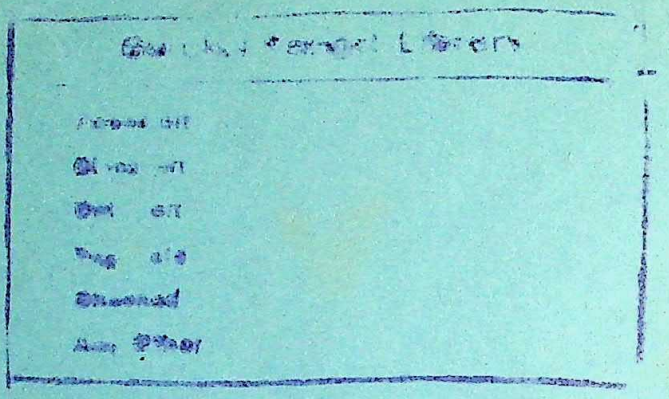

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